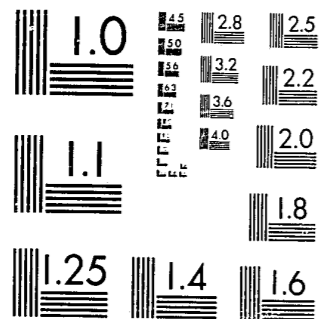


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The Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Programs

FINAL REPORT

Department of the YOUTH AUTHORITY

73532

Winter, 1978

State of California

EDMUND G. BROWN JR.
GOVERNOR

Health and Welfare Agency

MARIO OBLEDO
SECRETARY



**Department of the
Youth Authority**

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DIRECTOR

CHARLES A. KUHL,
CHIEF DEPUTY DIRECTOR

JAMES C. BARNETT,
DEPUTY DIRECTOR
PREVENTION AND COMMUNITY
CORRECTIONS BRANCH

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DEPUTY DIRECTOR
INSTITUTIONS AND CAMPS BRANCH

KEITH GRIFFITHS
Chief of Research

CARL JESNESS
Research Manager III

TED PALMER
Principal Investigator

Research Analysts

ROY LEWIS
GARY MIYAO

Support Staff

PAT ALLEY
LINDA ARNOLD
LANETTE FRANKLIN
CATHI HEFFINGTON
MILDRED IVANOVICH
DON SCHOFIELD

LDA

THE EVALUATION OF JUVENILE DIVERSION PROJECTS:
FINAL REPORT

by

Ted Palmer

Marvin Bohnstedt

Roy Lewis

Winter, 1978

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W. J. R. S.

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ACQUISITIONS

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HIGHLIGHTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In 1973 the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration directed all state planning agencies to evaluate the effectiveness of "at least one significant program area" supported by Fiscal 1974 funds. The California Office of Criminal Justice Planning (OCJP) responded by focusing on diversion. It contracted with the California Youth Authority (CYA) for a study of juvenile diversion and with the Department of Corrections for a study of adult diversion. The present report deals with the former study.

In July, 1974, the CYA initiated the present project: the Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Programs (EJDP). This was designed as a three-year study of OCJP-funded diversion programs that operated throughout the state. This study, conducted in two phases, involved an extensive survey of 74 diversion projects (Phase 1) and a more detailed evaluation of 15 projects that were chosen to represent the 74 (Phase 2). The present report focuses on the Phase 2 evaluation.

Phase 2 of EJDP was designed to answer three questions:

How many youths (Clients) are diverted from the traditional justice system?

Is recidivism reduced by diversion?

How much do diversion projects cost?

The main findings were as follows.

Amount of diversion

Of all Clients who were served by the Phase 2 projects, 51% were diverted from initial or further processing *within* the traditional justice system. Specifically, if these diversion projects had *not* existed, the individuals who were served by them would instead have been either (1) sent to Probation by the Police, (2) placed on informal probation, or (3) petitioned to Court. Of these three groups, the largest (31% of all Clients served) was comprised of youths who would have been sent to Probation intake by the Police. The second largest group (13% of all Clients) consisted of individuals who would have been petitioned to Court. The third and final group (7%) were those who would have been placed on informal Probation. All three groups were comprised of justice system referrals alone.

Of all Clients served by Phase 2 projects, the remaining 49% would *not* have been processed within the traditional justice system. That is, because of the Phase 2 projects these youths received services and/or controls which they would *not* have received if the diversion projects had not existed. Of these individuals, the largest group (28% of all Clients served) was comprised of *non justice system* referrals, i.e., youths who came to the diversion project via a school-, parent-, or self-referral. The second largest group (14%) consisted of *justice system* referrals who would have been counseled and released by the Police if the diversion projects had not existed. The third and final group (7%) were justice system referrals who would have been dismissed at Probation intake if the diversion projects had not existed.

Reduction of recidivism

Recidivism was studied by means of quasi-experimental designs and individual record searches on 1,345 Clients and 1,192 Comparisons.¹ On 6-months followup from point of instant arrest, 25.4% of the Clients and 30.7% of their matched Comparisons were arrested. This difference was statistically reliable and represented a 17.3% reduction in recidivism. In practical terms it meant, for example, that rather than 1,000 traditional justice system youths being arrested, approximately 827 (1,000 - 173) would be arrested instead--*if* they were similar to the present Clients and were served by the Phase 2 projects.

Recidivism was not reduced equally for all types of youth: For all projects combined, it was not significantly reduced for Clients who had *no* arrests prior to their project involvement; nor was it reduced for those who had *two* (and more than two) prior arrests. However, among youths who had *one* prior arrest, Clients did perform significantly better than Comparisons; here, the reduction in recidivism was 26.8%.

Finally, in the three particular projects that reduced recidivism by more than 30%, the possibility of successful intervention with individuals who *were* relatively poor risks (two or more prior arrests) was demonstrated. However, in the majority of projects it was not.

¹ These Clients and Comparisons were justice system referrals only. Self-, parent-, and school-referrals could not be included in the recidivism analysis.

Cost of diversion

The average yearly expenditure for Phase 2 diversion projects was \$101,957 and the average number of Clients served was 408. The average cost per case for all Clients was therefore \$250. Based on Bureau of Criminal Statistics data it was estimated that the average cost per Law Enforcement arrest was \$511 and the cost for Probation processing \$477.

Because of reduced recidivism and resulting costs of justice system processing, an average savings of \$31.95 occurred for each diversion Client who was referred from a justice system source, i.e., Law Enforcement or Probation. Non justice system youths--e.g., self-, parent-, and school-referrals--who (a) would not have been processed by the traditional system but who (b) were served by *justice-system* operated diversion projects represented an additional cost to the justice system, at least in the short-run. Non justice system youths who were served by *non justice system* (e.g., private-agency operated) projects represented a cost to society, but--at least in the short-run--not to the justice system.

Selected findings

1. Family counseling was the program element to which most youths (72%) were exposed. Individual counseling (52%) was next and group counseling (9%) was a distant third. No more than 5% of all youths were exposed to such program elements as academic tutoring, employment counseling, recreation, social/cultural enrichment, and referral to outside resources. Many Clients received more than one type of service.

2. Most youths maintained contact with their program for approximately six weeks. During this time the typical youth received about 2 hours of individual counseling, 2 hours of family counseling, and half-an-hour of group counseling. As to each remaining program element, e.g., academic tutoring, little service was received. In projects that dealt largely with poor risk offenders, total program exposure was much longer than six weeks.

3. Youths who received individual counseling performed better, on 6-months followup, than those who did not. This also applied, though not as strongly, to the relatively few individuals who participated in group counseling. Youths who participated in family counseling performed *worse* than those who did not. Clients exposed to the remaining program elements, e.g., employment counseling or recreation, performed neither better nor worse than those not exposed. Individuals who made more visits to their diversion project outperformed those who made relatively few.

Recommendations

EJDP's findings suggest that, if no violent offenses have been involved, initial intervention (programmed diversion) might optimally take place on the occasion of most youths' *second offense*, certainly no later than their third. However, no single *type of program* was found that would be best for most youths, independent of one's primary objectives for diversion, the specific program-options available, and the point of initial intervention.

Thus, a series of recommendations were developed for specified youths. These were designed to strike a balance between the valid claims, but often conflicting requirements, of five common goals of diversion: (1) avoidance of negative labelling and stigmatization; (2) reduction of unnecessary social control and coercion; (3) reduction of recidivism; (4) provision-of-service (assistance); and (5) reduction of justice system costs. Relative to these goals--and given society's need to maintain at least some control over certain offenders--the following options were considered for each group of youths:

- A. Outright release (diversion without programming);
- B. Non justice system (e.g., private-agency operated) program, on a voluntary basis;²
- C. Non justice system program, on a nonvoluntary basis;
- D. Justice system (e.g., Police- or Probation-operated) program, on a voluntary basis;
- E. Justice system program, on a nonvoluntary basis.

Of these options, the following were recommended for the respective youth-groups described below:

²"Voluntary" and "nonvoluntary" refer to the basis on which youths may participate in the given type of program.

Group 1. Non justice system, self-referred youths who seek assistance:

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Diversion without programming--in this case, refusal of service--would not be appropriate for these youths.

Group 2. Non justice system, parent- and school-referrals who are sent for service (assistance) and/or control:

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Diversion without programming may be appropriate if a need for service and/or control is not apparent to intake staff or diversion coordinators.

Group 3. Justice system referrals with no prior arrests:

Any of the following options might be appropriate: outright release; non justice system program on a voluntary basis; non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis. First choice among these options would depend on (a) whether there *is* an apparent need for service and/or control (if not: recommend outright release) and, if there is such a need, (b) the extent to which either service or control appears to be the principal concern (if control is primary: recommend nonvoluntary

program). In lieu of the latter options, *justice* system programs that operate on a voluntary basis might be utilized; however, non justice system programs would be preferred.

Group 4. Justice system referrals with one prior arrest:

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Third choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Fourth choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Here, voluntary programs would be preferred over nonvoluntary programs.

Group 5. Justice system referrals with two or more prior arrests:

First choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Third choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Fourth choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Here, nonvoluntary programs would be preferred, given the delinquent involvement of these youths.

For all five youth-groups, these recommendations would only be used with individuals considered acceptable for diversion. That is, factors such as "nature of instant offense" and "offense history" could not have

ruled out diversion. (Two additional sets of recommendations were presented, based on different ways of classifying youths.)

Scope and relevance of findings

EJDP's findings and recommendations relate to a sample of projects which, in most cases, were operated by justice system agencies. However, since about one-fourth of this sample consisted of non justice system projects, the validity of these findings and recommendations is not limited to justice system programs alone. This is true of non justice system *referrals* as well: Since these individuals were quite common among the projects studied, EJDP's results and guidelines are not restricted to justice system youths alone.

The types of diversion project that were studied by EJDP continue to exist. In fact, approximately half of the projects surveyed in Phase I (1974) are still in operation, and most such projects handle the same kinds of youth. This suggests that EJDP's findings and recommendations are of relevance today.³

³ The present report is supplemented by an Executive Summary which can be obtained through: Ted Palmer, Division of Research, California Youth Authority. 4241 Williamsborough Drive, Sacramento, California. 95823.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Programs was a product of many individuals. Chief among them were the following:

Elaine Duxbury prepared the original research proposal to OCJP, and was responsible for overall project direction during EJDP's first year of operation. Carl Jesness performed a similar supervisory as well as advisory function during the project's second and third years. As principal investigator, Marvin Bohnstedt ran the project on a day-to-day basis from its inception until July, 1977. He developed and implemented the Phase 1 Survey, established priorities for the Phase 2 evaluation, supervised the selection of study-samples, developed basic research instruments, directed data-collection efforts, and, together with his professional staff and field teams, established and maintained working relations with all individual diversion projects. Thus, Dr. Bohnstedt was responsible for the majority of strategic, technical, and major tactical decisions that were made during the operational phases of EJDP.

Throughout the first two years of the project, innumerable contributions were made by George Howard, Gary Miyao, Lin Moon, Carolyn Moore, and Cliff Zerikotes. These research analysts shared in many fundamental project decisions and in several aspects of the data-gathering and data-

reporting process as well. During the third year similar functions were performed by Roy Lewis, Gary Miyao (again), and Ted Palmer. During much of the project's existence added technical assistance was provided by Linda Arnold, Lanette Franklin, and Julee Fullenwider, mainly in the areas of data-processing and computer interface. Don Schofield assisted in the preparation and final polishing of numerous project documents.

Ted Palmer assumed overall project direction during the final months, plus an extension phase, of EJDP--that is, after the basic Phase 2 data had been collected and processed. His main responsibilities were (a) production of the present report, (b) conceptualization, implementation, and integration of substudies and supplementary analyses which are contained in this report, and (c) pooling and analysis of Phase 2 data on an across-projects basis.

Most large-scale projects contain a core of secretarial and clerical staff without whom the entire complex operation would come to a grinding halt, or operate at low levels of efficiency. Throughout the life of EJDP, these and related fates were consistently avoided through the tireless efforts of Pat Alley and Cathi Heffington. An excellent contribution was also made by Mildred Ivanovich, during her brief time on the project.

The present report was prepared by the following individuals: Bohnstedt (Chapter 1); Bohnstedt and Palmer (Chapter 2); Palmer and Lewis (Chapter 3); Lewis (Chapter 10). Dr. Palmer was responsible for all remaining chapters and sections. The report was typed by Mrs. Dalys Lum.

The authors would like to express their thanks for the helpful suggestions of several CYA researchers who reviewed the original manuscript--and for the valuable suggestions and advice of Dr. Jesness, who assisted throughout. We also thank all staff of the many diversion projects on whom EJDP research ultimately depended.

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND

In 1973 the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) decided to study the effectiveness of demonstration programs funded under its auspices. To implement this policy it directed all state planning agencies to evaluate the effectiveness of "at least one significant program area" supported by Fiscal 1974 expenditures. (12)

The California Office of Criminal Justice Planning (OCJP)--operating in conjunction with LEAA--responded to this directive by focusing on diversion. This program area was receiving considerable emphasis at the time, not only in California, but in all states, within as well as outside the justice system. To focus on this area, OCJP contracted with the California Youth Authority (CYA) for a study of juvenile diversion, and with the California Department of Corrections for a study of adult diversion. The present report deals with the former study only.

In July, 1974, the CYA established the present project: the Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Programs (EJDP). This was designed as a three-year study of diversion programs which operated throughout the state. As described in its first year proposal, the objectives of EJDP were as follows:

1. To develop a strategy for the evaluation of juvenile diversion at the individual project level.
2. To develop a capability for evaluating juvenile diversion at the state program level.

3. To develop model juvenile diversion programs, based on the evaluation of program strategies and program impact.

Shortly after the study got underway, EJDP also agreed to provide the following:

4. A large-scale survey of diversion projects that were funded with Fiscal Year 1974 OCJP monies.
5. Periodic progress reports on, plus an overall evaluation of, 15 to 20 of these projects.

Concepts of Diversion

Since its initial period of popularization in the middle 1960's, diversion has been thought of in several different ways. For instance, Cressey and McDermott (1974) restricted their oft-quoted study of diversion to programs that accepted Clients subsequent to initial Court contact but prior to adjudication. Other investigators have used a much broader definition. They have, for example, focused on diversion as practiced by (a) Police, as an alternative to Probation referral; (b) Probation, as an alternative to Court processing; and (c) the Courts, subsequent to adjudication, and as an alternative to incarceration.

The present study deals with Police and Probation diversion. As it turned out, these were the forms of diversion most often observed in EJDP's survey of California diversion projects.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Office of Youth Development) conceptualized diversion according to a "labeling/opportunity theory," as described by Elliott, Blanchard, and Dunford in 1975. This approach was largely adopted by LEAA itself. In this view, diversion

programs should deal with delinquency and criminal behavior by reducing negative labeling, providing increased access to conventional social roles, reducing feelings of alienation, and increasing the individual's self-esteem. Elliott et al. (1975) believe that diversion should include the following features:

Clients are referred to an existing agency which offers formal or informal youth development service or delinquency prevention activities.

The receiving agency is not part of the formal justice system.

Referral is a substitute for further official processing and adjudication.

Referral takes place between the point of apprehension and that of adjudication.

The decision to divert is not coercive.

Projects that were included in the present study often did not fit this concept of diversion. For example, many projects were part of the formal justice system. Many Clients of these projects were not referred as a substitute for further processing and adjudication. Finally, the decision to divert was often somewhat coercive. Despite this, the projects included in the present study did appear to offer--to a greater or lesser extent--alternatives to initial or subsequent processing within the traditional justice system. (EJDP's specific definition of diversion is presented in Chapter 2.)

Other Views of Diversion

The October 1976 issue of *Crime and Delinquency* focused exclusively on juvenile diversion. Collectively, its articles reviewed numerous pros and cons of diversion. Several authors pointed to particular issues

which the present study attempted to address. For instance, Gibbons and Blake reported:

This review has considered nine evaluation studies of diversion projects,...these are among the more adequately evaluated endeavors. We have seen that these evaluation studies were plagued with small numbers, ambiguity about process elements, and other shortcomings. On balance, these evaluation studies stand as testimony to the need for large-scale, sophisticated evaluation of new programs. Clearly, there is insufficient evidence in the nine studies examined here for one to have much confidence in diversion arguments and contentions. (10)

Lundman, on the other hand, stated that diversion programs:

. . . promise to temper harshness and be more effective. As a consequence, those charged with decision-making may be less reticent to take formal action. . . The result could be an increase in the number of juveniles under the control of the state. . . . (17)

Lundman concluded "it is unlikely that diversion units will reduce recidivism or correct existing abuses." Along the same line, Thomas found little evidence to support the contention that legal--that is, *non-diversion--processing* was associated with subsequent involvement in *more serious* delinquency. By implication, then, diversion itself might not reduce more serious subsequent delinquency. (25)

Also in this 1976 review, Nejelski indicated that such programs "should be distinguished from preventive efforts which contain no possibility that the juvenile's behavior would result in a court hearing." The present study has proceeded along this very line; in fact, it has distinguished diversion efforts from preventive efforts which involve no possibility that the individual's behavior would result in *any* further action--court hearing included. (19)

The design of the present project made it possible to address some of the issues raised by these authors.

The Development of EJDP

Prior to 1975, most evaluations of juvenile diversion took place at the level of individual projects. Although many projects may have involved similar types of Clients, may have had similar objectives, and may have utilized similar program components, they were seldom assessed on an across-projects basis, using similar measures of impact. The latter type of evaluation was an underlying objective of EJDP.

Phase 1: the Survey

EJDP had two major phases. Phase 1 centered around the large-scale survey of California diversion projects. The purpose of this survey was to obtain basic descriptive information as to how such programs were operated, who they generally served, and what types of service they usually offered. Such information had never before been obtained for a large sample of diversion projects.

The main steps in the selection of these projects were as follows: EJDP staff first identified all projects that were funded, or likely to be funded, by 1974 OCJP monies.¹ Through an extensive review of individual project proposals staff then identified 109 projects that appeared to involve diversion. (For the purpose of this survey EJDP defined a diversion project as a program for individual juveniles "in lieu of initial or subsequent processing within the traditional justice system.") Research staff then contacted each of 21 OCJP regional offices in order to: (a) verify that the projects within their jurisdiction did in fact meet specifications for inclusion in the survey, (b) add other projects that met

¹In 1974, OCJP allocated \$5 million to more than 70 juvenile diversion projects.

these specifications, (c) acquaint the regional planners with EJDP, and (d) obtain specific information that might be used at later points in the present study. As a result of this process 35 projects were eliminated-- usually because they dealt with adults (predominantly) or did not meet the definition of diversion.

The next task was to decide *how* to survey the remaining 74 projects. To do this, staff examined each project proposal and established major analytic data-categories (e.g., organization, funding, and staffing) that appeared common to all projects. Staff then delineated such issues as: What does diversion mean? Who is divertable? When does diversion take place? Other issues related to labeling, confidentiality, and the like.

Based on these analytic- and issue-categories, EJDP next developed four survey instruments: (a) Project Director's Form, (b) Staff Form (a variation of the Director's Form), (c) OCJP Regional Office Form, and (d) Collateral Agency Form (for use by primary referral source). A Self-Administered Questionnaire was also developed for use by each Project Director. Whenever possible, two Youth Authority staff members conducted the survey of each project; this was done during October/November of 1974.

The findings of this survey are described in a separate EJDP document (Bohnstedt et al., 1975). Highlights of this description are shown in Appendix A of the present report. As described in Chapter 2, findings from this survey were used as a basis for deciding which issues to focus on in Phase 2.

Phase 2: An Evaluation of Selected Projects

During the visits to OCJP Regional Offices, EJDP asked each regional director to recommend one or more projects for inclusion in a more detailed

study of selected projects. EJDP then reviewed the resulting list of projects in light of the following criteria for inclusion in this more detailed study:

1. Each project must be receiving, or planning to receive, 1974 OCJP funds.
2. Each project must have been recommended by its respective Regional Planning Board and must be willing to cooperate with the EJDP efforts.
3. Each project must be offering direct services to Clients.²
4. Clients within each project must be ethnically representative of youths within the target area served.

In addition, projects *as a group* had to represent:

5. California as a whole, in terms of geographic location and size of area.
6. Larger as well as smaller OCJP budgets.
7. A range of proponents, e.g., Law Enforcement, Probation, and public as well as private agencies.

Based on these requirements, EJDP recommended 19 of the 74 projects to the OCJP Steering Committee, for more detailed evaluation. Most projects were in their first or second year of OCJP funding, with yearly grants that ranged from \$20,000 to \$250,000. In 11 projects more than 50% of the clients were Anglo; three projects had at least 50% Blacks; two had between 40 and 90% Mexican-Americans; and, in two projects, 20% were Native-

²As seen later, this requirement did not exclude projects that provided services on a contractual basis. It was mainly designed to exclude activities ordinarily classified as delinquency prevention.

American. In all projects, most Clients were between 13 and 17 years of age. In 10 projects at least 50% were male. In 12 projects at least 50% of staff time was spent in providing direct services to Clients.

When this and related information was presented to the OCJP Steering Committee, approval was received for the Phase 2 study of all 19 projects. The specific projects were as follows:

<u>Project</u>	<u>Location</u>
Compton Area Juvenile Diversion Project	Compton
Imperial County Delinquency Intervention/Diversion	El Centro
Fremont Youth Service Center	Fremont
Fresno County Probation Department Diversion Project	Fresno
Pre-Trial Intervention and Diversion Project	Irvine
La Colonia Youth Services Project	La Colonia
Mendocino Lake Youth Project	Mendocino/ Lake Counties
Project Interface	Simi Valley
New Directions	Stockton
Vacaville Youth Service Diversion Unit	Vacaville
Vallejo Youth Service Bureau	Vallejo
Mid-Valley Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Project	Duarte
Pomona Valley Juvenile Diversion Project	Pomona
Curbstone Youth Service Center	Sacramento
Siskiyou County Juvenile Diversion Project	Yreka
Sheriff's Juvenile Diversion Program	San Diego

<u>Project</u>	<u>Location</u>
Southeast Involvement Project	San Diego
Streetwork for Girls	San Francisco
West San Gabriel Valley Juvenile Diversion Project	Temple City

As seen in the following chapter, 15 of these projects were eventually used in the Evaluation Phase. Each project is briefly reviewed in Chapter 3.³

The remainder of this report will focus on Phase 2: the evaluation of projects selected subsequent to the Phase 1 survey. First, we will review the basic objectives, methods, and implementation of Phase 2.

³ A detailed review of these projects can be found in: Lewis, R., A description of fifteen juvenile diversion projects. California Youth Authority and Office of Criminal Justice Planning. Sacramento. 1978.

Chapter 2

GOALS AND METHODS OF PHASE 2

Objectives and Focus

Phase 2 was designed to achieve the first and especially the third objectives of EJDJ: "to develop a strategy for the evaluation of juvenile diversion at the individual project level", and "to develop model juvenile diversion programs, based on the evaluation of program strategies and program impact".

Specifically, it was believed that the study of individual projects would be the best way to obtain clues that might lead to the development of model programs. Related to this, it was assumed that such a study would be necessary in order to overcome the masking of results that might be produced if all projects were simply "lumped together" as one undifferentiated group. Finally, at a more concrete level, the study of individual projects was in line with EJDJ's commitment to provide OCJP with progress reports plus an overall assessment of at least 15 projects.

As a first step in the development of Phase 2, EJDJ asked several basic questions about diversion: "What is it?" "Why do it?" "Does it work--and, if so, how well?" To begin answering such questions staff first examined the diversion program objectives as stated in the OCJP 1974 Comprehensive Plan:

1. To reduce youthful delinquent and criminal activity as measured by juvenile arrest rates, 601 or 602 petitions filed, 601 or 602 petitions sustained, wardships declared, school drop-out rates, etc., by 3-5 percent per year by preventing its occurrence, by ameliorating the negative social forces which contribute to crime and delinquency, and by finding alternatives to the justice system for dealing with varieties of problem behavior.

2. (a) to increase the number of diversion projects within the State by an average of 25 each year, with a yearly average number of 100 persons served by each existing project;
(b) within the two-year period following completion of a diversion project, to prevent 15% of the completees from additional criminal convictions, and to prevent 95% of the completees from either additional convictions or from convictions of a more serious offense than that which resulted in his participation in the diversion project. (20)

In themselves, these broadly stated objectives did not adequately reflect the specific objectives and activities of the 19 projects that were selected for further study. To reflect these objectives and activities, EJDP first examined a random sample of 32 projects from the October 1974 survey. Here, the immediate goal was to identify the major objectives that were shared by these projects. This, it was hoped, would lead to a more meaningful evaluation of the 19 projects, individually as well as collectively.

EJDP began the search for "shared outcome objectives" by examining the goals that were described in each of the most recently available project proposals. Staff listed each objective on a separate card, without identifying which objectives came from which proposal. They also reviewed the responses to two questions from the Phase 1 survey:

What specific changes does this project hope to make?
That is, what do you expect to happen as a result of the project that would not have happened in the absence of the project?

What about the project might be expected to produce these results?

Responses to these questions were then added to the information extracted from the project proposals. Staff then sorted the objectives-statements (approximately 175 in all) in order to derive a number of common categories

or factors that were shared by many if not most projects.¹ This procedure resulted in nine major categories, each of which appeared consistent with the broad objectives of OCJP. These categories were as follows:

1. Divert youths from, or provide alternatives to, criminal justice processing.
2. Reduce costs within criminal justice system.
3. Reduce crime, delinquency, arrests, and recidivism.
4. Improve, integrate, and coordinate existing services to youth.
5. Develop new services and expand existing services within the community.
6. Change Clients' behavior and/or attitude.
7. Improve Clients' family functioning.
8. Involve the community in the areas of delinquency prevention and child service.
9. Other (investigate, identify, propose, evaluate, etc.).

Categories 1-3 led to the following questions:

1. To what extent does the project divert its Clients from the traditional justice system?
2. To what extent does the project reduce subsequent delinquency on the part of its Clients?
3. What does the project cost?

It was the consensus of EJDP staff that these questions should be-- and, in a practical sense, could be--focused on in Phase 2. Several of the remaining categories or objectives appeared to partly represent means-to-

¹Sorting was first done by each staff member; after that, it was done by staff as a group.

ends with respect to these objectives. In addition, overall EJDP and diversion project resources did not make it feasible to study all nine areas. For these and related reasons, staff decided to focus on the first three questions alone.

Methods

Definition of diversion

As in the Phase 1 survey, EJDP defined diversion as a program for individuals in lieu of initial or subsequent processing within the traditional justice system. Included were the following types of juvenile Clients:

1. Youths who would be referred to Law Enforcement (Police, Sheriff) or Probation if given diversion projects were nonexistent or unavailable. Such referrals would be made by self, parents, or school officials.
2. Youths who would be referred to Probation by Law Enforcement, if given diversion projects were nonexistent or unavailable.
3. Youths already referred to probation who would continue to be processed traditionally if the diversion projects were nonexistent or unavailable.

Many Clients who are served by diversion projects did *not* fit the above definition (nevertheless, they were included in the Phase 2 evaluation):

1. Youths who would *not* have been referred to Law Enforcement or Probation despite the availability of given diversion projects. Again, these referrals would involve self, parents, or school.

2. Youths who would have been either counseled and released or referred to a *non-justice* system agency by Law Enforcement or Probation, despite the availability of diversion projects.

Diversion and non-diversion Clients may also be distinguished in terms of financial savings to the traditional justice system: Individuals who are diverted instead of being further processed by the traditional system represent an immediate savings in amount of work, for that system. Conversely, those who would not have been further processed do not represent a direct and immediate savings. It is true that diversion and non-diversion Clients may both represent a savings in terms of *future* effort if the services which they receive are effective in preventing or reducing subsequent delinquency. However, only diversion Clients represent an *immediate savings*. (Further details regarding this definition can be found in Chapter 4.)

Instruments

The instruments used in Phase 2 were designed to focus on individual Clients and overall project operations. Their specific purpose was to elicit information that would help answer the main questions of Phase 2 in a meaningful, differentiated way.

Instruments that related to individual Clients included the following: (a) Intake Data Form (age, sex, referral source, etc.); (b) Project Services Form (status of case, type and amount of service provided, etc.); (c) Justice System Contact Form (date and type of Law Enforcement contact, disposition of contact, etc.). The latter form included contacts that occurred prior as well as subsequent to the individual's instant arrest and resulting entry into the project.

The Intake Data Form was completed by members of each diversion project. EJDJP provided standardized definitions of the terms and response-categories that were used. This form was completed on a one-time basis for each youth. The Project Services Form, also filled out by staff of each project, was completed for each Client who received services during any given month. The Justice System Contact Form was usually completed by EJDJP staff; however, in a few jurisdictions, local justice system agencies preferred to complete the forms. In all cases, data for these forms came from Law Enforcement and Probation Department records.² In all cases, justice system contact data were collected after the completion of each project's 1974 Fiscal Year. This allowed for a longer followup of all youths. In each of 11 projects, identical information was collected on a group of comparison youths (described below).

The Intake Data Form, Project Services Form, and Justice System Contact Form are referred to as the "YDF's (Youth Data Form's) 1, 2, and 3," respectively. They are shown in Appendix B.

Instruments that related to overall diversion project operations included the following: (a) Interim Report Format (funding, type and amount of staff, program activities, etc.); (b) Project and Collateral Agencies Questionnaire (eligibility criteria, services provided, etc.). Information concerning costs was usually obtained from these instruments together with the project's official progress or yearly reports to OCJP.

The Interim Report Format was used after the given diversion project had been in operation for a minimum of six months. The information on

²Bureau of Criminal Statistics information was used for the Vacaville project.

these forms was verified by means of one-to-one discussions between EJDJP staff and diversion project personnel. Where possible, the Project and Collateral Agencies Questionnaire was administered to each of the following: (a) most or all diversion project staff, (b) one individual from each of the principal referral agencies, and (c) one or more individuals from each justice system agency in the area served by the diversion project. Information from these questionnaires was routinely incorporated into EJDJP's progress reports and overall assessment of individual projects.

Implementation

In February, 1975, EJDJP staff visited each of the 19 projects in order to acquaint their directors with (a) EJDJP's plans for Phase 2, (b) a preliminary Intake Data Form, and (c) plans for the collection of justice system contact data. At the same time, EJDJP contacted various judges, chief probation officers, and Police and Sheriff's departments regarding justice system data. During these trips, staff obtained several suggestions regarding possible improvements in the data collection instruments. Staff also found that several projects and agencies were extremely concerned about the confidentiality of Client information. Because of these concerns EJDJP designated each Client by a code number. Diversion projects kept the keys to the identity codes, thereby guaranteeing Client anonymity.

Based on discussions with project directors, EJDJP decided to request a minimum of information. As indicated, the YDF #1 and #2 were the only instruments that had to be completed by diversion staff on an ongoing basis. Nevertheless, several projects felt unable to complete the YDF #2 due to insufficient staff or staff time.

By May of 1975, the YDF #1 was being used in most projects. By October, 1975, the YDF #2 was implemented in most projects.

Four projects had to be dropped from the original sample of 19: Despite their original agreement, the Streetwork for Girls (San Francisco) and Southeast Involvement (San Diego) projects refused to participate in EJDP's data collection effort. Regional and central OCJP staff were unable to alter their position. The West San Gabriel Valley Project (Temple City) was dropped because it lacked the resources needed to help EJDP. Finally, the Sheriff's Juvenile Diversion Project in San Diego was never implemented.

Loss of these projects, while unfortunate, did not represent a major handicap. Nevertheless, it is true that Streetwork for Girls was the only residential project. Similarly, the Sheriff's project in San Diego would have been uniquely comprehensive in scope, since every arrested individual would have been screened for diversion. On the other hand, the West San Gabriel Valley Project was fairly similar to other "service brokerage" operations that were included in the EJDP sample.³

Design and analysis

The specific methods that were used to address the three basic questions of Phase 2 are described in the chapters that deal with each such question. However, a few general observations may be made at this point.

³Basically, service brokerage involved the following: (a) directing Clients to service-providing agencies; (b) paying those agencies for services that were provided.

The information that was used to answer the questions on extent of diversion, amount of recidivism, and cost, were largely gathered during an 18-month period beginning in mid-1975. This information was gathered separately for each of the 15 projects--almost always by means of on-site visits and detailed record searches on individual youths. Wherever possible, EJDP identified a group of non-diversion youths ("Comparisons") for each separate diversion project. These groups of youth made it possible to compare diversion Clients with individuals--namely, "Comparisons"--who were handled by more traditional means. Only rarely was it possible for EJDP to establish a strict "control" group in the classic--that is, random assignment--sense of the term.

At any rate, each diversion project was studied, described, and evaluated individually, not in comparison to any of the 14 remaining projects. It was not until early 1977, when preparations began on the present report, that the information from each individual project was combined into a single data pool which included all usable projects.⁴ This was done on the assumption that the pooled, i.e., composite, findings from a sizable group of projects would be more reliable, and of broader significance, than the findings from any one project alone. The "pooling" approach was considered relevant to the task of model building as well.

As will be seen, results that were obtained from individual projects nevertheless *were* used to help focus on specific issues. Furthermore, during 1977 additional information was sometimes gathered on particular projects in order to clarify given questions or test particular hypotheses

⁴The meaning of "usable" will become clear in later chapters, on a context-by-context basis.

that had not previously emerged. These and related points are reviewed at the end of Chapter 3.

We will now briefly describe the 15 projects that comprised the Phase 2 sample, together with the Clients whom they served.

Chapter 3

OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS AND CLIENTS

Before presenting the 15 projects that were evaluated in Phase 2, the following question should be addressed: to what extent did these projects represent all 74 programs that were surveyed by EJDJ in Phase 1?¹ That is, to what degree did Phase 2 projects typify the full range of OCJP-funded, juvenile diversion programs that were operated in California during 1974?² Basically, the answer is "pretty much--but with notable exceptions".

For instance:

The 15 projects were representative of the 74 in terms of (a) target-area size and (b) proportion of projects that served youths primarily in large-sized cities, small-sized cities, and rural areas, respectively. They were representative of the 74 as to the ratio of Law Enforcement-operated to Probation-operated programs.³ However, they were markedly under-representative of private agency-sponsored as well as nonjustice system, city/county-governed operations. Among the 15 projects, these two types of operation accounted for 27% of all projects; among the 74 programs they accounted for 53%. Thus, Phase 2 projects were somewhat heavily weighted in the direction of justice system operations, compared to the survey sample as a whole.

¹The 15 projects had, of course, been included among the 74 that were surveyed.

²Non-OCJP-funded diversion projects were virtually nonexistent within California in 1974, and were never studied by EJDJ.

³In the present report, Law Enforcement will refer to Police, Sheriff, and other criminal justice agencies (e.g., California Youth Authority). Approximately 99% of all Law Enforcement referrals were from Police and Sheriffs' Departments alone.

The 15 projects were also representative as to length of operation. That is, both they and the total survey sample were usually in their first or second year of OCJP funding while the survey itself was underway.

Focusing on justice system projects alone (those operated by Law Enforcement or Probation), the Phase 2 sample was likely to have a slightly larger paid staff and a substantially larger budget (\$95,000 versus \$64,000) than all remaining projects. This suggests that several projects may have been recommended for Phase 2 study partly because they appeared somewhat better endowed from a structural or material point of view.

The 15 projects were quite representative of the 74 as to percent of staff-time used for direct services to Clients. They were only moderately representative as to the percentage of Clients who participated in each of the two most commonly used program elements: individual and family counseling.⁴ However, they were *quite* unrepresentative--i.e., under-represented--with respect to such elements as recreation, arts and crafts, academic tutoring, vocational training, employment counseling, and group counseling. This may have related to their lack of representation in the area of nonjustice system projects.

Focusing on Clients, Phase 2 projects were representative of the total survey sample in the areas of age, sex, and--except for a moderate under-representation of Blacks--ethnicity.⁵ As might be expected from the preceding findings, their Clients were more likely to have been referred from justice system than nonjustice system sources, when compared to the

⁴More specifically, somewhat fewer of their Clients participated in individual counseling and substantially more participated in family counseling.

⁵However, Phase 2 Clients were an average of four months older than survey sample Clients.

survey sample as a whole. (In the survey sample, there was an almost even split between justice system and nonjustice system referral sources. For Phase 2 projects, the ratio was more than 2 to 1.) Along the same line, youths who comprised the survey projects were almost half as likely to have been referred for a law violation than a non-law violation. However, among Phase 2 Clients the chances were almost 50/50.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the Phase 2 projects were comprised of Clients who may have been somewhat more involved in delinquency, or at least delinquently oriented, than those in the survey sample as a whole.⁶ The implications of this and other known or probable differences will be reviewed in Chapters 12 and 13.

The following should also be kept in mind. Clients who are described in relation to the Phase 2 projects are, literally, only those who "showed up": they include no individuals who were referred to a project but who, for whatever reason, did not show up.⁷ Unfortunately, EJDPC collected no data that would indicate how many individuals were referred to diversion--for example, by justice system agencies--but did not show up, as compared to every individual who was referred and did show up.

Nevertheless, the following may indirectly bear on this point. Three-fourths of all projects were operated under the auspices of justice system agencies; and, the largest single referral source for these projects was

⁶During the survey, no information was collected as to number of prior arrests. Thus, a direct comparison could not be made between Phase 2 projects and survey projects with regard to delinquency involvement or orientation.

⁷Nor do they include individuals who were not accepted by the project due to lack of caseload openings. EJDPC believes there were few such individuals; however, it has no hard data to support this belief.

the agency under whose auspices it operated.⁸ Judging from evidence presented in Chapter 5, it is likely that many justice system agencies referred a sizable portion of their Clients on a basis that was less than completely voluntary, from the standpoint of those Clients.⁹ Insofar as this was the case, the following may be other than coincidental. Whereas 73% of the 15 projects were operated under the auspices of justice system agencies, 70% of the Clients in those projects--i.e., a very similar percentage--were in fact justice system referrals. This suggests that most individuals who were referred to diversion by these agencies may in fact have shown up. However, this evidence is indirect and somewhat tenuous. In sum, we are essentially in the dark as to the number and type of justice system referrals who did not show up, or could not be accepted by the diversion project.

As to nonjustice system referrals, three main groups were involved: self referrals, parent referrals, and school referrals. Obviously, all self referrals showed up--by definition. However, no information is available on the total number of individuals who were referred by parents and schools, as compared with the number who actually showed up.

Overview of Individual Projects

Following is a brief account of the 15 projects evaluated by EJDP during Phase 2. Each description includes an overview of stated project

⁸For example, projects that operated under the auspices of Probation were likely to obtain more Clients from Probation than from any other source. This also applied to projects that were operated by Police. (Relative to the justice system/nonjustice system dichotomy itself, the following might be noted at this point. Among justice system operated projects, 72% of all Clients were referred from justice system sources. Among nonjustice system operated projects, the figure for justice system referrals was 41%.)

⁹This interpretation is supported by the Phase 1 survey. For instance, Directors of justice system operated projects indicated that two-thirds of all Clients who participated (Continued on next page)

objectives, project auspices, main source of Client referral, basic services provided, and selected Client characteristics. A more complete account of Client characteristics is presented on pp. 32-41.

Compton (Compton Area Juvenile Diversion Project)

This project was designed to assist Clients through a subcontracting procedure which involved six outside service-providers. It operated under the auspices of the Los Angeles County Probation Department, and most referrals to the project (54%) were from the Compton Unified School District. The project itself provided central intake, needs-classification, and referral to outside service-providers. Activities that were provided by the outside agencies ranged from group counseling to recreation. Of the project Clients who were sampled by EJDP in Phase 2 (pp. 75-78), 68% were between ages 14 and 16 and 89% had a prior arrest record.

EI Centro (Imperial County Delinquency Intervention/Diversion)

This project was designed to provide diversion services to Clients within the target area, and to develop new alternatives to traditional justice system processing. It was operated by the Imperial County Probation Department and its largest single referral source (40%) was Probation. Project activities usually consisted of counseling and recreation. Of the Clients who were sampled by EJDP, 50% were between ages 14 and 16 and 9% had a prior arrest record.

⁹(Continued from preceding page) in their project did so in response to "pressure"--usually from a non-parental source. It is, of course, possible that many individuals who did not show up had not been placed under similar pressure.

Fremont (Fremont Youth Service Center)

This project was designed to provide multifaceted counseling and treatment for youths who were exhibiting criminal or other delinquent behavior for perhaps the first time. It operated under the auspices of the Fremont Police Department and most referrals (84%) were from the local Police Departments. The following services were provided: family counseling, individual counseling, tutoring, and employment counseling. Of the Clients sampled, 62% were between 14 and 16 and 26% had a prior arrest record.

Fresno (Fresno County Probation Department Diversion Project)

This project was designed to provide diversion services to Clients within the target area of Fresno County, primarily the urban areas. It was operated by the Fresno County Probation Department and most referrals (53%) were from Probation. Services were concentrated on individual and family problems that seemed related to family disorganization. Of the Clients sampled, 68% were between 14 and 16 and 41% had a prior arrest record.

Irvine (Pre-Trial Intervention and Diversion Project)

This project was designed to (a) provide access to a wide range of services for pre-delinquent youths, (b) assure continuity of treatment for individual youths and families, and (c) provide long-term followup on every case. It was sponsored by the city of Costa Mesa and administered by a management board which represented a number of local Police Departments. Most referrals (80%) were from the Police Department. PIDP used four main treatment modalities: contingency contracting, parent-child communication, coping skills, and community involvement. These were usually implemented by means of family counseling, individual counseling, and referral to

other resources. Of the Clients sampled by EJDP, 59% were between ages 14 and 16 and 17% had a prior arrest record.

La Colonia (La Colonia Youth Services Project)

This project was designed to serve Clients by allowing local delinquency prevention services and resources to operate within a single facility and organizational structure. It was sponsored by the County of Ventura and administered by the County Delinquency Prevention Commission. Its major source of referrals was Probation (50%). The basic program elements were individual, group, and family counseling; also included were employment counseling, academic tutoring, and recreation. Of the Clients sampled, 53% were between 14 and 16 and 67% had a prior arrest record.

Mendocino/Lake Counties (Mendocino Lake Youth Project)

This project was designed to serve pre-delinquent youths and those charged with "status" offenses (p. 36). It operated under the auspices of the Mendocino County Probation Department and its target population included all youths referred for services from either Mendocino or Lake County. Local schools were the major source of referral (54%). Services included the following: counseling (individual, group, or family), academic tutoring, and referral to other services. Of the Clients sampled, 56% were between 14 and 16 and 31% had a prior arrest record.

Simi Valley (Project Interface)

Project Interface was designed as a community outreach counseling service for youths and families with drug-related problems. It was sponsored by the County of Ventura and administered by a management board

which represented various groups and agencies within the county. Target areas included the following communities: Simi Valley, Moorpark, Newbury Park, and Thousand Oaks. The largest single referral source (40%) was Law Enforcement. Principal services were family and group counseling. Of the Clients sampled by EJDP, 56% were between ages 14 and 16 and 20% had a prior arrest record.

Stockton (New Directions)

This project was designed to provide immediate, limited-term counseling and treatment to youths who exhibited pre-delinquent or minor-level delinquent behavior. It operated under the auspices of the San Joaquin Probation Department and most referrals (90%) were from Probation. The major project activity was conjoint family therapy. Of the Clients sampled by EJDP, 69% were between 14 and 16 and 37% had a prior arrest record.

Vacaville (Vacaville Youth Service Diversion Unit)

This project was developed by the Vacaville Police Department in response to three major concerns: a rise in youth arrests, a lack of Police Department counseling and referral skills, and a lack of coordination and cooperation among local youth-serving agencies. It was operated by the Vacaville Police Department and most referrals (79%) were from Law Enforcement. Basic activities included: Individual and family counseling, academic tutoring, recreation, drug and other education, and

referral to other service-agencies. Of the Clients sampled, 64% were between 14 and 16 and 16% had a prior arrest record.

Vallejo (Vallejo Youth Service Bureau)

This project was designed to coordinate and actively involve local community resources with respect to youthful offenders. It was operated by the Vallejo Police Department and its primary source of referrals (70%) was Law Enforcement. Principal services offered were individual and family counseling. Of the Clients sampled, 39% were between ages 14 and 16 and 29% had a prior arrest record.

Duarte (Mid-Valley Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Project)

This project was designed to provide diversion services for the communities of Baldwin Park, Bradbury, Duarte, El Monte, South El Monte, and West Covina. It was sponsored by the County of Los Angeles and administered by the Mid-Valley Community Mental Health Council. Most referrals (78%) were from Law Enforcement, and services were provided by a subcontracting procedure that involved eight outside service-providers. Basic services were individual, group, and family counseling. Of the Clients sampled by EJDP, 53% were between 14 and 16 and 42% had a prior arrest record.

Pomona (Pomona Valley Juvenile Diversion Project)

This project was designed to assist Clients in the communities of Claremont, San Dimas, La Verne, Walnut, Pomona, and Diamond Bar, through a referral procedure which involved 28 outside service-providing agencies. PVJDP was sponsored by the city of Pomona and was administered by a

Project Board with representatives from each participating community. Most referrals were made by schools and parents (54%), directly to the service-providing agencies. The Project provided detailed information to the referral sources regarding the nature of each service-providing agency; it also provided background and needs-assessment information regarding Clients, to the service-agencies themselves. It performed monitoring and feedback functions relative to Clients' treatment progress, as well. Activities that were provided by the outside agencies ranged from individual counseling to recreation; in fact, a very wide range of treatment approaches was represented. Of the project Clients who were sampled, 60% were between 14 and 16 and 35% had a prior arrest record.

Sacramento (Curbstone Youth Service Center)

This project was designed to provide in-depth counseling and treatment to selected youths. It was sponsored by the County of Sacramento and operated by the Stanford Settlement, a family service agency. Its largest single referral source (27%) was Probation.¹⁰ There were two categories of Clients: Dayroom Clients ("Walk-Ins") and Treatment Clients ("Referrals"). Basic program elements included individual counseling, dayroom counseling, family counseling, and group counseling; other services were tutoring and recreation. Of the Clients sampled, 64% were in the Dayroom group and 36% were in the Treatment group. Of the Dayroom group, 56% were between ages 14 and 17 and 23% had a prior arrest record. Of the Treatment group, 76% were between 14 and 17 and 68% had a prior arrest record. (The 14 through 16 age-range was not used in the present statistical breakdown.)

¹⁰This refers to the Treatment group only (see text). For all Clients combined, the largest referral source (64%) was *self* (see "Walk-Ins").

Yreka (Siskiyou County Juvenile Diversion Project)

This project was designed to serve youths classified as 601 cases, especially runaways or minors beyond parental control. It operated under the Siskiyou County Probation Department and its largest single source of referrals (80%) was Law Enforcement. SCJDP's policy was to divert youths by providing intensive crisis counseling to minors and/or their parents, at the earliest point of contact. Other activities included individual, group, and family counseling. Of the Clients sampled, 61% were between 14 and 16 and 19% had a prior arrest record.

Description of Clients

Number of Clients served

As shown in Table 1, the 15 diversion projects served 6,127 Clients during their 1974 or 1975 OCJP funding year. This was an average of 408 Clients per project, per year. Five projects (33%) served fewer than 250 Clients during their funding year, and four (27%) served more than 550. These figures include all youths who "showed up" at the project, whether referred from a justice system or nonjustice system source.

Of the 6,128 Clients, 70% were referred by justice system sources-- that is, Law Enforcement and Probation. The remaining 30% were mostly referred by schools, parents, or self. In 11 of the 15 projects, the percentage of justice system referrals was between 50 and 90; in only three projects was it 35% or less.¹¹

¹¹In Table 1, percentage of referrals relates to all individuals who were serviced by the diversion project during its (Continued on pg. 32).

TABLE 1: Number of Clients Served and Percentage of Justice System Referrals in Phase 2 Projects^a

Project	No. of Clients Served ^b	% of Justice System Referrals
1. Compton	402	35
2. El Centro	571	72
3. Fremont	384	84
4. Fresno	806	84
5. Irvine	455	80
6. La Colonia	196	51
7. Mendo/Lake	250	25
8. Simi Valley	225	52
9. Stockton	425	90
10. Vacaville	225	79
11. Vallejo	788	83
12. Duarte	551	83
13. Pomona	385	45
14. Sacramento	224	14
15. Yreka	240	80
Total	6,127	Weighted Avg. 70

^aDuring 1974 or 1975 OCJP funding year.

^bFrom all referral sources.

There was a positive relationship between the number of Clients served by a project and the percentage of referrals who were sent to that project from justice system sources: In general, projects that served more Clients had a higher percentage of those individuals referred from justice system sources ($\rho = .56; p < .05$). Similarly, projects that were operated by justice system agencies served an average of 463 Clients during their particular funding year; those operated by nonjustice system agencies served an average of 256.

Client characteristics

Clients will now be described with respect to age, sex, ethnicity, number of prior arrests, type of instant arrest, and source of referral. This description pertains to 2,132 justice system Clients from the 15 projects combined. This figure includes all individuals whom EJDP was able to follow up for at least six months, from point of instant arrest.¹²

Age. As shown in Table 2, the typical Client was 15 years old at point of referral; the majority (58%) were between 14 and 16. Nearly 20% were under 14, and approximately 1 out of 4 was 17 or over. Looking at projects individually, youths under 14 or over 16 were by no means rare; however, youths under 14 seldom accounted for more than 30% of all

¹¹(Continued from previous page) 1974 or 1975 OCJP funding year. It does not refer to the smaller group of justice system Clients (from among the 6,128 justice plus nonjustice system Clients) whom EJDP researchers were able to follow up for six months. (See pp. 75-78 for further details.)

¹²It represents approximately half of all justice system Clients who were serviced by these projects during their 1974 or 1975 OCJP funding year. See Chapter 6, pp. 75-78, and Chapter 8, n. 10, for related details. Also see p. 30 regarding "source of referral".

TABLE 2: Age and Sex of Clients in Phase 2 Sample, by Percent

Project	Age			Sex	
	Under 14	14-16	17 & Up	Male	Female
1. Compton	32	68	0	53	47
2. El Centro	18	50	32	62	38
3. Fremont	22	62	16	78	22
4. Fresno	14	68	18	42	58
5. Irvine	30	59	11	49	51
6. La Colonia	18	53	30	68	32
7. Mendo/Lake	11	56	33	61	39
8. Simi Valley	10	56	34	49	51
9. Stockton	4	69	27	39	61
10. Vacaville	14	64	22	81	19
11. Vallejo	35	39	25	73	27
12. Duarte	22	53	24	66	34
13. Pomona	15	60	25	66	34
14. Sacramento	18	41	40	61	39
15. Yreka	11	61	28	48	52
Average	19	58	23	58	42

Clients. This was also true, but to a lesser extent, for individuals over 16.

Sex. Approximately three-fifths (58%) of all Clients were males. However, most projects had a sizable representation of females; in fact, only three were comprised of fewer than 30% females. In five projects, females comprised the majority.

Ethnicity. As shown in Table 3, more than half (57%) of all Clients were Anglo. About one-fourth were Mexican-American and one-tenth were Black. The remainder (11%) were comprised of "Other" (Native-American, Asian, etc.) and "Unknown". Most "Unknowns" were accounted for by projects that chose not to report the ethnicity of their Clients.

There was considerable variation across projects with respect to ethnic composition. For instance, four projects had more than 80% Anglos and three, possibly four, had 11% or less. Similarly, five projects had 30% or more Mexican-Americans whereas at least seven had 5% or less. Finally, one project had more than 80% Blacks and at least 10 had 5% or less. Thus, in almost two-thirds of the projects, one particular ethnic group was predominant. Often, this predominance was rather striking--for example, 80% or more for the dominant group as compared to 20% or less for all remaining groups combined. In general, these percentages reflected the ethnic composition of communities in which the projects were located.

TABLE 3: Ethnicity of Clients in Phase 2 Sample, by Percent

Project	Ethnicity				
	Anglo	Mex-Amer.	Black	Other	Unknown
1. Compton	11	5	84	0	0
2. El Centro	43	54	3	0	1
3. Fremont	0	0	0	0	100
4. Fresno	65	26	6	3	0
5. Irvine	89	6	0	1	5
6. La Colonia	0	95	0	0	5
7. Mendo/Lake	83	3	0	14	0
8. Simi Valley	2	2	0	12	83
9. Stockton	48	30	17	6	0
10. Vacaville	91	5	3	2	0
11. Vallejo	56	1	40	3	0
12. Duarte	65	32	3	0	0
13. Pomona	48	24	22	1	6
14. Sacramento	41	51	2	6	0
15. Yreka	85	2	0	11	1
Average	57	23	9	2	9

Number of prior arrests. Before proceeding, two points might be noted. (1) "Prior arrests" refer to those which occurred before an individual's referral to the diversion project. In the vast majority of cases, referral was based on a specific offense known as the "instant offense" or "instant arrest". Prior arrests were those which preceded the instant arrest--or, in any event, the individual's referral or self referral to the project. (2) "Law arrests" refer to illegal behavior for which adults and juveniles have been charged, and may have been detained. Included are theft, burglary, assault, use of narcotics, etc. "Status offenses" or "status arrests" refer to behavior for which only juveniles can be charged and detained, e.g., runaway, incorrigibility, and truancy. "Dependency and neglect" contacts are excluded from our analyses.

For all projects combined, the number of prior arrests was 0.62 (0.40 law arrests; 0.22 status arrests). However, as seen in Table 4, a clear majority of youths (71%) had no prior arrests and a large majority (85%) had no more than one arrest. Relatively few individuals (15%) had two or more arrests.

In five of the 15 projects at least 80% of all youths had no prior arrests. In all but two projects this applied to at least 50% of the youths as well. In only two projects--La Colonia and Compton--did more than 30% have two or more "priors". Thus, generally speaking, the present youths were not heavily involved in delinquency, at least by most standards.

TABLE 4: Prior Arrests of Clients in Phase 2 Sample, by Percent

Project	Prior Arrests		
	0 Arrests	1 Arrest	2 or More Arrests
1. Compton	11	42	47
2. El Centro	91	7	2
3. Fremont	74	19	7
4. Fresno	59	24	17
5. Irvine	83	14	3
6. La Colonia	33	10	57
7. Mendo/Lake	69	17	14
8. Simi Valley	80	15	5
9. Stockton	63	19	18
10. Vacaville	84	8	8
11. Vallejo	71	20	9
12. Duarte	57	14	28
13. Pomona	65	18	17
14. Sacramento	62	15	23
15. Yreka	80	13	6
Average	71	14	15

Type of instant arrest. As shown in Table 5, for all projects combined, 50% of the arrests which immediately preceded referral--i.e., instant arrests--involved "602" offenses (law arrests) and 49% involved "601" offenses (status arrests). However, there was considerable variation from one project to the next. For instance, in three projects at least 98% of the "instants" related to law arrests alone; yet in four others the figure was below 25%. Moreover, the percentage of instant law arrests fell between 40 and 60 in no more than three of the 15 projects. Thus, although law and status arrests were evenly divided for all projects combined, each individual project was likely to be characterized by a clear majority of either law or status arrests.

Source of referral. As seen in Table 6, for all projects combined the largest single source of referral was Law Enforcement (49%). Probation was a not-too-distant second (34%). "Other" sources--self, parents, and school--accounted for the remaining 17%.¹³

As with instant arrests, the variation among projects was great. For example, in six projects more than 90% of all referrals were from Law Enforcement. On the other hand, in four projects more than 90% were from Probation. Finally, in one project (Sacramento), 86% were nonjustice system referrals. Thus, in any one project, a single referral source

¹³This 17% was distributed as follows: self and parents - 8%, school - 6%; other (e.g., friends, physicians, public or private agency) - 3%. These "Other" sources related almost entirely to three of the four projects that were excluded from the 6-months recidivism analysis because no Comparison cases (controls) could be obtained for their Clients. (See Chapter 6.)

TABLE 5: Instant Arrest of Clients in Phase 2 Sample, by Percent

Project	Instant Arrest		
	Law Arrests	Status Arrests	Unknown
1. Compton	21	79	0
2. El Centro	71	29	0
3. Fremont	100	0	0
4. Fresno	3	97	0
5. Irvine	54	45	1
6. La Colonia	70	30	0
7. Mendo/Lake	33	67	0
8. Simi Valley	29	63	7
9. Stockton	20	80	0
10. Vacaville	98	2	0
11. Vallejo	100	0	0
12. Duarte	70	28	2
13. Pomona	50	49	1
14. Sacramento	41	58	1
15. Yreka	9	91	0
Average	50	49	1

TABLE 6: Referral Source of Clients in Phase 2 Sample, by Percent

Project	Referral Source			
	Law Enforcement ^a	Probation	Other ^b	Unknown
1. Compton	100	0	0	0
2. El Centro	1	96	3	0
3. Fremont	100	0	0	0
4. Fresno	0	100	0	0
5. Irvine	100	0	0	0
6. La Colonia	0	100	0	0
7. Mendo/Lake	0	81	19	0
8. Simi Valley	100	0	0	0
9. Stockton	0	100	0	0
10. Vacaville	97	0	0	3
11. Vallejo	92	1	2	5
12. Duarte	78	22	0	0
13. Pomona	31	16	54	0
14. Sacramento	5	9	86	0
15. Yreka	80	2	17	0
Average	49	34	17	0

^aAlmost exclusively Police and Sheriff. (See n. 3.)

^bSelf + Parent + School referrals.

was very likely to predominate. (See pp. 78-79 and Appendix I for related details.)

Justice system versus nonjustice system referrals

The preceding information focused essentially on justice system referrals (Clients). But, were these individuals comparable to those referred from *nonjustice* system sources?¹⁴ Specifically, in what respects were justice system (JS) and nonjustice system Clients similar to, and different from, one another? To address this question EJDPC compared a random sample of 379 JS clients with a random sample of 250 non JS Clients.¹⁵ Results were as follows.

JS Clients were older than non JS Clients: 15.2 years versus 14.4. However, the two groups were quite similar on sex as well as ethnicity: 58% versus 54% males, respectively, and 56% versus 61% Anglos. They were, perhaps predictably, markedly different with respect to instant offense. Among JS Clients 57% were referred in connection with a law arrest and 43% for a status offense; among non JS Clients the figures were 4% and 96%, respectively. No information was available regarding the number of prior arrests on the part of non JS Clients.

¹⁴Nonjustice system Clients were referred to diversion either by self, parents, school, or other sources. None were referred from Law Enforcement or Probation.

¹⁵The former group is described on pp. 86-87. The latter consisted of 25 individuals from each of 10 projects--specifically, 10 of the 11 that were analyzed in the 6-months recidivism followup (Chapter 6). The eleventh project (Irvine) was excluded because it (Continued on next page)

In sum, two rather clear differences appeared between these groups relative to the four variables on which they were compared. Despite the limited scope of this analysis, these findings alone suggest that one should be rather cautious about generalizing from justice system Clients to nonjustice system Clients.

Focus and Scope of Subsequent Chapters

The remainder of this report will focus on the three main questions of Phase 2: (1) To what extent does the project divert its Clients from the traditional justice system? (2) To what extent does the project reduce subsequent delinquency on the part of its Clients? (3) What does the project cost? These questions will be addressed in Chapters 4, 6, and 10, respectively. Other chapters will involve elaborations and offshoots of the first two questions. For example: What types of youth were most and least likely to be diverted? What policies were followed regarding the coercion of youths, and regarding youth involvement in decision-making? Did certain types of youth perform better than others in terms of subsequent arrest? How often were various program elements used, and were some more successful than others? What approaches were used in projects that reduced recidivism?

These "secondary" yet important questions were addressed by means of substudies and supplementary analyses only: given EJDPC's basic mandate,

¹⁵(Continued from preceding page) contained justice system referrals alone. For the present analysis, all information was derived from the YDF-1.

overall design, and available resources, it was not possible to deal with them on a top priority basis.¹⁶ Largely for these reasons, the substudies and analyses were generally restricted in scope and somewhat limited methodologically. Nevertheless, they provided at least the beginnings of answers to questions which would not otherwise have been addressed.

¹⁶Moreover, in some cases these questions had not been completely formulated prior to EJDP's gearing-up for the present report.

Chapter 4

AMOUNT OF DIVERSION

As indicated in Chapter 2, the goal of Phase 2 was to answer three questions regarding the 15 diversion projects:

1. How many Clients were diverted?
2. Was recidivism reduced?
3. How much does the project cost?

Question 1 will be taken up in the present chapter. Questions 2 and 3 will be focused on in Chapters 6-8 and Chapter 10, respectively.

Concepts

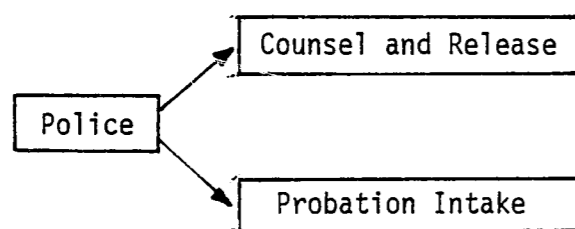
For purposes of illustration, say that 100 youths are referred to a diversion project--50 by the Police, 30 by Probation intake, and 20 by "Other" sources.¹ What would have happened to these youths if the diversion project had not existed? Would the 50 Police referrals have been sent to Probation, or would most of them have been counseled and released? Would the 30 Probation referrals have been petitioned to Court, or would most of them have been dismissed after intake? Would the 20 Other referrals have been sent to Probation intake or would they have been referred to a non-justice system agency instead--for example, a mental health clinic? These questions suggest that youths referred to a diversion project would not necessarily have been processed within the justice system in connection with their arrest or behavior, if the diversion project had not existed.

¹In this chapter, "Other" sources will mostly refer to the following: self (youths), parents, or school. Also included will be: friends, physicians, public or private agencies, etc.

To answer the question, "How many youths were diverted from initial or further processing within the justice system, given the fact that the project did exist?" one must not only distinguish between diversion and non-diversion cases, one must make certain distinctions within each of these categories.² Before presenting these distinctions, three points should be kept in mind with regard to any arrest or alleged misbehavior for which a youth is referred to the traditional justice system:

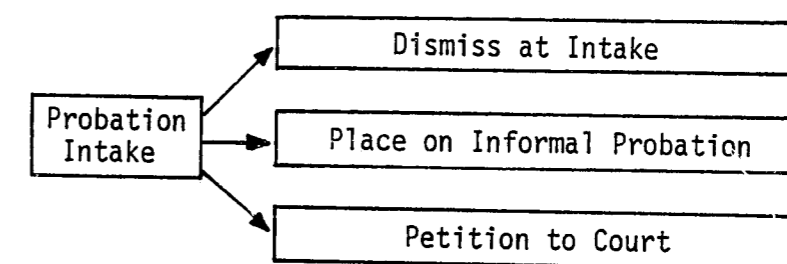
(1) Basically, a *Police* department may decide to either counsel and release a youth or send him to Probation intake. The former decision does not result in further processing within the justice system; however, the latter does. These alternatives are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Alternative Dispositions by Police



(2) Basically, *Probation* intake may decide to (a) dismiss a youth, (b) place him on informal probation, or (c) petition him to Court. The first decision does not result in further processing within the justice system; the latter decisions do. These alternatives are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Alternative Dispositions by Probation Intake



(3) As indicated on pp. 13-14, and as implied above, all youths who were referred to a diversion project did not necessarily meet EJD's definition of a diversion case. For example, youths referred to a diversion project by the Police--who would have been *counseled and released* had the project not existed--were not considered diversion cases: they would not have received further processing within the justice system if the diversion project had not existed or was not available. In short, they would not have been sent to Probation. They would have been terminated--released from the system--instead.

However, youths referred to a diversion project--also by Police--in lieu of being sent to *Probation*, were considered diversion cases. This is because they were in fact diverted from further processing within the justice system: without the diversion project they would not have simply been counseled and released--that is, terminated from the system. The same principle applied to youths who were referred to a diversion project by Probation intake in lieu of being placed on informal Probation or petitioned to Court.

At this point, we can more meaningfully specify the distinctions that were referred to above. Basically, these distinctions refer to certain commonly observed diversion and non-diversion situations:

²The distinction between diversion and non-diversion cases centers around the concept of initial or further processing within the justice system. See pp. 13-14 regarding this definition.

Diversion situations. There were three main diversion situations (youths who fall within any of the following categories did satisfy EJDJ's definition of diversion):

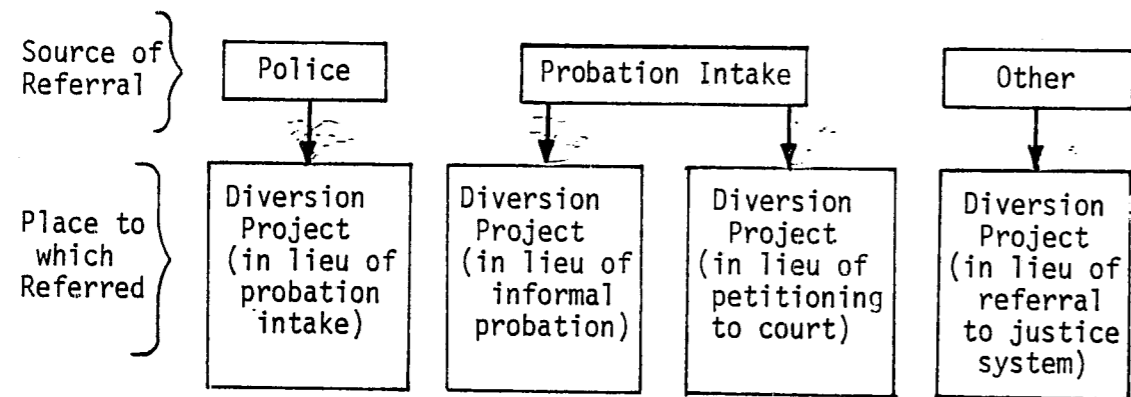
- (1) Police diversion, in lieu of Probation intake;
- (2) Probation diversion, in lieu of informal probation;
- (3) Probation diversion, in lieu of petitioning to Court.

Cases that fall within any of these categories are diversion referrals from within the justice system. A fourth situation involves referrals from *outside* the justice system:

(4) Other diversion (e.g., from school), in lieu of justice system processing. Here, individuals *would* have been referred to the justice system if the diversion project had not existed. This situation was probably quite uncommon, at least when compared to those mentioned above.

The four diversion situations are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Diversion Situations

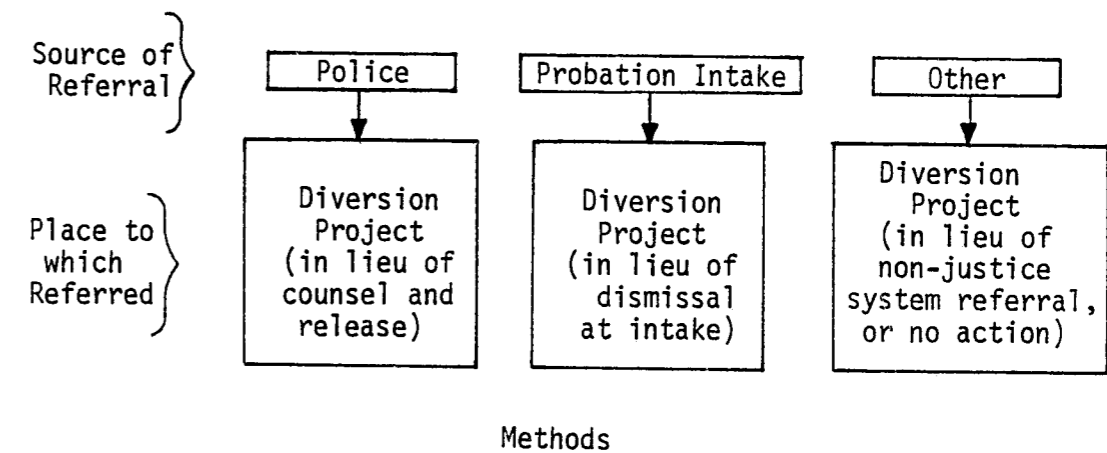


Non-Diversion situations. There were three main non-diversion situations (youths who fall within any of the following categories did not satisfy EJDJ's definition of diversion):

- (1) Police diversion, in lieu of counsel and release;
- (2) Probation diversion, in lieu of dismissal at intake;
- (3) Other diversion, *not* in lieu of justice system processing.

Cases that comprised the third category were non-diversion referrals from outside the system. The three situations are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Non-Diversion Situations



The following is a detailed account of the rationale and procedures that were used to help answer the question, "How many youths were diverted from initial or further processing within the justice system?" Rather than review these somewhat technical points, the reader may wish to skip directly to the main findings (p. 53).

One approach to the question, "How many youths were diverted?" would be to ask each decision maker--e.g., police detective--what he would have done with each "Client" if the diversion project had not existed.³ Would

³It will be recalled that "Clients" are youths who (a) "showed up" at, and were served by, a diversion project, after having been (b) referred from any source and for any reason.

he have counseled and released the Client, or would he have sent him to Probation? In effect, would he or wouldn't he have released the Client from the justice system?

This approach has the advantage of directness. However, the answers it would elicit might be of questionable validity--especially, but not exclusively, if the respondent had already made his decision to send, or not send, the youth to diversion. In short, his answers may or may not reflect the decision he would have made if (a) he had been asked that same question *prior* to making his decision, and (b) his answer--namely, "counsel and release" or "refer to Probation"--represented a decision he would actually have to *carry out* if the diversion program did *not* exist, or was not available.⁴

Rather than ask decision makers what they might have done with already-referred Clients, EJDP decided to find out what they *did* in fact do with youths who were similar to those Clients. This decision was implemented in two main steps. First, for each of nine diversion projects, EJDP identified a group of "pre-project" cases ("Comparisons") who were matched with the Clients on such variables as age, sex, and ethnicity.⁵

⁴For practical reasons, EJDP could not ask decision makers this question prior to the latters' having made the above decision regarding individual cases. Even if EJDP had been able to do so, decision makers would have answered with the knowledge that the diversion project nevertheless did exist, and that it could be used regardless of their answer.

⁵In four of the 15 Phase 2 projects it was not possible to identify a group of matched Comparisons. The reason for this was different in each project: availability of relatively few justice system referrals; uncertainty regarding the eligibility criteria that were used in selecting Clients; difficulty in obtaining access to official records; etc. In two of the 11 *remaining* projects, it was not possible to obtain a clear picture of the dispositions in question. (See text, below, regarding these dispositions.) This left EJDP with nine projects, relative to the present task. In most respects, these seemed reasonably representative of the 15 projects as a whole.

(Comparisons are discussed in Chapter 6.) With few exceptions, pre-project cases (a) had been arrested at some point during the year prior to implementation of the diversion project, and (b) would have satisfied the same eligibility criteria that were subsequently used by decision makers when referring actual Clients to the diversion project.⁶

Next, EJDP determined which disposition had in fact been made on each pre-project case. That is, research staff inspected actual Police, Probation, and/or central juvenile index records and determined if the pre-project youth had been counseled and released, referred to Probation intake, dismissed at Probation intake, placed on informal probation, or petitioned to court following his or her first (or only) arrest during the year in question.

Given the similarity between Clients and this pre-project baseline group with respect to the above-mentioned matching variables and eligibility criteria, EJDP then made the following assumption. Decision makers who were responsible for the above dispositions--relative to pre-project cases--would have made essentially the same dispositions in the case of *Clients*. Thus, if decision-makers had counseled and released 60% of the baseline group, and had referred the remaining 40% to Probation, EJDP assumed they would have made essentially the same 60/40 dispositions with respect to Clients themselves.

Before proceeding, the following should be clarified. As mentioned above, all pre-project youths were justice system referrals who had been arrested at least once. However, not all *Clients* were justice system

⁶Two of the nine projects used random assignment to either diversion or traditional justice system processing. In these instances, "Comparisons" were not *pre-project* cases, strictly speaking.

referrals; as a result, not all had been arrested.⁷ Since EJDP was not able to locate⁸ comparable cases for this particular group--that is, for Clients who were referred from *non-justice* system sources--EJDP made the following assumption. A large majority of these individuals would not have (a) been referred to the justice system if the diversion project had not existed, and would not have (b) ended up with an arrest disposition in connection with that referral. While this assumption may be questioned, EJDP regarded it as reasonable.

In sum, EJDP decided to take a conservative approach and handle such individuals as non-diversion cases. Again, this was done not only because there was no way to clearly estimate how many of these youths would have been referred to, and processed by, the justice system, but because EJDP did not want to run the risk of substantially overestimating the percentage of youths who had been diverted. For these reasons, all such Clients were included under "disposition #0" ("no justice system disposition") in the steps and calculations described below.

In order to determine how many youths were diverted from the justice system, EJDP first had to estimate the number of Clients who would have received each of the following dispositions if the diversion project had not existed:

- #0 No justice system disposition (non-diversion case)
- #1 Counsel and release (non-diversion case)

⁷As indicated, some Clients were self-referrals and others were referred by parents or schools. As seen in Chapter 3, 30% of all diversion Clients were non-justice system referrals.

⁸Within Police and Probation files, and among central juvenile index records.

- #2 Refer to Probation intake (diversion case)⁹
- #3 Refer to Probation intake (non-diversion case)¹⁰
- #4 Place on informal supervision (diversion case)
- #5 Petition to Court (diversion case)

Using these dispositions, the specific estimate was derived as follows. First, EJDP assigned all non-justice system referrals to disposition #0. Next, separately for each project, we multiplied (a) the actual *number* of justice system referrals to the given project by (b) the observed *proportion* of *pre-project* cases who were found to have dispositions #1 through #5. The numbers that resulted from this procedure represented--for each project--the number of *Clients* who, hypothetically, would have received each of the five justice system dispositions.

After deriving these estimated dispositions we summed the numbers of Clients across all nine projects, for each of the above dispositions. (See Appendix C.) That is, we first added up all Clients who, hypothetically, would have received disposition #1, and then repeated the process for Clients with dispositions #2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Based on the resulting totals, we computed the percentage of Clients who, hypothetically, would have received each disposition. These numbers and percentages will now be reviewed.

⁹This category relates to Law Enforcement referrals who would have been processed through Probation intake only, and then dismissed.

¹⁰This category relates to probationers who had already been through Probation intake and would have been dismissed in connection with their instant arrest.

Results

As seen in Table 7, 3,870 Clients would have received dispositions #0 through #5, collectively.¹¹ This includes all justice and non-justice system referrals from the nine diversion projects combined. Of these Clients, 2,791 (72%) were justice system referrals--youths who received dispositions #1 through #5. Of these referrals, 1,983 had been diverted from further processing within the justice system (dispositions #2, 4, or 5). In short, of all *justice system* referrals, 71% (1,983/2,791) were "true" diversion cases according to EJD's definition.¹² Youths who were diversion cases, by this definition, comprised 51% (1,983/3,870) of all *Clients*--that is, justice and non-justice system referrals combined.

Thus, approximately half (51%) of all Clients who were served by the present projects can be presumed to have been diverted from initial or further processing within the justice system. That is, if the diversion projects had not existed these individuals would have been sent to Probation by the Police, placed on informal probation, or petitioned to Court. Of these three groups--diverted individuals--the largest (60% of 1,983) was comprised of youths who would have been sent to *Probation intake by the Police* (disposition #2). Individuals who would have been placed on informal probation comprised 14% of all diverted cases; and, youths who would have been petitioned to Court comprised the remaining 26%.

¹¹This number corresponds to the total of all Clients shown in Table 7, for the nine projects listed in Appendix C.

¹²The remaining 29% (808/2,791) received disposition #1 or #3.

TABLE 7: Estimated Number and Percent of Clients with Specified Dispositions

Disposition	Type of Disposition ^a	No. of Clients	% of Clients
#0	No justice system disposition	1,079	28
#1	Counsel & release	543	14
#2	Refer to probation intake	1,193	31
#3	Dismissed at probation	265	7
#4	Informal probation	279	7
#5	Petition to court	511	13
		Total 3,870	100

^aDiverted cases = disposition #2, 4, and 5. Non-diverted cases = disposition #0, 1, and 3.

Looking at these figures "the other way around", almost half (49%) the Clients¹³ who were handled by the present projects would *not* have been processed within the justice system. These youths--dispositions #0, 1, and 3--received services that they would not have received if the projects had not existed. Of these three groups, the largest (57% of 1,887) was comprised of *non-justice system referrals*, that is, youths who came to the project via a school-, parent-, or self-referral. The second largest (29% of 1,887) consisted of youths who would have been counseled

¹³That is, 1,887 justice and non-justice system Clients combined.

and released by the Police. The remaining group (14% of 1,887) would have been dismissed at Probation intake if the diversion project had not existed. These two groups of *justice system referrals* comprised 21% (808/3,870) of all Clients served.

The implications of these findings will be discussed in Chapter 12.

Chapter 5

DIVERSION POLICIES

Before turning to the second major question of Phase 2 we will briefly address four issues that relate to diversion policies, coercion, and Client involvement in decision-making:

1. Are certain kinds of youth likely to be diverted rather than counseled and released or petitioned?
2. Is there a relation between instant arrest and disposition?
3. Is there a relation between social-psychological adjustment and disposition?
4. What are the policies of Law Enforcement, Probation, and diversion projects concerning coercion and Client involvement in decision-making?

Our findings must be considered tentative because of the limited type and amount of information on which they were based. Nevertheless, since a number of clear trends were obtained, the findings are suggestive and worthy of further exploration.

Methods

Information used to address the above issues was gathered from Police, Sheriff, and Probation Departments that worked with three of EJD's Phase 2 projects: Compton Area Juvenile Diversion; Mid-Valley Juvenile Delinquency Prevention; Pomona Valley Juvenile Diversion. These were the only Phase 2 projects that served Clients via a subcontracting arrangement with outside service-providers. In this respect, they were not representative

of Phase 2 projects as a whole. However, in other respects (Clients' age, sex, etc.), they were representative.

Information used in this analysis was obtained through pretested instruments. These were developed in 1976 by Dr. James Bull, a consultant to EJDP. Two of the instruments--structured questionnaires--were designed to measure diversion policies and impact with respect to issues that have been described elsewhere.¹ They focused, for example, on "risks" that are taken by agency staff who must, or may, decide to either divert, petition, or counsel and release offenders. They also focused on "the degree to which diverters delegate *control* of referred cases to service-providing agencies", and on coercion-of-Clients versus delegation-of-control to Clients. These instruments--the Detective Questionnaire and Diversion Coordinator Questionnaire--are presented in Appendices D and E.

Both questionnaires were sent to the above-mentioned departments and to the three diversion projects. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a Case Summaries form that contained a brief description of 20 hypothetical juvenile offenders (Appendix F). Each potential respondent (e.g., detectives or diversion coordinators) was asked to indicate whether--based on the description--he or she would divert, petition, or counsel and release each offender. As seen in Appendix F, more than 75% of the hypothetical offenders had been arrested for offenses or alleged offenses such as shoplifting, smoking marijuana, drunkenness, possession of stolen property, or burglary. None were arrested for offenses that are ordinarily

¹Bull, J. A conceptual model for juvenile diversion. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, Division of Research. 1977. (mimeographed)

considered extremely serious or violent, for instance, robbery, rape, and assault with a deadly weapon.

All information relating to the Case Summaries and Questionnaires was gathered and analyzed by EJDP. Because of limited resources it was necessary to *mail* these instruments to the above departments and diversion projects. All departments and projects received identical instruments.²

As seen in Table 8, the preponderance of respondents were from Law Enforcement agencies; relatively few were from Probation. Although 41 summaries and 44 Questionnaires were returned, the percentage of Case Summaries, Detective Questionnaires, and Coordinator Questionnaires that were returned was only moderate: 60%, 57%, and 44%, respectively. In light of this, we might think of the response to these instruments as being, in general, moderately representative of that which would have been obtained if *all* potential respondents had completed and returned the instruments. This conservative approach to the interpretation of the available data is apropos even though the degree of representativeness is in fact unknown, and not necessarily "moderate".³

²These instruments were mailed to all individuals whose names were provided by Dr. Bull, subsequent to his extensive contacts with the departments and projects. All persons who carried out specified diversion functions were included by Dr. Bull; no selection was involved.

³The moderate return rate may have been due to the substantial time-investment that was required to complete these instruments. In this connection it might be noted that most instruments were returned approximately three or four months after they had originally been mailed.

TABLE 8: Case Summaries and Questionnaires Sent by and Returned to EJDJ

Instrument and Agency	Number Sent By EJDJ	Number Returned to EJDJ	Percent Returned
Case Summaries			
Police	17	13	76
Sheriff	36	17	47
Probation	3	3	100
Diversion	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>67</u>
Total	68	41	60
Detective Questionnaires			
Police	17	12	71
Sheriff	36	17	47
Probation	3	3	100
Diversion	<u>--^a</u>	<u>--^a</u>	<u>--^a</u>
Total	56	32	57
Coordinator Questionnaires			
Police	3	3	100
Sheriff	12	1	8
Probation	0	0	--
Diversion	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>67</u>
Total	27	12	44

^aNot applicable.

Results

Disposition. Our first question was as follows: Were potential referral sources more likely to *petition, divert, or counsel and release* youths who were described in the Case Summaries? As seen in Table 9,

TABLE 9: Percent of Dispositions by Responding Agency or Project

Disposition	Agency or Project			Total ^d
	Police + Sheriff ^a	Probation ^b	Diversion ^c	
	%	%	%	%
Counsel & Release	21	27	22	20
Divert	50	37	64	52
Petition	30	36	12	27
Other	0	0	2	1
Total	101	100	100	100

^aN = 30. ^bN = 3. ^cN = 8. ^dN = 41.

diversion was the most common choice. For example, Law Enforcement personnel (Police and Sheriff) indicated a preference for diverting 50% of these youths. They were willing to counsel and release approximately 20%, and preferred to petition the remaining 30%. Compared to Law Enforcement, Probation staff chose to divert a somewhat lower percentage of individuals--37%--and to counsel and release, as well as petition, a slightly higher percentage--27% and 36%, respectively. Diversion project staff chose to divert the highest percentage of all--64%. Conversely, they chose to petition the lowest percentage--12%. In the case of all three agencies taken individually, *diversion* was thus the most commonly selected disposition.

Combining all agencies, the percentage of youths who would have been diverted, counseled and released, and petitioned was 52%, 20%, and 27%, respectively. Clearly, diversion was considered a viable alternative

for these individuals. It was two-and-one-half times more common than counsel and release, and almost twice as common as petitioning.

Instant arrest. Our next question was: Is there a relation between instant arrest and type of disposition? For example, are certain categories of arrest more likely to result in a petition, as compared to diversion or counsel and release? To answer this we focused on offense-severity. Specifically, we divided the 20 hypothetical cases into two categories: those with higher-severity arrests and those with lower-severity arrests. We then tabulated the dispositions that were associated with each of these categories. (See Appendix G for technical details regarding this and subsequent analyses.) As seen in Table 10, the results of this analysis are as follows:

For all agencies and projects combined,⁴ *lower-severity* arrests were rarely petitioned (5%); they were far more likely to be diverted or counseled and released (49% and 46%, respectively). On the other hand, *higher severity* arrests were far more likely to be petitioned or diverted (42% and 54%), and only rarely counseled and released (4%). Essentially the same pattern was observed for Law Enforcement, Probation, and diversion, taken separately. In sum, there was a strong relationship between severity of instant arrest and type of disposition received. This relationship was in the direction one would expect.

Adjustment. Next we asked if there was a relation between the youth's social-psychological adjustment and type of disposition? Again, we divided

⁴ Law Enforcement + Probation + diversion.

TABLE 10: Percent of Dispositions by Severity of Instant Arrest

Disposition	Severity of Instant Arrest						Total	
	Police & Sheriff		Probation		Diversion			
	Lower	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	Higher
Counsel & Release	45	3	67	0	42	8	46	4
Divert	51	50	21	49	53	71	49	54
Petition	4	47	13	51	3	19	5	42
Other	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
Total	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 11: Percent of Dispositions by Social-Psychological Adjustment of Client

Disposition	Level of Social-Psychological Adjustment						Total	
	Police & Sheriff		Probation		Diversion			
	Better	Poorer	Better	Poorer	Better	Poorer	Better	Poorer
Counsel & Release	46	3	63	8	45	6	47	4
Divert	46	53	25	42	50	73	45	56
Petition	8	45	13	50	2	20	7	40
Other	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Total	100	101	101	100	100	100	99	100

the 20 hypothetical cases into two categories: better adjustment and poorer adjustment. We then tabulated the dispositions that were associated with each category. Results are shown in Table 11 (p.62).

For all agencies and projects combined, *better adjusted* youths were seldom petitioned (7%). They were far more likely to be diverted or counseled and released (45% and 47%). On the other hand, *poorer adjusted* youths were far more likely to be petitioned or diverted (40% and 56%); only rarely were they counseled and released (4%). Essentially the same pattern was observed for Law Enforcement, Probation, and diversion taken separately. Thus, there was a strong relationship between level of social-psychological adjustment and type of disposition received. In fact, the results were almost identical to those for severity of instant arrest.

Arrest and adjustment combined. Finally, we combined severity-of-instant-arrest and social-psychological adjustment to see if an even stronger relationship would be obtained with type of disposition received--that is, stronger than in the case of either factor alone. As seen in Table 12, our hypothesis that the relationship would be stronger was largely confirmed:

For all agencies and projects combined, better adjusted youths who had a lower-severity instant arrest were rarely petitioned (3%). They were far more likely to be counseled and released (58%) or diverted (39%). On the other hand, poorer adjusted youths who had a higher-severity instant arrest were likely to be either petitioned or diverted (46% and 51%), and only rarely counseled and released (2%). Once again, an almost identical pattern was observed for Law Enforcement, Probation, and diversion, taken separately.

TABLE 12: Percent of Dispositions by Severity of Instant Arrest and Social-Psychological Adjustment Combined

Disposition	Instant Arrest and Social-Psychological Adjustment									Total		
	Police + Sheriff			Probation			Diversion					
	++	+ and -+	--	++	+ and -+	--	++	+ and -+	--	++	+ and -+	--
Counsel & Release	57	12	1	83	8	10	52	19	5	58	13	2
Divert	40	74	47	11	58	39	44	75	71	39	73	51
Petition	3	14	52	6	33	52	2	3	23	3	13	46
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	99	101	100	100	100	100	100	99

++ = Lower Severity, Better Adjustment
 +- = Mixed Severity/Mixed Adjustment
 -- = Higher Severity, Poorer Adjustment

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The findings which related to instant arrest received partial and indirect support from the Detective Questionnaire. There, the following question was asked:

"Which of the following kinds of cases would normally be eligible for diversion from your unit? (Check one or more)"

Items which the detectives could have checked--i.e., selected--are shown in Table 13, together with the findings themselves.⁵ These findings were as follows:

The most commonly selected diversion case involved a *misdemeanor* arrest: 60% of all choices fell in this category. *Within* this category, individuals with a less extensive or less severe history (e.g., "no prior arrests"; "1 or 2 prior arrests, and released") were more likely to be selected than those with a more extensive or more severe history (e.g., "3 or more priors, and released"; "prior misdemeanor conviction").

The next most commonly selected case involved a *felony* arrest: 29% of all choices fell within this category. In short, youths with a felony instant arrest were selected for diversion half as often as those with a misdemeanor arrest. Within the felony category--as within the misdemeanor category--frequency of selection was directly related to the extent or severity of offense history.

Cases least likely to be selected were those which had previously been in a diversion program: 11% of all choices belonged in this category.

Thus, cases most likely to be selected for diversion were those which involved misdemeanor arrests rather than felonies or prior experience with

⁵The support in question might have been more extensive and definitive if an identical inquiry had been made with respect to petitions as well as counsel and release. Similar consideration would apply to social-psychological adjustment.

TABLE 13: Types of Cases Selected by Detectives for Diversion

Instant Arrest and History	Percent of Responses
Misdemeanor Arrest	
With no prior arrests	21
With 1 or 2 prior arrests, and released	21
With 3 or more priors, and released	10
With prior misdemeanor conviction	8
Subtotal	60
Felony Arrest	
With no priors	15
With 1 or more prior misdemeanors, and released	8
With prior felony arrest	4
With prior felony conviction	2
Subtotal	29
Prior Diversion Cases	
Successfully completed	10
Terminated due to lack of interest	1
Subtotal	11
Total	100

CONTINUED

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diversion. Specifically, youths most often chosen by detectives were misdemeanants with no prior arrests and misdemeanants with one or two prior arrests for which they were released rather than convicted. Individuals least likely to be selected were those with a prior felony conviction and those who had previously terminated a diversion program, or had been terminated, due to lack of interest.

It might be noted that the third most common selection related to youths who committed a *felony* but who had no prior arrests. This choice was more common than that of (a) misdemeanor instant arrest with three or more priors, but no conviction, and (b) successful completion of a previous diversion program. Moreover, it was twice as common as that of (c) misdemeanor arrest with prior misdemeanor conviction. These findings suggest that--when it comes to ruling out the possibility of diversion--the existence of a prior offense history, and a prior conviction, can sometimes be a more important consideration than the fact of a felony instant arrest *per se*.

Coercion and Client involvement

Three questions from the Diversion Coordinator instrument allowed EJDP to address the issues of coercion and Client involvement in decision-making. These questions, and their respective responses, will be taken up in turn:

First, Coordinators (respondents) were asked the following:

"For each of the 'diverted' cases indicate how you might respond in the event that the agency to which the client was referred contacted you to request that he be reminded of his obligation

to attend regularly. (Indicate a unanimous choice by writing 'all' if appropriate.)"⁶

Categories from which the respondents could choose are shown in Table 14, together with the percent-of-responses to each category: Relative to the situation that was described, Coordinators most often preferred to phone the Client and remind him of his obligation to attend the program (31% of all responses). The next most common approach was to discuss with the Client "ways in which [his or her] participation might be improved," and to do so without exerting pressure (23%). The next approach was to explore the possibility of an alternative placement (19%). The least preferred approach was that of explaining to diversion program staff--i.e., service-providers--that the Client's participation was *their* responsibility, not the Coordinator's (8%). All in all, there is no evidence that coercion--certainly strong, open, or direct coercion--was preferred by Coordinators in this particular situation. At any rate, coercion seemed to play a smaller role than that of Client involvement in decision-making.

Next, Coordinators were asked:

"How would you respond if the agency called to indicate that the same people [client, or client plus family] no longer wanted to participate in their program. Assume the referral was made one month ago. (Write 'all' if appropriate.)"

As seen in Table 15, Coordinators were most likely to approach this situation by talking with the Client in order to develop an alternate program (37% of all responses). This response does not, in itself, indicate how often coercion might enter into such an approach (assuming it enters

⁶"Diverted cases" is a reference to those youths whom the respondent would have elected to divert, from among the 20 hypothetical cases described in Appendix F.

TABLE 14: Preferred Action by Coordinator Relative to Clients Whose Attendance in Diversion Program is Irregular

Preferred Action	Percent of Responses
Call the client and remind him (or request someone else to do so)	31
Discuss ways in which the client's participation might be improved, but decline to pressure the client	23
Explore the possibility of an alternative placement	19
Call the referral agency to ask what they recommend be done in this case in the event of poor attendance ^a	11
Explain to the agency that the client's participation is their responsibility, not yours	8
All of the above	8
Total	100

^aThe "agency" or "referral agency" operates the diversion program.

TABLE 15: Preferred Action by Coordinator Relative to Clients Who No Longer Wish to Participate in Diversion Program

Preferred Action	Percent of Responses
Talk with the client in an attempt to work out an alternative program	37
Call the referral agency, asking them what action they recommend ^a	21
Talk with the client and indicate that if he fails to participate you will have to file a petition	17
Terminate the case due to lack of interest, notifying the referral agency if appropriate	17
Take action to have a petition filed	4
All of the above	4
Total	100

^aThe "referral agency" operates the diversion program.

in at all), or exactly what role it may play. The implication at least is that coercion would not play a key role in this approach, and that the Client would have an active role in the decision-making process. The second most common preference was to phone the referral agency and ask what action *they* would recommend (21%). Again, direct coercion did not seem to be involved; however, neither was direct Client participation. Coercion clearly entered the picture in connection with a preference that was tied for third: "Talk with the client and indicate that if he fails to participate you will have to file a petition" (17%). Least preferred of all was filing a petition (4%). All in all, overt or direct coercion was not a major or preferred approach in this particular situation. However, it was not entirely absent.

Finally, Coordinators were asked a question that was specific to the brokerage situation which existed with respect to the Pomona, Duarte, and Compton projects. It reflected the fact that Coordinators, during the course of their work, could almost always choose from among several service-agencies when referring a Client. The question was as follows:

"How much of a choice do you give the client in the selection of an agency?"

In response (Table 16), Coordinators indicated a strong preference for involving the Client in the decision ("invite client's opinion regarding the choice of an agency," 58%). This approach was preferred almost five times more often than that of total non-involvement ("do not allow my decision to be influenced by client's wishes," 12%).

TABLE 16: Preferred Action by Coordinator Regarding Client's Possible Choice of a Specific Diversion Program

Preferred Action	Percent of Responses
Invite client's opinions regarding the choice of an agency ^a	58
Change my own choice of agency only if client expresses an objection	20
Do not allow my decision to be influenced by client's wishes	12
Not applicable--coordinator has no choice of agency	10
Total	100

^aThe "agency" operates the diversion program.

Further information regarding coercion was obtained from a question that appeared on the Detective as well as Coordinator Questionnaire:

"Consider each case you diverted in the 'Case Summaries' questionnaire and the possible explanation of the diversion agreement listed below. [Table 17.] In the spaces below, indicate ... which cases would have received which explanations."

As seen in Table 17, Detectives *were* usually prepared to exert pressure ("if you drop out, you'll go back to court," 46%; and, "you can drop out, but then you won't get this break again," 14%). This was likely to occur during initial stages of the diversion process. Coordinators on the other hand, were much less likely to exert pressure. Their preferred approach was reflected in the following statement: "If you want to drop out, we'll try to work out something else" (62%). It might be noted that this approach

was likely to enter the picture at a somewhat later stage than in the case of Detectives.

TABLE 17: Preferred Explanation (Statement) by Detectives and Diversion Coordinators, to Client, Regarding Participation in Diversion Program

Explanation of diversion agreement (paraphrased) ^a	Percent of Preference	
	Detectives	Coordinators
If you drop out, you'll go back to court ^b	46	22
If you want to drop out, we'll try to work out something else ^c	39	62
You can drop out, but then you won't get this break again ^d	14	11
No response	0	5
Total	99	100

^aSee notes b, c, and d regarding the complete statement.

^bYou have agreed to participate in this program; if you don't [participate], you will have to go back to court.

^cIf you find you aren't benefiting from this program, we'll see if we can work out something better.

^dIf you don't attend or don't participate, you can drop out of the program, but you won't be able to get this kind of break again.

Relative to Coordinators, the following might also be noted. In response to a Yes/No item on their questionnaire, 58% of these individuals indicated that "the service-providing agency normally expect(s) (me) to exert pressure on the client in the event he fails to attend." Yet, as

suggested by Tables 14, 15, and 16, the frequency with which Coordinators preferred to exert such pressure may have been substantially lower than that which the agencies might have wished.

Degree of pressure is, in part, different than frequency-of-pressuring. Unfortunately, EJDPA did not collect information regarding the degree of pressure that (a) service-agencies might have wanted the Coordinators to exert, and (b) Coordinators felt they actually did exert. Such information is also lacking with respect to Detectives. All in all, the present data suggest there is no simple answer to the question of whether diversion is primarily coercive or non-coercive, at least from the standpoint of decision makers. It may be that differing degrees of coercion as well as Client participation are involved at differing points in the diversion process. Apart from this, it is quite possible that coercion and Client participation may often coexist, that is, may operate at essentially the same time and in relation to the very same issue.

AMOUNT OF RECIDIVISM

How well did diversion project youths perform subsequent to their instant arrest? To answer this question EJD¹P used a quasi-experimental design to compare the arrest records of these individuals (Clients) with those of a comparison group (Comparisons). This type of analysis was performed relative to all 11 projects for which it was possible to establish such a group. The specific question we asked was, "Did Clients perform better than Comparisons?"¹

Before presenting the results of this analysis it might be useful to briefly review the method that was used and to see if the Client and Comparison groups were in fact equivalent to one another for the 11 projects combined. Readers who wish to avoid the technical details that now follow may skip directly to p. 80: "Results".

¹Two points may be noted: (1) EJD¹P's recidivism analysis reflected the projects' total impact on Clients. It did not, for example, distinguish the contributions of *direct service to Clients* (e.g.: counseling; recreation) from those of *other activities*. The latter related to such areas as (a) promoting public awareness/public involvement, and (b) improving agency and/or community services (e.g.: coordinating services; providing community organization or leadership). (2) Comparison groups could not be established for the Duarte, Pomona, Sacramento, and Yreka projects. (Reasons for this difficulty are briefly mentioned in Chapter , n. . This difficulty was usually but not always independent of the fact that a sizable proportion of Clients from three of these projects consisted of nonjustice system referrals, whereas the present analysis--for practical reasons--was, in 99.9% of all cases, limited to justice system referrals alone: In one project for which a comparison group could be established--the Mendocino/Lake project--7 nonjustice system youths who were present were classified as Probation referrals.) In two projects--Irvine and Stockton--a classical experimental design was used.

Methods

Selection of Comparison groups

Comparison groups were established by EJDP, on a project-by-project basis; that is, a specific Comparison group was established to best match the Clients served by each diversion project.² This approach made it possible to assess the performance of Clients and their Comparisons in each project individually. Strict "control groups"--based on random assignment--could be established for two projects only (Irvine and Stockton). In each remaining project, the group that was used as a control, i.e., the Comparison group, consisted of youths who were similar to the Clients on variables such as age, sex, and ethnicity (see below). For the 11 projects combined, there were 1,345 Clients and 1,192 Comparisons.

Only justice system referrals were included in the assessment of Client and Comparison performance. (See n. 1 regarding one negligible exception.) No youths were included who were parent or school referrals, or were only being investigated by the Police or Probation. Thus, for all Clients and Comparisons who were included in the present analysis, an actual arrest (instant arrest) had taken place. Basically, nonjustice system referrals were excluded because it was impossible to obtain comparison cases for these individuals.

²These comparison groups are not the same as the six disposition groups which were identified earlier (Chapter 4), to provide a basis for determining the number of cases diverted.

Except for the Irvine and Stockton projects, which used classical random assignment to either Client or Comparison status, the instant arrest of each Comparison had occurred during the year that preceded the start of the given diversion project. With the possible exception of El Centro and Pomona, all Comparisons appeared to meet eligibility criteria that were used by decision makers during the following year, at which time these individuals *were* referring Clients to the diversion project.³ The use of individuals from "one year before" comprised the only practical basis on which EJDP could establish a meaningful Comparison group for the projects in question. It also allowed EJDP researchers to avoid possible confounding of inputs from the diversion projects themselves. For instance, it eliminated the possibility that any Comparisons had received treatment or intervention from the diversion project itself.

Followup procedures

The performance of Clients and Comparisons was analyzed relative to a 6-months followup period, beginning on the day of each youth's instant arrest. In this connection it might be noted that youths were generally accepted by the diversion program within 48 hours of their instant arrest; and, in all but 3 programs, Client/project contact lasted a total of four to six weeks for the vast majority of youths.

Separate analyses were made for law, status, and all arrests (law + status) combined. For each project, the arrest information on which these analyses were based was gathered from one or more of the following sources:

³These criteria are described in: Lewis, R. op. cit., p. 9.

Local Police Department; local Probation Department; Central Juvenile Index (CJI) file. This information was obtained for each individual youth-- Clients and Comparisons alike.

Relative to each project, the record search for arrest information was conducted by EJDP staff, simultaneously (or, over a two-to-four day period) for all Client and Comparison youths.⁴

Characteristics of Client and Comparison groups

Relative to each project, Clients and Comparisons resided within the same geographic area. In addition to holding place-of-residence and overall source of referral (i.e., referral by a *justice system* agency) constant, EJDP tried to match these groups on age, sex, and ethnicity. This match was fairly successful for most projects individually. When the 11 projects were combined into a single analytic group, or "pool", the match on these variables ranged from fairly satisfactory to acceptable, despite the statistically significant differences that were observed. (See Appendix H for specific results on these and other variables.)

Two additional variables or factors will be mentioned: prior arrests and specific source of referral. Unfortunately, EJDP did not routinely make it a point to match closely on number of prior arrests. Here, the slight differences that existed between Clients and Comparisons at the level of individual projects *accumulated* when all projects were combined

⁴In the case of Irvine, University of California researchers gathered some of the information. However, even here, EJDP independently checked and processed all arrest information. A high level of agreement was found between EJDP and Irvine researchers relative to their coding of Client and Comparison arrests. (22)

into a single analytic group.⁵ As a result, the two samples were not well matched on this variable for the 11 projects combined (see below). Nor were they highly similar to one another in terms of specific source of justice system referral (i.e., Law Enforcement versus Probation), despite the matching procedure that is described in Appendix I relative to *individual* projects. In the present analysis, various analytic steps were taken to deal with these problems.

Overall findings on the Client/Comparison match may be summarized as follows. On balance, the match between these groups was only moderately satisfactory for the 11 projects combined. This was despite the fact that a fairly good match had been obtained for most projects individually, on the majority of variables in question.⁶ Generally speaking, Comparisons appeared to be slightly worse "risks" than Clients: at point of instant arrest, their prior record was somewhat more extensive than that of Clients, 0.9 arrests per youth versus 0.5. While this difference was small in terms of absolute numbers, it was statistically significant. It may have related to the fact that Comparisons were more likely than Clients to have been referred by Probation than by Police.

⁵However, for all projects combined, Clients and Comparisons were well matched on type of instant arrest, i.e., on percentage of law versus status arrests.

⁶The fact that the 11 projects, collectively, were not as well matched as most of the 11 projects individually was partly due to the differing absolute and relative numbers of Clients versus Comparisons who fell within given categories of analysis (e.g., no prior arrests versus one or more prior arrests, or Law Enforcement referral versus Probation referral) *across* the respective projects. For one or two factors, it was also due to the above-mentioned accumulation, across 11 projects, of slight differences that existed within several projects individually. In this regard, differences that existed within and between large- as compared to small-sized projects were of particular importance.

The following might help place the factor of "risk", as judged by prior arrests, into a broader perspective. The difference between Clients and Comparisons amounted to 0.4 prior arrests per youth;⁷ moreover, by most standards, neither the typical Client nor the typical Comparison had an *extensive* arrest record at point of instant arrest. Despite this perspective, the fact remains that Comparisons were slightly worse risks than Clients, albeit within this limited range. Thus, other things being equal, Comparisons could be expected to perform slightly worse than Clients during any given followup period. (As seen on p. 86, supplementary analyses were conducted in which level of risk was held constant.)

Results

All diversion projects combined

As seen in Table 18, for the 11 projects combined, Clients had a significantly lower recidivism rate than Comparisons.⁸ During the 6 months that followed their instant arrest, 25.4% of the Clients and 30.7% of the

⁷This difference may have been partly the result of factors such as the following, singly or in combination. Comparisons were slightly older than Clients and therefore had more opportunity to accumulate arrests; in addition, they were more likely to be male. In turn, the latter fact was perhaps related to the finding that the total number of prior *law* arrests (small though it may have been) was two times greater for Comparisons than for Clients: 0.53 and 0.26 per youth, respectively.

⁸For the remainder of this chapter, and in Chapters 7 and 8 as well, "significant" will refer to statistical significance unless otherwise indicated. In the present chapter one-tailed tests will be used, based on the hypothesis that Clients will perform better than Comparisons. This hypothesis springs from EJDP's earlier observations regarding a number of individual diversion projects. See, e.g., Year-End reports on the La Colonia, Stockton, and Compton projects.

Comparisons had accumulated one or more arrests (law and status arrests combined). This difference is statistically reliable and represents a 17.3% reduction in recidivism.⁹

TABLE 18: Number and Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Arrested During 6-Months Followup^a

Number of Arrests	Clients		Comparisons	
	No. of Youths	% of Youths	No. of Youths	% of Youths
0	1,004	74.6	826	69.3
1	203	15.1	221	18.5
2	83	6.2	86	7.2
3	41	3.0	42	3.5
4 & Up	14	1.0	17	1.4
Total	1,345	99.9	1,192	99.9

z = 2.93, p. < .01, U-test (one-tail).

^aIncludes law and status arrests.

⁹17.3% = (30.7 - 25.4) ÷ 30.7. Although 30.7 is 20.9% greater than 25.4--the recidivism rate for Clients--the figure of 25.4 is a 17.3% reduction from the base of 30.7, the rate for Comparisons. This 17.3 percent reduction should be distinguished from the 5.3 *percentage-points* difference between Clients and Comparisons (30.7 - 25.4). For example, a difference in Client and Comparison recidivism rates of 40% and 20%, respectively, would represent a *percent reduction* of 50, even though it would involve a percentage drop of 20 points. When most people think of a "50% drop", i.e., a 50% reduction in recidivism, what they have in mind is a percent reduction not a percentage-point drop. The former information must be used to compute the percentage of youth-arrests (also the percentage of arrests for all youths) that may have been avoided because of a given program.

Although the difference between 30.7% and 25.4% is only 5.3 *percentage-points*, the following should be noted. A 17.3% reduction in recidivism would mean that instead of 1,000 youths (Comparisons) being arrested, approximately 827 (1,000 - 173) would be arrested instead, if they had been diversion Clients.¹⁰

As seen in Tables 19 and 20, the difference in recidivism rates occurred almost entirely in relation to law arrests: When one focuses on this type of arrest alone (Table 19), the rates for Clients and Comparisons were 15.7% and 20.3% respectively.¹¹ On the other hand, when one focuses

TABLE 19: Number and Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Arrested for Law Offenses During 6-Months Followup

Number of Arrests	Clients		Comparisons	
	No. of Youths	% of Youths	No. of Youths	% of Youths
0	1,134	84.3	950	79.7
1	148	11.0	163	13.7
2	48	3.6	55	4.6
3	14	1.0	18	1.5
4 & Up	1	0.0	6	0.5
Total	1,345	99.9	1,192	100.0

$z = 3.09, p < .01, U\text{-test (one-tail)}$.

¹⁰If one focuses on number of *arrests* rather than number or percentage of youths arrested, the reduction would remain about the same: 16.3%. During the 6-months followup the number of law + status arrests per youth was: Clients - 0.41; Comparisons - 0.49.

¹¹15.7 is a reduction of 22.7% from the base of 20.3. During the 6-months followup the number of law arrests per youth was: Clients - 0.22; Comparisons - 0.29. This is a difference of 24.1%, using the latter figure as the base.

TABLE 20: Number and Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Arrested for Status Offenses During 6-Months Followup

Number of Arrests	Clients		Comparisons	
	No. of Youths	% of Youths	No. of Youths	% of Youths
0	1,157	86.0	1,008	84.6
1	139	10.3	141	11.8
2	30	2.2	35	2.9
3	17	1.3	7	0.6
4 & Up	2	0.1	1	0.0
Total	1,345	99.9	1,192	99.9

$z = 0.97, NS, U\text{-test (one-tail)}$.

on status arrests alone (Table 20), essentially no difference was found: 14.0% of the Clients and 15.4% of the Comparisons had accumulated at least one such arrest.¹² (See Appendix J regarding the numbers that appear in Tables 18, 19, and 20.)

Diversion projects viewed individually¹³

As indicated, the pooled data suggest that Clients had a significantly lower recidivism rate than Comparisons for the 11 projects combined. However, they did not have a lower rate for all projects *individually*. To be specific, their rate was significantly lower in 3 of the 11 projects:

¹²During the 6-months followup the number of status arrests per youth was: Clients - 0.19; Comparisons - 0.20.

¹³For the remainder of this chapter we will focus on law and status arrests combined, unless otherwise specified.

La Colonia, Stockton, and Compton.¹⁴ In 7 of the remaining 8, the difference between their recidivism rate and that of Comparisons could be accounted for by chance alone.¹⁵

As seen in Table 21, the difference in recidivism rates between Clients from La Colonia, Stockton, and Compton, on the one hand, and their Comparisons on the other, was not only significant, it was substantial as well: The percent reductions were 33, 56, and 42, respectively.¹⁶ These projects are briefly reviewed in Chapter 3, and the treatment methods which they employed are presented in Chapter 9.

¹⁴ $p < .01$, $< .01$, and $< .10$, respectively. (See section b of n. 15 regarding statistical trends, i.e., findings that reach the .10 but not the .05 level of significance.) In La Colonia and Compton, Clients were worse risks than Comparisons, based on number of prior arrests. In Stockton, they were better risks. (Appendix M.) On most other variables or factors (age, sex, ethnicity, and type of instant arrest), Clients and Comparisons were quite similar to each other in all three projects. (21, 18, 1, 14)

¹⁵Three points may be noted: (a) The recidivism rate for Clients tended to be lower than that of Comparisons in the 8 projects *combined* ($z = 1.38$, $p < .10$, U-test [one-tailed]; statistically, this finding was not as strong as in the case of all 11 projects combined). This level of significance was obtained despite the statistical similarity in Client and Comparison recidivism rates for 7 of the 8 projects taken individually. (As with all 11 projects combined, the above finding was accounted for almost entirely by law arrests: law - $z = 4.24$, $p < .01$; status - $z = 0.76$, NS.) Nevertheless, the reduction in recidivism amounted to no more than 10.0% for these projects combined. (b) Unless otherwise specified, "tended" will have the following meaning for the remainder of this report. The probability is between 5 and 10 in 100 that the given results, e.g., the difference in recidivism rates between Clients and Comparisons, can be accounted for by chance alone. (c) In one of the 8 projects--project D, Table 21--the difference in recidivism rates *was* statistically significant in favor of Clients. However, there was reason to believe that the eligibility criteria which were used when sending youths to this diversion project may have resulted in the inclusion of proportionately fewer resistive individuals within the Client group than within the Comparison group. For this reason, project D is not included among those labelled successful, i.e., successful in significantly reducing recidivism for all Clients combined.

¹⁶The drop in percentage-points ranged from 25 to 34.

TABLE 21: Percentage of Youths Rearrested, and Difference in Recidivism Rates for Clients Versus Comparisons

Projects	Percentage of Youths Rearrested ^a		Percentage-Points Difference in Recidivism	Percent Reduction or Increase in Recidivism ^b
	Clients (N=1,345)	Comparisons (N=1,192)		
Three Successful Projects ^c				
La Colonia	50.0	75.0	-25.0	-33.3
Stockton	26.7	60.8	-34.1	-56.1
Compton	36.8	63.2	-26.4	-41.8
Eight Remaining Projects ^d				
A	12.2	16.3	- 4.1	-25.2
B	12.6	12.7	- 0.1	- 0.8
C	40.1	34.5	+ 5.6	+16.2
D	24.6	33.8	- 9.2	-27.2
E	14.4	13.0	+ 1.4	+10.8
F	28.1	21.5	+ 6.6	+30.7
G	25.2	29.3	- 4.1	-14.0
H	25.0	29.9	- 4.9	-16.4
A through H Combined	24.4	27.1	- 2.7	-10.0

^a6-months followup.

^bA minus (-) represents reduced recidivism; a plus (+) signifies increased recidivism. Reduced recidivism means: Clients performed better than Comparisons.

^c"Successful" means: recidivism rate for Clients was significantly less than that for Comparisons.

^dFor seven of these projects, the rate for Clients was neither significantly greater nor significantly less than that for Comparisons. See n. 15, section c regarding project D.

Table 21 also indicates that in 3 other projects--projects C, E, and F--recidivism rates were *higher* for Clients than for Comparisons. Although these differences did not reach statistical significance¹⁷ they nevertheless involved an increase in recidivism of 16, 11, and 31% respectively. At any rate, when one inspects diversion projects individually, it is clear that recidivism was not always reduced.

If one takes an *unweighted* average of the recidivism rates from all 11 projects combined (see Table 21, cols. 1 and 2)--in short, if one treats these projects as though they each contained an *equal* number of youths--the recidivism rates were as follows for what might then be called the "average" project and average Comparison group: Clients (average project)--26.9%; Comparisons--35.5%. The former, unweighted average rate (26.9%) represents a 24.2% reduction for each project, using 35.5% as the base.¹⁸ As indicated on page 81, when all projects were *weighted* according to the number of youths they contained, the average reduction was 17.3%. The weighted figure (17.3%) is lower than the unweighted (24.2%) because projects that served the largest number of youths were among those which had a relatively low reduction in recidivism rate.

Equalizing the contribution of each project

In the *weighted* analyses reported on pp. 80-83, some projects had much more influence than others: they contributed far more than others to the

¹⁷ Mainly due to the combination of sample-size and amount of difference in recidivism rates, relative to the given projects.

¹⁸ For the 8 "non-success" projects combined, the rates were: Clients--22.8%, Comparisons--23.9%. This is a reduction of 4.6%. If the number of youths is taken into account, the rates are 24.4% and 27.1%, respectively. This is a reduction of 10.0% (not percentage-points).

results that were obtained. This occurred because they contained many more Clients and Comparisons than the latter projects and therefore contributed more youths to the total study-sample. Thus, collectively, 3 of the 11 projects accounted for 62% of all Clients and 52% of all Comparisons--more than twice their share. As it turned out, these were projects for which no significant differences were found in the recidivism rates of Clients and Comparisons. At the same time (and again collectively), the projects for which there *were* significant differences--La Colonia, Stockton, and Compton--accounted for less than half their share of the total sample: 11% of all Clients and 9% of all Comparisons. Had the situation been reversed, i.e., had the latter projects contained far more youths than the former, the difference in overall recidivism rates between Clients and Comparisons would have been much larger than it was.

To eliminate these unequal contributions due to differing sample-sizes, a separate analysis was carried out. Here, by design, each of the 11 projects contributed exactly the same number of youths as every other project: 36 Clients and 36 Comparisons.¹⁹ These individuals were randomly selected from the total pool of available subjects, i.e., from among all individuals who were included in the total study-sample. As shown in Appendix K, Clients and Comparisons who comprised this "equalized subsample" did turn out to be matched with each other on age, *number of prior arrests*, type of instant arrest, and specific source of referral; however, they remained unmatched--as was the total sample itself--on sex and ethnicity. (Before proceeding,

¹⁹ The one exception was Compton. Only 19 Clients and 19 Comparisons had been included in the original analysis of this project. For this reason--and given the fact that a maximum of 19 Comparisons could be analyzed in any event--these individuals, and no others, were included in the present analysis as well. See: Lewis, R., et al. Year-end report: Compton Area Juvenile Diversion Project. California Youth Authority and Office of Criminal Justice Planning. 1976. (mimeo)

two points might be noted. First, sex and ethnicity were affected by the across-projects factors mentioned in n. 6 to a lesser degree than were such variables as prior arrests and source of referral. For this reason, in the equalized subsample, Client and Comparison representation on sex and ethnicity remained essentially the same as that in the total sample. Second, by comparing the figures shown in Appendix H with those in Appendix K and Tables 2 through 6, the following can be seen with respect to age, sex, ethnicity, and type of instant arrest, respectively. Clients who comprised the equalized subsample were quite similar to Clients who comprised not only the 11-project *total* sample, but the 15-project total sample as well. This also applied in connection with the ratio of Law Enforcement to Probation referrals.)

As seen in Table 22, results from the equalized subsample analysis provide support to those presented on pp. 80-86, relative to the total sample itself: For all projects combined, Clients had a significantly lower rate of recidivism than Comparisons. Specifically, 29.0% of the Clients and 34.3% of the Comparisons were rearrested during the 6-months followup. This difference represents a 15.5% reduction in recidivism and relates to law and status arrests combined. As shown in Tables 23 and 24, the results remain significant when law arrests are considered by themselves; however, they are not significant with respect to status arrests alone.

12-months followup

EJDP conducted a 12-months followup on the three projects that had significantly reduced recidivism based on the 6-months followup.²⁰

²⁰ Limited resources, and overall priorities, precluded a similar analysis on the eight remaining projects.

TABLE 22: Number and Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Arrested During 6-Months Followup (Equalized Subsample)

Number of Arrests ^a	Clients		Comparisons	
	No. of Youths	% of Youths	No. of Youths	% of Youths
0	269	71.0	249	65.7
1	59	15.6	67	17.7
2	31	8.2	31	8.2
3	15	4.0	22	5.8
4 & Up	5	1.3	10	2.6
Total	379	100.1	379	100.0

$z = 1.67, p < .05, U\text{-test (one-tail)}$.

^aIncludes law and status arrests.

TABLE 23: Number and Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Arrested for Law Offenses During 6-Months Followup (Equalized Subsample)

Number of Arrests	Clients		Comparisons	
	No. of Youths	% of Youths	No. of Youths	% of Youths
0	265	69.9	236	62.3
1	67	17.7	87	23.0
2	36	9.5	40	10.6
3	11	2.9	12	3.2
4 & Up	0	0.0	4	1.1
Total	379	100.0	379	100.2

$z = 2.15, p < .05, U\text{-test (one tail)}$.

The 12-months data related to the same youths who had been followed up for 6 months. Results--shown in Table 21--were as follows:

On 12-months followup, La Colonia Clients tended to outperform their Comparisons.²¹ The average number of arrests was 2.1 and 3.0 respectively, a reduction in recidivism of 30%.²² (An 18-months followup was also carried out; and again, Clients outperformed Comparisons.²³)

TABLE 24: Number and Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Arrested for Status Offenses During 6-Months Followup (Equalized Subsample)

Number of Arrests	Clients		Comparisons	
	No. of Youths	% of Youths	No. of Youths	% of Youths
0	309	81.5	295	77.8
1	43	11.3	54	14.2
2	17	4.5	25	6.6
3	9	2.4	5	1.3
4 & Up	1	0.3	0	0.0
Total	379	100.0	379	99.9

$z = 1.18$, NS, U-test (one-tail).

²¹ $z = 1.50$, $p < .10$, U-test (one-tail). Palmer, T. La Colonia Year-End Report. Sacramento: California Youth Authority and Office of Criminal Justice Planning. 1976. (mimeographed)

²²9.2% fewer Clients than Comparisons were arrested.

²³ $z = 4.10$, $p < .01$, U-test (one-tail). The number of arrests per youth was 1.2 and 3.2 respectively, a reduction of 63%. This analysis was carried out on 17 Clients and 19 Comparisons for whom these data were available; all others in the original sample had not as yet accumulated 18 months exposure.

In Stockton, Clients also continued to outperform Comparisons. During the 12-months followup they accumulated 0.7 arrests per youth, while the figure for Comparisons was 1.9.²⁴ This was a reduction of 63%.²⁵

In Compton, there was no significant difference in the recidivism rates of Clients and Comparisons. The difference that was observed on 6-months followup was no longer in evidence.

The following might be noted relative to these findings. In the case of La Colonia, the "average" Client remained in the program for 8.5 months; in Stockton, the figure was 1.5. Given the 12-months findings, this suggests that the impact of diversion may in some cases extend beyond the period of direct project involvement. To be sure, in Compton, impact did *not* extend much beyond the involvement in question (5.6 months). As to the eight remaining projects, EJDJ is unable to make an empirically based estimate as to whether the Clients would have performed better, worse, or no different than Comparisons, on 12-months followup.²⁶ At any rate, there is at least some evidence that the effect of given diversion programs can

²⁴53.2% fewer Clients than Comparisons were arrested.

²⁵ $z = 5.42$, $p < .01$, U-test (one-tail). Bohnstedt, M. New Directions: A Supplemental Report. Sacramento: California Youth Authority and Office of Criminal Justice Planning. 1976. (mimeo)

²⁶The following might be noted at this point. (a) In the case of Stockton, a separate, additional analysis was made on an entirely independent sample: 128 Clients and 65 Comparisons. At 6-months followup the former youths performed significantly better than the latter in terms of recidivism. (See: Bohnstedt, 1977.) A 12-months followup was not carried out on these youths. (b) In the case of Compton, a separate analysis was made in which the Client group was expanded from 19 to 47. At 6-months followup, results were almost identical to those which related to the more limited sample alone: 19 Clients and 19 Comparisons. (It was not possible to increase the number of Comparisons.) The expanded analysis was not carried out in connection with a 12-months follow-up.

extend beyond the relatively limited, 6-months period that was routinely analyzed by EJDP.

Number of prior arrests

On pp. 79-80 it was pointed out that the prior record of Comparisons was slightly longer than that of Clients, for the 11 projects combined. (This, of course, was *not* the case relative to the equalized subsample. There, Clients and Comparisons had essentially the same prior record.) Although this difference was fairly small on an absolute scale, it suggested that Clients might be expected to perform somewhat better than Comparisons on 6-months followup, other things being equal.

As indicated, Clients did perform somewhat better than Comparisons for the 11 projects combined. To determine if this difference was related to the Clients' smaller number of prior arrests, EJDP carried out three analyses in which the number of "priors" was equalized for the youths in question.

The first analysis involved Clients and Comparisons whose prior record contained *no* arrests. As seen in Table 25, this analysis revealed no significant difference in the performance of these individuals: 20.8% of the Clients and 21.2% of the Comparisons were rearrested (law and status arrests combined) on 6-months followup. Nor were significant differences found when law and status arrests were analyzed separately. In short, Clients who might be characterized as the best risks, in terms of prior record, did not perform better than Comparisons who were equally good risks.

The next analysis focused on individuals whose record contained *one* arrest. As shown in Table 25, the Clients in question performed signifi-

TABLE 25: Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Rearrested on 6-Months Followup, by Number of Prior Arrests

Number of Prior Arrests	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	% of Youths Clients	% of Youths Compar.	% of Youths Clients	% of Youths Compar.	% of Youths Clients	% of Youths Compar.
None ^a	12.5	13.2	11.4	10.5	20.8	21.2
One ^b	18.4	26.1 ^{**}	19.9	23.9	32.3	44.1 ^{***}
Two ^c	32.4	32.7	23.5	26.5	42.6	49.0

^aN = 1,023 Clients, 695 Comparisons.

^bN = 201 Clients, 188 Comparisons.

^cN = 68 Clients, 98 Comparisons.

^{**} p < .05.

^{***} p < .01.

cantly better than their Comparisons: 32.3% of the former and 44.1% of the latter were rearrested, a reduction in recidivism of 26.8%. The reduction in law arrests--29.5%--was also statistically significant; however, for status arrests no significant differences were observed.

Finally, the performance of all youths whose prior record contained *two* arrests was examined. Here, no significant differences were observed between Clients and Comparisons for law, status, and law + status arrests alike. (The same results were obtained for youths who had two or more prior arrests.)

These findings, which related to the total sample, were supported by additional analyses that focused on the equalized subsample alone.²⁷ They were also supported by analyses of covariance which statistically adjusted for Client/Comparison differences in age, sex, ethnicity, type of instant arrest, and source of referral--separately for youths with 0, 1, 2, and 2 or more prior arrests. (Details of the covariance analyses are presented in Appendix L.²⁸)

Thus, to a certain extent, prior record did account for overall differences in the performance of Clients and Comparisons. Among individuals who were either the best or the worst risks there were no differences

²⁷Here, for example, (a) no significant differences were found between Clients and Comparisons who had no prior arrests; on the other hand, (b) Clients with one prior arrest were found to perform significantly better than their Comparisons on law and law + status arrests combined ($p < .05$ and $.01$, respectively).

²⁸Similarities and differences in background characteristics are also reviewed in Appendix L, for Clients versus Comparisons who had 0, 1, and 2 or more prior offenses, respectively.

in performance between these groups. However, for youths who were moderate risks--those with one prior arrest--there was a significant difference in favor of Clients. Here, the better performance of these individuals was not accounted for by their prior record. (To place these findings in perspective, it might be kept in mind that individuals with 0, 1, and 2 priors comprised 76, 15, and 5% of the total Client sample, respectively.)

Two additional points may be noted: (a) In two of the three successful projects--La Colonia and Compton--Clients were *worse* risks than Comparisons in terms of prior arrests. Obviously, in these cases, prior record did not account for the better overall performance of Clients. (b) In these same projects, Clients typically fell within the relatively poor risk category: their average number of prior arrests was 3.3 and 2.7, respectively. (Figures for Comparisons were 1.8 and 2.2.) Thus, the fact of "poor risk" did not inevitably rule out the possibility of successful intervention. As seen in Table 26, this finding is further supported by the fact that, for the three successful projects combined, Clients whose record contained two priors were less likely to be rearrested than Comparisons whose prior record was the same.²⁹ This outcome also tended to apply when law and status arrests were analyzed separately.

²⁹As seen in Table 27, similar results were obtained for youths who had one prior arrest.

TABLE 26: Performance of La Colonia, Stockton, and Compton Clients and Comparisons who had Two Prior Arrests

Number of Arrests ^a	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	% of Youths Clients (n=16)	Compar. (n=18)	% of Youths Clients (n=16)	Compar. (n=18)	% of Youths Clients (n=16)	Compar. (n=18)
0	75.0	50.0	87.5	66.7	62.5	22.2
1	18.8	33.3	12.5	33.3	31.3	55.6
2	6.3	16.7	0.0	0.0	6.3	22.2
3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
4 & Up	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

z = 1.50, p < .10, U-test (one tail). Applies to law arrests.

z = 1.41, p < .10. Applies to status arrests.

z = 2.37, p < .05. Applies to all arrests.

^a6-months followup from instant arrest.

TABLE 27: Performance of La Colonia, Stockton, and Compton Clients and Comparisons who had One Prior Arrest

Number of Arrests ^a	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	% of Youths Clients (n=26)	Compar. (n=28)	% of Youths Clients (n=26)	Compar. (n=28)	% of Youths Clients (n=26)	Compar. (n=28)
0	84.6	39.3	76.9	67.9	69.2	21.4
1	7.7	39.3	23.1	17.9	15.4	42.9
2	7.7	17.9	0.0	7.1	15.4	14.3
3	0.0	3.6	0.0	7.1	0.0	17.9
4 & Up	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.6
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

z = 3.21, p < .01, U-test (one-tail). Applies to law arrests.

z = 0.99, NS. Applies to status arrests.

z = 3.35, p < .01. Applies to all arrests.

^a6-months followup from instant arrest.

In all three successful projects, Clients as well as Comparisons had more prior arrests than youths in each of the eight remaining projects-- projects for which no significant difference was found in the recidivism rates of Clients and Comparisons.³⁰ As we have seen, most youths from these eight projects were characterized by a relatively small number of priors. Thus, the latter projects, together with their Comparisons, were comprised predominantly of "good risks"--a fact which may have placed major constraints on the extent to which a positive outcome (i.e., reduced recidivism) could be obtained: in effect, with respect to these projects, there was very little room for improvement in the first place.³¹

³⁰See Appendix M regarding the number of prior arrests in each project.

³¹On cursory inspection these findings might lead one to assume that poor risk Clients performed better than good risk Clients. This, however, was not the case. For example, in the three successful projects poor risk Clients performed better than their equally poor risk Comparisons; however, they did not perform better than *Clients* who were somewhat *better* risks. Thus, as seen in Tables 26 and 27, 37.5% of the Clients who had two priors were rearrested on 6-months followup; for those with one prior, the figure was 30.8%. Similarly, for the 11 projects combined, Clients who were moderate risks outperformed Comparisons who were moderate risks; however, they did not outperform *Clients* who were *good* risks. Thus, as shown in Table 25, 32.3% of the moderate risk Clients were rearrested on 6-months followup; for good risk Clients the figure was 20.8%. (A similar comparison could be made between poor risk Clients, on the one hand, and moderate as well as good risk Clients on the other.) In short, as seen in Table 25, the worse the risk--based on number of priors--the higher the percentage of rearrests. This applied to Clients and Comparisons alike, and was independent of how well or poorly each Client risk-group performed relative to its particular *Comparison* group.

Change from pre to post

In preceding sections we focused on the performance of Clients and Comparisons during the 6 months subsequent to their instant arrest. In the present section we will compare this 6 months period (the followup) with the 6 months which preceded that arrest (the baseline).³² This comparison will allow us to address the following questions: Did the performance of Clients and Comparisons change from pre to post, i.e., from baseline to followup? If it did change, was this for the better or for the worse? In addressing these questions we will first evaluate the performance of Clients and Comparisons separately; after that, we will compare the one group with the other.

Clients. Table 28 shows the number and percentage of Clients who had the same number, a smaller number, or a larger number of arrests from baseline to followup. Data on law, status, and all arrests (law + status combined) were analyzed independently. As seen in this Table, most Clients did not change from baseline to followup: 67% had no arrests either prior or subsequent to their instant arrest; 5.5% were arrested prior as well as subsequent to their instant arrest. The remaining 27% did change--usually for the worse. Specifically, 7% improved from baseline to followup; i.e., they were arrested prior but not subsequent to

³²In all such analyses, the instant arrest itself will not be counted. If instant arrest were to be counted as a "prior" arrest, the youths in question would almost inevitably show improvement from pre to post. On the other hand, if it were counted as a "subsequent" arrest, the youths would almost inevitably show a worsening in performance.

TABLE 28: Number and Percentage of Clients Who Showed No Change, Improvement, or Worsening in Delinquency from Pre to Post

Change from Pre to Post ^a	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>No Change</u>						
No pre-arrests & no post-arrests	1,007	74.9	1,019	75.8	902	67.1
Some pre-arrests & some post-arrests	46	3.4	41	3.0	74	5.5
<u>Improvement</u>						
Some pre-arrests & no post-arrests	128	9.5	134	10.0	100	7.4
<u>Worsening</u>						
No pre-arrests & some post-arrests	164	12.2	151	11.2	269	20.0
Total	1,345	100.0	1,345	100.0	1,345	100.0

χ^2 (correlated proportions) = 4.44, $p < .05$. Applies to improvement versus worsening on *law* arrests (based on four-fold table relating to the numbers in col. 1 of Table 28--numbers that also involve both categories of "No Change" youths).

$\chi^2 = 1.01$, NS. Applies to improvement versus worsening on *status* arrests (based on four-fold table relating to the numbers in col. 3 of Table 28).

$\chi^2 = 77.40$, $p < .01$. Applies to improvement versus worsening on *all* arrests (based on four-fold table relating to the numbers shown in col. 5 of Table 28).

^aPre = 6 months prior to date of instant arrest. Post = 6 months subsequent to date of instant arrest. The instant arrest, itself, was excluded from all counts.

their instant arrest. Twenty percent had no arrests prior to their instant arrest, and one or more subsequent to that arrest.

Thus, the Client group as a whole--all 1,345 combined--showed a worsening in performance subsequent to the start of intervention.³³ This occurred despite the fact that (a) 73% of all Clients neither improved nor worsened from pre to post,³⁴ and (b) the Client group as a whole performed somewhat better than *Comparisons* during the 6 months which followed their instant arrest. At any rate, when pre/post change did occur--which was about one-fourth of the time--it was likely to be for the worse.

As seen in Table 28, the findings on all arrests combined were mainly accounted for by law, not status arrests: The percentage of Clients with status arrests did not increase (i.e., significantly increase) from baseline to followup; however, the percentage with law arrests did increase.

Comparisons. As seen in Table 29, results for Comparisons (N = 1,192) were essentially the same as those for Clients. Most Comparisons (69%) did not change from pre to post; however, those who did change usually changed for the worse. Specifically, 9% of all Comparisons showed improvement on all arrests combined, whereas 22% got worse.

³³ $p < .01$ (McNemar test for difference between correlated proportions).

³⁴The test for significance of differences between correlated proportions is very sensitive to change, even when this occurs infrequently.

TABLE 29: Number and Percentage of Comparisons Who Showed No Change, Improvement, or Worsening in Delinquency from Pre to Post

Change from Pre to Post ^a	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>No Change</u>						
No pre-arrests & no post-arrests	796	66.8	837	70.2	704	59.1
Some pre-arrests & some post-arrests	72	6.0	71	6.0	117	9.8
<u>Improvement</u>						
Some pre-arrests & no post-arrests	157	13.2	158	13.3	112	9.4
<u>Worsening</u>						
No pre-arrests & some post-arrests	167	14.0	126	10.6	259	21.7
Total	1,192	100.0	1,192	100.1	1,192	100.0

χ^2 (correlated proportions) = 0.31, NS. Applies to law arrests.

χ^2 = 3.61, $p < .10$. Applies to status arrests.

χ^2 = 58.25, $p < .01$. Applies to all arrests.

^aPre = 6 mos. prior to date of instant arrest. Post = 6 mos. subsequent to date of instant arrest. The instant arrest, itself, was excluded from all counts.

Worsened rather than improved performance was more likely to occur in connection with law rather than status arrests.

Clients versus Comparisons. Here, three questions were asked:

(a) Were Clients or Comparisons more likely to show *improvement* from pre (baseline) to post (followup), rather than showing no change at all?³⁵

(b) Were Clients or Comparisons more likely to show a *worsening* in performance, rather than no change at all?³⁶ Were Clients or Comparisons more likely to show an improvement rather than a worsening, again from pre to post?³⁷ Answers to these questions are based on the data shown in Tables 28 and 29, and will now be reviewed.³⁸

(a) Comparisons were more likely than Clients to show *improvement* from pre to post, rather than showing no change at all: Of the Comparisons, 9.4% showed improvement and 68.9% showed no change--a ratio of 1 to 7.3. Of the Clients, 7.4% showed improvement and 72.6% showed no change--a ratio of 1 to 9.8. This difference, which was statistically significant ($p < .05$), related to all arrests combined. The difference between Clients and Comparisons was also significant in favor of the latter group for law and status arrests taken separately ($p < .01$ and $.05$, respectively).

³⁵Youths whose performance got worse from pre to post were not included, relative to this question.

³⁶Youths whose performance improved from pre to post were not included, relative to this question.

³⁷Youths who showed no change from pre to post were not included.

³⁸All findings relate to standard Chi square tests.

(b) Comparisons were neither more nor less likely than Clients to show a *worsening* in performance from pre to post, rather than showing no change at all: Of the Comparisons, 21.7% showed a worsening and 68.9% showed no change--a ratio of 1 to 3.2. Of the Clients, 20.0% showed a worsening and 72.6% showed no change--a ratio of 1 to 3.6. This difference, which related to all arrests combined, was not significant. However, for law arrests alone, Comparisons *were* somewhat more likely than Clients to show a worsening from pre to post as compared to showing no change at all: for Comparisons, the ratio of "worsening" to "no change" was 1 to 5.2; for Clients, it was 1 to 6.4 ($p < .10$). Thus, with respect to law arrests, Comparisons were more likely than Clients to show an improvement *and* a worsening in performance--as compared, in each case, to showing no change at all. In the case of status arrests, no difference was found between the two groups of youth.

(c) Comparisons were neither more nor less likely than Clients to show a decrease rather than an increase in arrests from pre to post: for Comparisons, the ratio of improvement to worsening was 1 to 2.3;³⁹ for Clients it was 1 to 2.7. These results applied to all arrests combined; however, similar findings were obtained for law arrests alone. In the case of status arrests, Comparisons *were* more likely than Clients to show improvement rather than worsening. Here, the improvement-to-worsening ratios were 1.3 to 1, and 1 to 1.1, respectively ($p < .05$).

³⁹That is, 1 Comparison improved for every 2.3 that got worse.

Closing observations

Collectively, the analyses presented in this chapter point up the complexities of evaluating performance. For example, somewhat different issues are involved, and differing perspectives may be obtained, depending on whether one is assessing the performance of:

- (a) Clients in relation to that of Comparisons, subsequent to instant arrest;⁴⁰
- (b) Clients alone, in terms of change from pre to post;
- (c) Comparisons alone, again on a pre/post basis;
- (d) Clients in relation to that of Comparisons, on a pre/post basis alone.⁴¹

Moreover, in the case of (b), (c), and (d), a different perspective can be obtained if one focuses not on youths who *change* from pre to post, but on individuals who do not. In Chapter 12, we will attempt to integrate the findings that were associated with these different approaches.

The question of differential perspectives and issues is independent from that of differences that may be associated with particular types of youth, e.g., differences in performance that are a function of age, sex, or ethnicity. These and other "within-group" factors, or background characteristics, will now be reviewed.

⁴⁰This is the standard way of assessing relative effectiveness or impact.

⁴¹Within this approach, somewhat different perspectives can be obtained depending on the specific dimensions that are compared with one another (see pp. 103-104). This is apart from the issue of optimal or appropriate criterion measures, e.g., recidivism versus attitudinal change.

Chapter 7

YOUTH CHARACTERISTICS AND PERFORMANCE

The findings presented in Chapter 6 related to all youths collectively, i.e., younger plus older, and boys as well as girls. In the present chapter we will review these individuals not as a single group, but in a differentiated way. For instance, we will focus on younger individuals separately, on older individuals separately, on boys separately, etc. In so doing, our basic question will be: were certain characteristics, e.g., younger age, associated with a reduction in delinquent behavior? By examining each characteristic in turn we will, in effect, be seeking clues as to which of these features distinguish Clients from *Comparisons* in terms of reduced recidivism, i.e., which variables and factors are predictive of improved performance.¹

To address this question EJDPA first evaluated the performance of specified Clients (e.g., those under 16) relative to that of equivalent Comparisons (those also under 16). The logic and methodology of this

¹There is, of course, some danger in this type of clue-hunting, since if one looks long enough one is almost certain to obtain at least some significant findings by chance alone. Nevertheless, considerable confidence can be gained in one's set of findings by observing the following: (a) the *strength* and *quantity* of the relationships that have been obtained (e.g., for every 100 analyses, one can reasonably expect to obtain, by chance alone, approximately four .05 and one .01 relationships; however, one is not likely to obtain, by chance, five .01 relationships, or three .001 relationships... or, for that matter, *fifteen* .05 and/or .01 relationships); (b) the *pattern* or specific content of the findings, or convergence of evidence (e.g., one cannot reasonably expect chance relationships to repeatedly center on particular variables and combinations of variables to the exclusion of most others; this is especially true if the former variables are known to be positively correlated with one another). Intercorrelations among the variables used in the present analyses are shown in Appendix N.

analysis was identical to that used in Chapter 6. After dealing with this question we focused on Clients and Comparisons separately, and asked a somewhat different question: were certain characteristics, e.g., younger age, associated with a lower recidivism rate than *other characteristics*, e.g., older age. For each question, we examined the following variables and factors both individually and in combination: age, sex, ethnicity, prior arrests, instant arrest, and source of referral. As before, all analyses were based on 6-months followup from point of instant arrest.²

Clients versus Comparisons

Results of these analyses are shown in Table 30, and will now be summarized. Clients whose overall rate of arrest³ was significantly lower than that of Comparisons were found to have the following characteristics:

- (1) they were female;⁴
- (2) they were Anglo or Mexican-American;
- (3) their prior record contained one arrest;⁵
- (4) they were referred to diversion in connection with a status offense.

²Two technical points might be noted. (1) When assessing Clients in relation to Comparisons, EJDP used two-tailed statistical tests on all variables and factors other than sex. In the latter case, one-tailed tests were used in view of the hypothesis--already examined in Chapter 6--that Clients, overall, would outperform Comparisons. (2) When comparing one group of Clients with remaining groups of Clients, two-tailed tests were used on all variables other than sex and prior offense. In the latter cases, it was hypothesized--based largely on prior correctional research--that (a) females would outperform males, and (b) youths with shorter prior records would outperform those with longer records. This approach was used when assessing Comparisons relative to other Comparisons, as well.

³As in Chapter 6, this relates to all arrests (law + status) combined.

⁴ and ⁵ (See page 109).

TABLE 30: Percentage of Clients and Comparisons Rearrested on 6-Months Followup, by Specified Characteristics and Factors

Characteristics and Factors	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	% of Youths Clients	Compar.	% of Youths Clients	Compar.	% of Youths Clients	Compar.
<u>Age</u>						
Under 16	15.8	17.8	14.0	17.8*	25.2	30.5**
16 & Up	16.7	21.7*	14.8	14.2	27.4	30.2
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	21.0	24.4*	11.7	11.4	27.8	30.6
Female	9.2	13.1**	16.8	22.5**	22.3	30.8***
<u>Ethnicity</u>						
Anglo	13.8	16.8*	14.1	16.5	23.7	29.5**
Black	18.6	26.3	10.5	13.1	26.7	33.3
Mex.-Amer.	22.6	31.0***	17.7	17.2	32.8	40.4*
All Others	6.1	7.7	21.2	19.2	27.3	26.9
<u>Prior Arrests</u>						
None	12.5	13.2	11.4	10.5	20.8	21.2
One	18.4	26.1**	19.9	23.9	32.3	44.1**
One or More	25.8	30.2	22.0	22.3	39.8	44.1
Two	32.4	32.7	23.5	26.5	42.6	49.0
Two or More	37.8	38.8	25.9	25.9	51.9	51.8
No Law, Some Status	20.3	23.6	25.8	30.9	36.7	46.3
Law, No Status	27.8	33.9	14.6	16.4	36.1	43.2
Some Law, Some Status	34.4	42.5	32.8	33.0	56.2	59.4
<u>Instant Arrest</u>						
Law	17.8	18.8	6.6	7.9	22.0	23.8
Status	13.3	22.0***	22.2	24.2	29.1	38.8***
<u>Referral Source</u>						
Law Enforcement	12.1	14.3	7.8	8.9	17.8	19.7
Probation	19.4	24.1**	20.5	19.6	33.4	37.6

* p < .10.

** p < .05.

*** p < .01.

In short, it was these features which distinguished Clients from Comparisons in terms of performance--specifically, these features which best predicted a reduction in delinquent behavior among Clients, subsequent to their instant arrest.

When law offenses were analyzed separately (i.e., when status offenses were excluded), Clients whose arrest rate was lower than that of Comparisons continued to have the same characteristics as those listed above. However, these individuals were likely to be (a) 16 or over and (b) referred from Probation, as well.

When status offenses were analyzed separately, Clients whose rate of recidivism was lower than that of Comparisons were found to be (a) under 16 and (b) females. None of the remaining characteristics, e.g., ethnicity, distinguished Clients from Comparisons relative to this outcome measure.

Predicting Client performance

While the characteristics described in this section were those which *best* predicted delinquent behavior, they did not do an effective job of predicting that behavior in an absolute as well as practical sense of the term. Specifically, as seen in Appendix N, multiple regression analyses indicated that even an optimal combination of these characteristics

⁴For example, as seen in Table 30, female Clients performed significantly better than female Comparisons: 22.3% of the former and 30.8% of the latter were rearrested during the 6-months followup--a reduction in delinquency of 27.6%.

⁵For instance, as seen in Table 31, 32.3% of the Clients who had 1 prior arrest and 44.1% of their Comparisons were rearrested during the followup period, a reduction of 26.8%.

accounted for no more than 10% of the variance relative to the total sample and 19% with reference to the equalized subsample. This applied whether one (a) tried to predict law, status, or law plus status arrests, and (b) focused on Clients, Comparisons, or Clients and Comparisons combined.

In short, the variables and factors that were analyzed--while able to distinguish the Client from the Comparison group on subsequent delinquency--were not able to effectively predict the delinquent behavior of *individual* Clients and Comparisons: the margin of error, e.g., the percentage of incorrect predictions, was simply too high.⁶

Clients versus Clients

As shown in Table 31, Clients with the following characteristics were those least likely to be rearrested (here, Clients of any one group--e.g., those with no prior arrests--were evaluated in relation to Clients of all remaining groups combined, not in relation to Comparisons):

- (1) they were female rather than male;⁷
- (2) they were Anglo rather than Non-Anglo;

⁶Because of EJD's basic mandate and overall priorities, no other variables and factors were available for analysis. That is, no other types of readily quantified or categorized information had been collected on an across-projects basis.

⁷As seen in Table 31, this particular finding is somewhat complex. Specifically, female Clients performed much better than male Clients in terms of *law* arrests: 9.2% of the former and 21.0% of the latter had one or more such arrests on 6-months followup, a difference of 56.2% using males as the base. However, male Clients outperformed females in terms of *status* arrests; here, the percentage difference was 30.4. In terms of law + status arrests combined, females were nevertheless ahead of males: since the results on law arrests were much stronger than those for status arrests, the latter did not entirely counterbalance and cancel out the former. (A similar complication was observed relative to instant arrest.)

Table 31: Percentage of Clients Rearrested, by Specified Characteristics and Factors^a

Characteristics and Factors	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	% of Youths	z-ratio ^b	% of Youths	z-ratio ^b	% of Youths	z-ratio ^b
<u>Age</u>						
Under 16	15.8	0.66	14.0	0.28	25.2	0.95
16 & Up	16.7		14.8		27.4	
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	21.0	6.08***	11.7	2.66***	27.8	2.55***
Female	9.2		16.8		22.3	
<u>Ethnicity</u>						
Anglo	13.8	3.04***	14.1	0.96	23.7	2.74***
Non-Anglo ^c	20.3		16.4		31.0	
<u>Prior Arrests</u>						
None	12.5	5.81***	11.4	4.80***	20.8	7.10***
Some	25.8		22.0		39.8	
<u>Instant Arrest</u>						
Law	17.8	2.34**	6.6	8.23***	22.0	3.10***
Status	13.3		22.2		29.1	
<u>Referral Source</u>						
Law Enforcement	12.1	3.81***	7.8	6.62***	17.8	6.70***
Probation	19.4		20.5		33.4	

^a6-months followup. ^bU-tests (two-tail, except for Sex and Prior Arrests).

^cNon-Anglo = Black + Mexican-American + All Others.

** p < .05.

*** p < .01.

(3) they had no prior arrests rather than one or more arrests;⁸

(4) they were referred to diversion for a law rather than status arrest;

(5) they were referred by Law Enforcement rather than Probation.

In short, these were the features which distinguished the more successful from the less successful Clients. Characteristics 2 through 5 also distinguished the more successful from the less successful *Comparisons*; however, among these individuals, there was no significant difference in performance for females as compared to males, on all arrests combined.⁹

Change from pre to post¹⁰

Analyses of pre/post change yielded results which were essentially the same as those reported in Chapter 6, for all youths combined. Specifically, over 70% of all youths did not change from pre (baseline) to post (followup) on the arrest/no arrest dimension; however, of those who changed, the majority changed for the worse. Both sets of findings--those for all youths combined, and those for individuals who changed--applied to younger as well as older youths, males as well as females, Anglos as well as non-

⁸Thus, 20.8% of Clients who had no priors were rearrested during the followup period; for those with one or more priors the figure was 39.8%.

⁹Specifically, the significant difference which favored females in connection with *law* arrests was completely counterbalanced by that which favored males relative to *status* arrests. For all arrests combined, the net result was therefore "no significant difference." (Findings for *Comparisons* are presented in Appendix O.)

¹⁰In this section, all findings will relate to law + status arrests combined. As in Chapter 6, "pre" will refer to the 6 months that preceded each individual's instant arrest; "post" will refer to the 6 months which followed that arrest.

Anglos, etc.¹¹ They also applied regardless of whether the youths had been referred for a law or status arrest, and from Law Enforcement or Probation.¹² In short, with one exception, they pertained to every variable or factor that was examined; moreover, they applied to Clients and Comparisons alike.¹³ Each such finding, i.e., every change from pre to post, was statistically significant.¹⁴

In the above analyses, Clients and Comparisons were each compared with *themselves*--e.g., older Clients at "pre" were compared with older Clients at "post". When EJDP then compared these groups to *one another*--e.g., older Clients to older Comparisons, all of whom had changed from pre to post--we found a predominance of non-significant results: Clients and Comparisons were equally likely to change for the better in contrast to changing for the worse. In this regard, neither group outperformed the other.¹⁵

¹¹"All youths combined" included those who changed plus those who did not.

¹²In the case of prior arrests, no meaningful pre/post analysis could be made in terms of comparing change for the better with change for the worse. This was because individuals who had *no* priors literally could not improve; they could either remain the same or get worse. (It might be noted that most such youths did in fact remain the same from pre to post. This also applied to youths with one or more prior arrests, but not to those with two or more arrests.)

¹³The exception was as follows. Clients who comprised the "All Others" ethnic group were not significantly more likely to change for the worse as compared to changing for the better.

¹⁴Most findings--85%--were significant beyond the .01 level (McNemar tests for correlated proportions).

¹⁵Again, this finding was independent of the fact that most Clients and Comparisons did not change at all.

For instance, older Clients who changed from pre to post were neither more nor less likely than older Comparisons¹⁶ to change for the better, as compared to changing for the worse; that is, their respective ratios of "improvement-to-worsening" were essentially the same. Thus, as seen in Table 32, 48 older Clients changed for the better and 116 changed for the worse--a ratio of 1 to 2.4. For Comparisons the figures were 70 and 161--a ratio of 1 to 2.3. Similar results, i.e., non-significant differences from pre to post, were obtained for male Clients versus male Comparisons, for Anglo Clients versus Anglo Comparisons, and so on.

The only exception to this pattern involved individuals who were referred from Law Enforcement: 53 Clients improved from pre to post whereas 124 got worse--a ratio of 1 to 2.3; for Comparisons, the figures were 14 and 78--a ratio of 1 to 5.6. Thus, in this particular case, Clients who changed from pre to post were more likely to improve than were Comparisons who changed from pre to post. To keep this finding in perspective it might be mentioned that for all Law Enforcement referrals taken together, i.e., those who changed plus those who did *not* change, 78% of the Clients and 80% of the Comparisons remained the same from baseline to followup. Here, as elsewhere, only a minority had changed.

One other type of question was asked by EJDP, one in which various *characteristics* were compared with each other. For example: Were younger or older Clients more likely to change for the better, rather than for the worse? Were males or females more likely to change for the better, rather than for the worse? This question, which was also asked regarding ethnicity, instant arrest, and source of referral, was focused on separately for

¹⁶Individuals who had also changed from pre to post.

TABLE 32: Number of Youths Whose Performance Improved or Worsened from Pre to Post, by Specified Characteristics

Characteristic	Number of Clients		Number of Comparisons		Significance Test ^a (x ²)
	Improved	Worsened	Improved	Worsened	
<u>Age</u>					
Younger	55	167	70	155	2.23
Older	48	116	70	161	0.05
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	60	169	82	192	0.85
Female	48	121	58	130	0.26
<u>Ethnicity</u>					
Anglo	65	154	69	174	0.09
Black	11	24	12	26	0.00
Mexican-American	25	75	54	109	1.95
All Others	3	8	1	8	0.11
<u>Instant Arrest</u>					
Law	34	127	41	131	0.35
Status	74	162	100	191	0.53
<u>Referral Source</u>					
Law Enforcement	53	124	14	78	7.02 ^{***}
Probation	52	159	82	184	2.23

^aRelates to significance of difference between Clients and Comparisons, e.g., younger Clients versus younger Comparisons. All tests involved 1 degree of freedom.

*** p < .01.

Clients and Comparisons.¹⁷ Results are as follows.

As shown in Table 33, few significant differences were found when comparing one characteristic to another in terms of pre/post change. In the case of Clients, younger individuals did not outperform older individuals; similarly, males did not outperform females and Anglos did not outperform Non-Anglos. Non-significant differences were obtained for Comparisons as well, relative to these three characteristics. However, for Clients and Comparisons alike, youths who were referred in connection with a status offense outperformed those referred for a law offense, in terms of positive versus negative change from pre to post. Also, Comparisons who were referred from Probation showed a higher ratio of positive to negative change than those referred from Law Enforcement. In the case of Clients, no significant difference was found with respect to referral source.

¹⁷Again it must be kept in mind that this question related to individuals who changed from baseline to followup, not to all individuals combined.

TABLE 33: Number of Youths Whose Performance Improved or Worsened from Pre to Post, separate by Clients and Comparisons

Characteristics of Clients	Number of Youths		Significance Test ^a (x ²)
	Improved	Worsened	
<u>Age</u>			
Younger	55	167	0.98
Older	48	116	
<u>Sex</u>			
Male	60	169	0.24
Female	48	121	
<u>Ethnicity</u>			
Anglo	65	154	0.38
Non-Anglo	39	107	
<u>Instant Arrest</u>			
Law	34	127	5.07**
Status	74	162	
<u>Referral Source</u>			
Law Enforcement	53	124	1.37
Probation	52	159	

^aAll tests involved 1 degree of freedom.

** p < .05.

*** p < .01.

TABLE 33: (Cont'd)

Characteristics of Comparisons	Number of Youths		Significance Test ^a (x ²)
	Improved	Worsened	
<u>Age</u>			
Younger	70	155	0.04
Older	70	161	
<u>Sex</u>			
Male	82	192	0.05
Female	58	130	
<u>Ethnicity</u>			
Anglo	69	174	0.66
Non-Anglo	67	143	
<u>Instant Arrest</u>			
Law	41	31	5.66**
Status	100	191	
<u>Referral Source</u>			
Law Enforcement	14	78	8.49***
Probation	82	184	

Chapter 8

PROGRAM ELEMENTS AND PERFORMANCE

In this Chapter we will address the following question: Did Clients who were exposed to certain program elements perform better, worse, or no different than those who were not exposed?¹ This question was asked relative to Clients from six diversion projects: Stockton, Yreka, Sacramento, Fresno, El Centro, and Pomona. Answers will be presented, not only for all youths combined--i.e., boys + girls, with and without prior arrests--but for each of the following *subgroups*:

- Boys with priors
- Boys without priors
- Girls with priors
- Girls without priors
- Boys only (with and without priors)
- Girls only (with and without priors)
- Youths with prior arrests (all boys + all girls)
- Youths without prior arrests (all boys + all girls)

Nevertheless, to simplify the presentation, main emphasis will be on the findings for all individuals combined.² These and other findings will be broken down separately for law, status, and law + status arrests combined, on 6-months followup from point of instant arrest.

Before proceeding, the following might be noted. (1) Subgroup analyses were carried out because of the numerous correctional studies

¹This question will relate to Clients alone, since no attempt was made to gather information regarding program elements to which Comparisons were exposed.

²In the present chapter these individuals will also be referred to as "youths", and "all youths combined".

which had shown sizable differences in performance not only between boys and girls, but between individuals with lengthier as compared to shorter prior records. Differences of this nature had also been noted in several Year-End reports of individual diversion projects; moreover, similar results had been described relative to the distinction between law and status offenses as well. (15, 16, 21) (2) If such performance-differences existed within the *present* sample of youths (the "program elements" sample), results (say, negative outcomes) for one or more subgroups could have obscured those (say, positive outcomes) associated with other subgroups. That is, such a masking effect could have occurred if various groups had been lumped together and analyzed as a single, undifferentiated entity--namely, "all youths combined". (3) Finally, findings that relate to specifically defined categories of youth can lead to recommendations which are other than vague or unnecessarily global.

Program Elements

Program elements to which Clients could have been exposed consisted of the following: (1) individual counseling; (2) group counseling; (3) family counseling; (4) academic tutoring, group education (e.g., drugs, sex), employment counseling; (5) recreation, social/cultural enrichment;³ (6) referral to, and service by, other resources; (7) other activities.⁴

Based on these elements, two "summary measures" were constructed and analyzed, again in relation to Client performance: (8) all services

³For example, sports, trips to sporting events, visits to places of interest.

⁴This item usually consisted of phone calls. Occasionally it included emergency placements, e.g., in temporary foster homes.

combined (items 1-7, above); (9) all counseling services combined (items 1-3, above).⁵

Each program element and summary measure was analyzed separately, in terms of *hours of service* provided. Thus, a given Client might have received 1 hour of individual counseling, 0 hours of group counseling, 2 hours of family counseling, 0 hours of academic tutoring, etc., 3 hours of recreation, etc., 0 hours of outside referral, and 0 hours of "other" activities. For this Client, the total hours of all services combined (item 8) would have been 6. Of these 6 hours, 3 would have been accounted for by individual, group, and family counseling combined (item 9). For each program element and summary measure the basic question was: Is there a relation between hours of service and level of performance?

In the analysis of each program element (items 1-7), hours of service were divided into "0" versus "1 or more".⁶ This dichotomy or "split" allowed us to inspect the relation between performance, on the one hand, and whether an individual had received *any* exposure to the given element, on the other. In addition, it reflected the fact that all elements other than individual and family counseling were seldom used in the first place; in this respect, "0" versus "1 or more" was the most appropriate and realistic split, statistically speaking. (Analyses that involve other dichotomies are reviewed in footnotes 21, 23, and 25. These relate to individual, group, and family counseling.)

⁵Item 9 did not include the employment counseling component of item 4.

⁶Summary measures--items 8 and 9--were dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more, and 0-3 versus 4 or more, respectively. Here, we did not focus on *whether* the individual had been exposed to a particular element; instead, we looked at *how much* exposure he received relative to each combination of elements.

An additional analysis of Client performance was made relative to the following variable: number of visits to the diversion project (item 10). This involved all face-to-face contacts between staff and Clients.⁷

Technical Details, and Amount of Contact

Before presenting the main results, several points might be kept in mind (readers who are not interested in details can skip directly to pp. 125-131, points #6-9, and then to pp. 139-141, "Review of main findings"):

1. Relative to the present analysis, the number of Clients from each diversion project was: Stockton - 89; Yreka - 29; Sacramento - 53; Fresno - 140; El Centro - 302; Pomona - 238. (Total = 851). This sample--the "total group"--was constructed on a time-period basis exclusively. Specifically, it included all Clients who (a) were not only accepted by these projects during the period in which information was collected regarding the program elements to which Clients were exposed, but who (b) also fell within the time-period that was used as a basis for constructing EJDP's 6-month followup.⁸ Thus, the 851 Clients represented all available subjects.

2. There are two basic reasons why only six projects were included in the present analysis. When faced with the actual task of gathering and

⁷Item 10 was analyzed in terms of 0 through 2 visits versus 3 or more. A supplementary analysis--0 or 1 visit versus 2 or more--yielded very similar results not only for all youths combined, but for specific subgroups as well.

⁸Ninety-six percent of all youths who met this dual criterion had at least one face-to-face contact with project staff. Of the remaining 4% -- nearly all of whom were from a single project--one-fifth were contacted two or three times by phone. For the remaining four-fifths, there was no record of any contact.

supplying information, some projects decided they did not have enough time to complete the detailed form on which information about Clients' program-exposure was to be recorded. This form--the YDF 2--was to be filled out by project staff on a monthly basis for each individual youth.⁹ In several other projects, the period during which the above information *was* being recorded had little or no overlap with the time-period that was later selected, by EJDP, as the basis for constructing the Client followup sample.¹⁰ As a result, each such project would have been able to contribute only two or three youths on whom both sets of information were available--information regarding program input *and* 6-months followup. These youths, and projects, were therefore excluded from the present analysis.

3. Of the 851 Clients, 64% were accounted for by two projects alone: El Centro and Pomona. Eighty percent were accounted for by El Centro, Pomona, and Fresno combined. This meant that the particular approaches which were used in these projects--and the effectiveness with which these approaches were carried out--would have accounted for almost all findings that were obtained relative to the *six* projects combined. Moreover,

⁹The YDF 2 is presented in Appendix B.

¹⁰In general, lack of overlap was due to the following. To construct a Client sample in which all youths from a given project would be followed up for 6 months, EJDP often had to utilize a time-period (say, January through June of 1975) that *preceded* the period during which data on program-exposure was being, or had been, collected (say, July through December of 1975). The fact that EJDP could not simply have "waited" 6 more months until the July-through-December youths had accumulated 6 months exposure, and then use *those* youths for the followup, was mainly due to time-pressures and deadlines relative to the production of a Year-End Report on the given project--e.g., one that would be due between February and April of 1976.

El Centro, by itself, would have carried almost as much weight as Stockton, Yreka, Sacramento, and Fresno combined.

To eliminate this problem of grossly unequal contributions by differing projects, an "equalized subsample" was constructed. Here, an identical number of Clients--53--was contributed by five of the six projects.

(Yreka, of course, had only 29 Clients to contribute. Fifty-three youths--i.e., the total sample from Sacramento--was the next largest Client group available.¹¹) This approach produced a total of 294 Clients.¹² Unless otherwise specified, all findings presented in this chapter will relate to these 294 youths--the equalized subsample. (This term will be used even though Yreka contributed 29, not 53 Clients.)

4. Within the equalized subsample the percentage of individuals in each of four basic subgroups was as follows (all other subgroups are simply combinations of these four): boys with priors - 23; boys without priors - 29; girls with priors - 13; girls without priors - 35. Thus, girls without

¹¹To construct a completely equalized subsample, each project would have to have contributed no more than 29 youths--that is, the number of individuals available from Yreka. This would have produced a total sample of 174. As an alternative--and at the slight cost of losing 100% equality--we decided to use the 53 youths from Sacramento as the quantitative basis for the subsample. This made it possible to include an additional 24 youths (53 - 29) from each project other than Yreka.

¹²This figure equals: $(53 \times 5) + (29 \times 1)$. Except for Yreka and Sacramento--projects from which every available Client was included--the 53 Clients were selected from each project by a process of stratified randomization. Stratification was used to ensure that the percentage of boys with prior, boys without priors, girls with priors, and girls without priors--i.e., individuals to be included in the equalized subsample--would be virtually the same as that which was present within the *total sample* of Clients that comprised each of the four projects in question. The stratification turned out to be successful not only in connection with each of the four sampled projects, but relative to all sampled projects combined: At both levels, the percentage of sampled Clients in each subgroup was almost identical to that which existed within the total group, i.e., prior to sampling.

priors represent the largest single subgroup; moreover, youths without priors (subgroups 2 and 4 combined) are much more heavily represented than those with priors. Since no attempt was made to equalize the number of youths across the four basic subgroups, these differences might be kept in mind when reviewing the findings for various *combinations* of subgroups.

5. As seen in Chapter 2, four of the 15 projects that were focused on in Phase 2 did not have a Comparison group. Three of these four projects--Yreka, Sacramento, and Pomona--are nevertheless among the six that comprised the present sample. By including these projects there was essentially nothing to be lost and a good deal to be gained: since the present analysis focused on Clients alone, the fact that no Comparisons were involved was of essentially no importance. At the same time, the presence of these projects made it possible to nearly double not only the size of the total sample, but that of the equalized subsample in particular.

6. Clients who participated in a diversion project were not necessarily exposed to every program element it contained. For instance, a youth may have participated in individual and family counseling, but not in group counseling, academic tutoring, etc. This is apart from the fact that some projects may not have contained certain program elements in the first place.

When the various projects were combined and analyzed as a single group, the percentage of youths who were exposed to given program elements--that is, who participated at least once--was as follows:¹³

individual counseling - 52; group counseling - 9; family counseling - 72; academic tutoring, group education, etc. - 5;

¹³Since many youths were exposed to more than one element, the percentages that follow total more than 100.

recreation, soc./cult. enrichment - 5; referral to other resources - 2; other - 5.¹⁴

Thus, family counseling was the program element in which most youths (72%) participated; individual counseling was next; and, group counseling was a very distant third. Tutoring, recreation, referral to other resources, and "other" activities were each used with no more than 1 youth out of 20.

7. When EJDP looked at all services that were provided by the various projects, we found that the following percentage of service hours had been devoted to each element:

individual counseling - 38; group counseling - 11; family counseling - 35; academic tutoring, group education, etc. - 3; recreation, soc./cult. enrichment - 6; referral to other resources - 1; other - 6.¹⁵

Thus, the largest portion of all service hours was devoted to individual and family counseling; together, these accounted for 73% of the total.

As before, group counseling was a distant third. Individually and

¹⁴These figures, which apply to all youths combined, are obtained by dividing the 3rd column of Table 34 (p. 128) by 241--the total group of youths minus those from Sacramento (see n. 16 and 18 in this regard). Comparable information relating to specific subgroups--e.g., all boys, all girls, or boys with priors--may be derived from Appendix P. - If 227 (all youths who received *service* of some kind) were used instead of 241, the figures in Item 6 would be 55, 9, 76, 5, 5, 2, and 6, respectively.

¹⁵These percentages, which apply to all youths combined, are obtained by dividing each of the first seven figures in column 1 of Table 34 by the figure 1,323. The latter is the total hours of service that were provided by the various projects combined, relative to the seven elements in question. Comparable information regarding specific subgroups--e.g., all boys--may be derived from Appendix P.

collectively, little time was devoted to academic tutoring/group education/employment counseling, recreation, referral to other resources, and "other" activities.

8. As seen in Table 34, the hours of service which the average youth received were as follows, for each program element (a detailed frequency distribution is shown in Table 35):

individual counseling - 2.1; group counseling - 0.6; family counseling - 1.9; academic tutoring, group education, etc. - 0.2; recreation, soc./cult. enrichment - 0.3; referral to other resources - 0.1; other - 0.3.¹⁶

Thus, the average youth received about 2 hours of individual counseling, 2 hours of family counseling, and half-an-hour of group counseling. To be sure, no one youth was likely to receive precisely this amount of service, or, for that matter, all three types of service. As to each remaining element, little service was received; yet collectively, these elements accounted for about 1 hour of service per youth.

9. Each figure shown in Item 8, above, relates to *all* diversion Clients--those who participated in the given program element plus those who did not. The implications of this may be seen in the following example. If 210 hours of individual counseling were provided for 100 Clients, the

¹⁶Three points might be noted: (1) These figures are obtained by dividing each of the first seven figures in column 1 of Table 34 by 241--the total group of youths. This total excludes all 53 youths from the Sacramento project (see n. 18 in this regard). (2) If 227 (all youths who received service of some kind) were used instead of 241, the figures in Item 8 would be 2.2, 0.7, 2.1, 0.2, 0.4, 0.1, and 0.3, respectively. (3) Comparable information relating to specific subgroups may be derived from identical columns in Appendix P.

TABLE 34: Hours of Service Given to Diversion Project Clients

Type of Service	Project Services			
	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 241) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	499	2.1	125	4.0
2. Group Counseling	150	0.6	21	7.1
3. Family Counseling	466	1.9	173	2.7
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	36	0.2	12	3.0
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	81	0.3	12	6.8
6. Referral to Other Resources	16	0.1	5	3.2
7. Other ^e	75	0.3	13	5.8
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	1,323	5.5	227	5.8
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	1,115	4.6	225	5.0
10. Total Number of Visits	1,081	4.5	225	4.8

^aParticipants + non-participants combined (N = 241; of these youths, 14 received no service of any kind).

^bRefers to youths who were exposed to the given service, e.g., individual counseling, at least once.

^cOr, in item 10, Number of Visits.

^dOr, in item 10, Visits per Youth.

^eUsually phone contacts. For any youth, three phone contacts were considered equivalent to one hour of service.

TABLE 35: Number of Youths Who Received Specified Hours of Service, by Type of Service

Hours of Service	Type of Service and Number of Youths ^a						
	Individual Counseling	Group Counseling	Family Counseling	Tutor., Group Education, Employment Counseling	Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	Referral to Other Resources	Other ^b
0	115	220	69	229	229	236	228
1	45	3	71	0	2	4	7
2	27	4	45	5	2	0	1
3	17	1	15	5	1	0	2
4	11	0	15	0	2	0	1
5	1	2	4	1	0	0	0
6	3	1	5	1	1	0	0
7	1	1	8	0	1	0	0
8	4	3	2	0	0	0	0
9	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
10-19	13	5	5	0	2	1	1
20-29	3	1	0	0	1	0	0
30 Up	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

^aN = 241.

^bSee Table 34, note e.

total hours of individual counseling per Client would of course be 2.1. However, as suggested above, some of these Clients may not have *participated* in that particular element; in fact, let us say that 50 Clients (youths) were exposed to individual counseling and the remaining 50 were exposed to other elements instead. This means that for the 50 who actually participated, the average hours of individual counseling was considerably more than 2.1: it was 4.2 (210 hours ÷ 50 youths). This is apart from other hours of service that the youths may have received.

Thus, when EJDP focused on *participants* alone, the hours of service per youth were as follows:

individual counseling - 4.0; group counseling - 7.1; family counseling - 2.7; academic tutoring, group education, etc. - 3.0; recreation, soc./cult. enrichment - 6.8; referral to other resources - 3.2; other - 5.8.¹⁷

These figures indicate that for the relatively few Clients who were exposed to such elements as group counseling, recreation, and "other" activities, *several* hours of service were likely to be received; however, it should be kept in mind that these individuals were few indeed. The figures also indicate that for individual and family counseling, respectively, the average amount of service given to participants was 90%

¹⁷These figures are obtained by dividing column 1 of Table 34 by column 3 of that same Table. (See part 3 of n. 16 for related information.)

and 47% greater than that given to participants and non-participants combined. In this case, the number of individuals was considerable.¹⁸

Results

A. Counseling

Total Group. (1) Individual Counseling: As seen in Table 36, Clients who were given individual counseling performed better than those who were not given individual counseling. Specifically, for Clients who participated in individual counseling, the ratio of those who were *not* arrested to those who *were* arrested was 8.4 to 1 (151 ÷ 18); for Clients who did not participate in this program element, the ratio was 3.5 to 1 (97 ÷ 28). Thus, Clients who participated in this element were less likely to be arrested than the latter, on 6-months followup. As indicated in Table 36, this difference in ratios (i.e., in the numbers to which they corresponded) was statistically significant.¹⁹

Before proceeding, the following example might be of use in interpreting Table 36 (see the "Subsequent Law Arrests" columns of this table). Of the

¹⁸Figures shown in items 6 through 9, above, are based on five rather than six projects. The Sacramento project was excluded because of its *extremely* atypical nature with respect to amount of contact between staff and youths. That is, for most program elements used in this project, the amount of contact was between 5 and 100 times greater than in all remaining projects combined. If used, the figures for Sacramento would have raised the overall averages (for all projects combined) to a level highly unrepresentative of almost every project. Specifically, the figures shown in item 8 would have been as follows for individual counseling, group counseling, family counseling, academic tutoring (etc.), recreation (etc.), referral, and "other" activities, respectively: 4.6, 1.2, 3.8, 0.4, 6.0, 0.2, and 2.8. For these same elements, figures shown in item 9 would have been: 8.0, 7.8, 5.3, 4.6, 48.9, 3.5, and 25.9.

¹⁹The percentage of individuals who were rearrested on 6-months followup is shown in Appendix Q. These figures were derived from the numbers shown in Table 36.

TABLE 36: Relationship Between Project Services and Client Performance in Equalized Subsample of Clients from Six Diversion Projects Combined

Type of Service	Hours of Service	Number of Youths (N = 294)					
		Subsequent Law Arrests ^a		Subsequent Status Arrests ^a		All Subsequent Arrests ^a	
		None	Some	None	Some	None	Some
Individual Counseling	0	97	28***	103	22	83	42***
	1 or More	151	18	149	20	135	34
Group Counseling	0	206	42	210	38	179	69*
	1 or More	42	4	42	4	39	7
Family Counseling	0	76	11	82	5***	71	16*
	1 or More	172	35	170	37	147	60
Tutor, Group Educ., Empl. Counseling	0	227	42	229	40	199	70
	1 or More	21	4	23	2	19	6
Recreation, Soc./Cultural Enrichment	0	217	41	219	39	189	69
	1 or More	31	5	33	3	29	7
Refer--Other Resources	0	235	44	241	38	209	70
	1 or More	13	2	11	4	9	6
Other ^b	0	220	42	225	37	194	68
	1 or More	28	4	27	5	24	8
All Services Combined	0-2	101	26**	109	18	89	38
	3 or More	147	20	143	24	129	38
Indiv., Group, Fam. Counsel. Combined	0-3	127	30*	133	24	111	46
	4 or More	121	16	119	18	107	30
Total Number of Visits	0-2	111	30**	119	22	96	45**
	3 or More	137	16	133	20	122	31

^a6-months followup from instant arrest.

^bUsually phone contacts. * p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

Clients who did not participate in individual counseling ("0" hours of service), 97 had no law arrests ("none") on 6-months followup; the remaining 28 had one or more ("some") law arrests. Of the Clients who *participated* in this program element ("1 or more" hours of service), 151 had no law arrests on 6-months followup; the remaining 18 had one or more such arrests. It will be noted that 97 + 28 + 151 + 18 = 294--the total sample for the six projects combined.

While the above finding applies to law arrests alone, a similar result was obtained for law + status arrests ("All-Subsequent Arrests") combined; here, the ratios were 4.0 to 1 and 2.0 to 1 respectively.²⁰ Statistically, both findings were very significant. For status arrests taken by themselves, no significant difference was found in the performance of youths who participated in individual counseling as compared to those who did not.²¹

(2) Group counseling: As seen in Table 36, Clients who were given group counseling tended to perform better than those who were not.²² For the former youths, the ratio of non-arrested to arrested individuals was 5.6 to 1; for the latter it was 2.6 to 1 (i.e., 2.6 Clients were not arrested

²⁰That is, 135 ÷ 34, and 83 ÷ 42.

²¹Supplementary analyses on individual counseling revealed the following: (a) When *all* available youths were analyzed (N = 851), the above-mentioned results held up. This applied relative to law and law + status arrests alike. (b) When hours of service were dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more for the *equalized subsample* (N = 294), the results mentioned in the text did not hold up. That is, Clients who received fewer than 3 hours of individual counseling performed neither better nor worse than those who received 3 or more. (Twenty-two percent of all youths received 3 or more hours of individual counseling.) (c) When hours of service were dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more for all available youths (N = 851), the results mentioned in the text did not hold up. Instead, they were the same as those reported in item (b), immediately above. See pp. 142-149 regarding selected implications of these supplementary findings.

²²The former individuals will be referred to as "participants", the latter as "non-participants". This terminology will apply to all program elements.

for every Client who was). This finding related to all subsequent arrests combined. However, for law arrests and status arrests considered individually, no significant differences or tendencies were found between non-participants and participants--that is, neither group outperformed the other on 6-months followup.²³

(3) Family counseling: As seen in Table 36, Clients who were given family counseling performed worse than those who were not. For the former youths--in the case of status arrests--the ratio of non-arrested to arrested Clients²⁴ was 4.6 to 1; for the latter youths it was 16.4 to 1. In the case of law + status arrests combined, the ratios were 2.5 to 1 and 4.4 to 1, respectively. Thus, on 6-months followup, individuals who participated in family counseling were more likely to be rearrested than those who did not.²⁵

²³Supplementary analyses on group counseling revealed the following: (a) When *all* available youths were analyzed (N = 851), the above-mentioned results did not hold up. That is, Clients who participated in group counseling performed neither better nor worse than those who did not participate. (b) When hours of service were dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more for the *equalized subsample* (N = 294), the results mentioned in the text held up. Moreover, a significant difference was found among the youths with respect to law arrests, one which was in the same direction as that reported for law + status arrests combined. (Six percent of all youths received 3 or more hours of group counseling.) (c) When hours of service were dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more for all available youths (N = 851), the results mentioned in the text did not hold up. Instead, they were the same as those reported in item (a), immediately above. See pp. 142-149 regarding possible implications.

²⁴Henceforth called "the ratio of no arrests to arrests".

²⁵Supplementary analyses on family counseling revealed the following: (a) When *all* available youths were analyzed (N = 851), the above-mentioned results held up. This applied to status and law + status arrests alike. (b) When hours of service were dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more for the *equalized subsample* (N = 294), the results mentioned in the text did not hold up. That is, Clients who received fewer than three hours of family counseling performed neither better nor worse than those who received 3 or more. (Twenty-three percent of all youths received 3 or more hours of family counseling.) (c) When hours of service were dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more for all available youths (N = 851), the results mentioned in the text not only held up, they were much stronger than before. ($\chi^2 = 24.36$ and 22.38 for status and law + status arrests, respectively; $df = 1$, in both cases.) Moreover, they applied to law arrests as well ($\chi^2 = 9.46$; $df = 1$).

Each of the above findings related to the total group of youths, that is, all subgroups combined (N = 294). Those which follow relate to specific subgroups that comprised this total group--e.g., boys with prior arrests, and girls without prior arrests.

Subgroups. (1) Individual counseling: As seen in Appendix R, Clients from each of five subgroups, who were given individual counseling, performed or tended to perform better than those from the same subgroups who were not given individual counseling. The Clients in question were as follows (the performance measure to which each finding applies is shown in parentheses, via the following codes: law arrests = l; status arrests = s; law + status ("all subsequent") arrests combined = l + s): boys with priors (l, l + s); boys without priors (l); all boys (l, l + s); youths with priors (s, l + s); youths without priors (l). No performance-differences were found in favor of Clients who were not given individual counseling, as compared to those who were.

(2) Group counseling: As seen in Appendix R, boys who were given group counseling tended to perform better than those who were not (l + s). This applied to all boys--with and without priors *combined*. However, it did not apply to each of these subgroups taken separately. No other performance-differences, i.e., statistically significant differences or tendencies, were found at the subgroup level between Clients who participated and those who did not.²⁶

²⁶For the remainder of this chapter the distinction between statistical significance ($p < .05$ or $.01$) and statistical tendencies ($p < .10 > .05$) will not be specified in the text.

(3) Family counseling: As seen in Appendix R, Clients from each of several subgroups who were given family counseling performed worse than those from the same subgroups who were *not* given family counseling. These individuals were: boys without priors (s); girls with priors (1, 1 + s); all boys (s); all girls (s, 1 + s); youths with priors (s); youths without priors (s, 1 + s). No performance-differences were found in favor of Clients who did receive family counseling.

B. Other program elements

Total group. (1) Academic tutoring, group education, employment counseling: As seen in Table 36, Clients who participated in one or more of these activities performed neither better nor worse than those who did not participate.

(2) Recreation, social/cultural enrichment: Clients who participated in one or both of these activities performed neither better nor worse than (i.e., performed the same as) those who did not participate.

(3) Referral to other resources: Clients who were referred to other resources performed the same as those who were not referred.

(4) "Other" activities: Clients who were involved in "other" activities (phone calls, etc.) performed the same as those who were not involved.

Subgroups. (1) Academic tutoring, group education, employment counseling: As seen in Appendix R, no significant differences were found at the subgroup level for Clients who participated in one or more of these activities, as compared to those who did not.

(2) Recreation, social/cultural enrichment: No significant differences were found at the subgroup level for Clients who participated in one or both of these activities, as compared to those who did not.

(3) Referral to other resources: Clients from each of three subgroups who were referred to other resources performed worse than Clients from the same subgroups who were not referred. These individuals were: boys with priors (1 + s); all boys (1 + s); youths without priors (s). It is possible--perhaps likely--that many such youths were first referred after they began to experience personal difficulties and/or get into further trouble with the law. No performance-differences were found in favor of Clients who *were* referred to other resources.

(4) "Other" activities: No significant differences were found between individuals who were involved in these activities and others who were not.

C. Summary-measures and number of visits

Total group. (1) All services combined: As seen in Table 36, Clients who received fewer hours of service did not perform as well on law arrests as those who received more hours of service. Specifically, for youths who received 0 through 2 hours of service the ratio of *non*-arrested to arrested individuals was 3.9 to 1; for youths who received 3 or more hours it was 7.4 to 1. Thus, the former individuals were more likely to be arrested than the latter.

(2) All counseling combined: Clients who received fewer hours of counseling did not perform as well on law arrests as those who received a greater amount of counseling. Here, the ratio of no arrests to arrests was 4.2 to 1 and 7.6 to 1, respectively.

(3) Total number of visits: Clients who made relatively few visits to their diversion project did not perform as well as those who visited

more often. For youths who made 0 through 2 visits the ratio of non-arrested to arrested individuals was 3.7 to 1; for those with 3 or more visits it was 8.6 to 1. Thus, the former youths were more likely to be arrested than the latter. While this finding applied to law arrests alone, a similar result was obtained for law + status arrests combined.

Subgroups. (1) All services combined: As seen in Appendix R, Clients from each of several subgroups who received fewer hours of service did not perform as well as those who received more hours of service. These individuals were: boys with priors (1, 1 + s); boys without priors (1); all boys (1, 1 + s); youths with priors (1 + s); youths without priors (1). However, girls without priors who received fewer hours of service performed *better*, on status arrests, than those who received more hours of service.

(2) All counseling combined: Clients from four subgroups who received fewer hours of counseling did not perform as well as those who received more hours of counseling. These individuals were: boys with priors (1, 1 + s); boys without priors (1, 1 + s); all boys (1, s, 1 + s); youths with priors (1 + s). On the other hand, girls without priors who received fewer hours of counseling performed *better*, on status arrests, than those who received more hours of counseling.

The above results are quite similar to those reported for "all services combined".²⁷ This is because the latter index was itself largely made up of the former ("all counseling combined"). However, the overlap between these indices was far from complete.

²⁷This applies at the total group and subgroup levels alike.

(3) Total number of visits: Clients from the following subgroups who made relatively few visits to their diversion project did not perform as well as those who visited more often: boys with priors (1, 1 + s); boys without priors (1); all boys (1, 1 + s); youths with priors (1, 1 + s); youths without priors (1).

D. Review of main findings

Total group. For all Clients combined, youths who were exposed to individual counseling outperformed those who were not. This also applied, though not as strongly, to those exposed to group counseling. On the other hand, youths who participated in family counseling performed worse than those who did not.²⁸

Clients who were exposed to (a) academic tutoring, group education, and/or employment counseling, (b) recreation, and/or social/cultural enrichment, (c) referral to other resources, or (d) "other" activities, performed neither better nor worse than those not exposed.

Individuals who received 3 or more hours of "all services combined" performed better than those who received fewer than 3 hours of service; essentially the same applied to "all counseling services combined": more service was associated with better performance. Finally, individuals who made more visits to their diversion project outperformed those who made relatively few.

²⁸This finding means, of course, that the positive results which were contributed by the Stockton project, in connection with family counseling, were outweighed by negative results that were contributed by other projects, relative to this same element.

Subgroups. For boys with priors and boys without priors the one program element that appeared to "work" was individual counseling. For both subgroups, more rather than fewer service hours (all program elements combined) and more rather than fewer counseling hours (all types combined) were also associated with better performance. This applied to total number of visits as well, though to a somewhat lesser extent. For *all boys*--those with and without priors, combined--results were essentially the same as those obtained for each group separately.

For girls with priors and girls without priors no program element was found to "work". Specifically, exposure to six of the seven elements was associated with neither better nor worse performance than was a lack of such exposure. Moreover, exposure to family counseling was associated with worse performance than no exposure at all. For *all girls*--those with and without priors, combined--results were essentially the same as those obtained for each group separately.

For youths with prior arrests (boys and girls combined), results were fairly similar to those observed for boys alone (see "all boys", above). This also applied to *youths without priors*, although a few individual findings were not quite as strong.

Irrespective of subgroup, participants and non-participants performed equally well in the case of (a) academic tutoring, etc., (b) recreation, etc., and (c) "other" activities. That is, neither set of youths outperformed the other.

Finally, in a number of subgroups, youths who were referred to other resources did not perform as well as those who were *not* referred.

While this was not a product of the present analyses, the following information might add some useful perspective at this point. In five of the six programs on which we have focused, the total duration of Client/program contact was approximately 6 weeks for the vast majority of youths. In the sixth diversion program, it was 16 weeks.

E. Supplementary Analyses

Number of visits versus number of prior arrests. As indicated, Clients who made fewer visits to their diversion project were more likely to have a law rearrest on 6-months followup than Clients who visited more often.²⁹ Was this finding simply a function of the youths' pre-existing level of risk? That is, were youths who made fewer visits also those with a greater number of prior arrests--those who, in this respect, were more likely to have further difficulties with the law? Supplementary analyses indicated that this was not the case.³⁰

For all Clients combined (N = 294), individuals who made fewer visits were more likely to have had no prior law arrests than those who made more visits; this applied to law + status arrests as well.³¹ Specifically, for Clients who made fewer than 3 visits, the ratio of those who had *no* prior arrests to those who had 1 or more priors was 4.1 to 1; among Clients who

²⁹It should be kept in mind that there was an extremely close relationship between number of visits and amount of service received. For all youths combined (N = 294), the correlation between these two measures was + .99 (Spearman Rho). The correlation between number of visits and amount of all counseling services combined was also + .99.

³⁰In the analyses that follow, number of visits was dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more. When this variable was dichotomized at 0-1 versus 2 or more, essentially the same results were obtained.

³¹ $p < .05$ and $.01$, respectively (Chi square).

made 3 or more visits, the ratio was significantly less: 2.3 to 1.³² Thus, for Clients as a whole--boys and girls combined--youths who made fewer visits had been less, not more, involved with the law prior to their instant arrest.³³

Specific program elements. Despite the positive relationship between (a) number of visits and number of prior arrests, and between (b) number of visits and level of performance, the following should be kept in mind (these considerations apply even though the positive relationship between number of visits and number of prior arrests clearly held up for boys³⁴ but failed to reach significance for girls): As soon as we turned to *specific program elements* such as individual, group, and family counseling, the relationship between amount of service and level of performance was no longer as simple and straightforward as that reported in connection with *global indices* such as number of visits. For example, as seen on pp. 131-135, although the relationship between amount of service and level of performance was positive in the case of individual as well as group counseling, it was found to be negative with regard to family counseling.³⁵

³²These ratios apply to law arrests. For law + status arrests combined, the ratios were 2.3 to 1 and 1.4 to 1, respectively.

³³However, there was no relationship between number of visits and number of prior status arrests. This also applied to boys and girls taken individually.

³⁴In the case of law and law + status arrests.

³⁵Moreover, the strength of this relationship was quite different for boys and girls. To further complicate the matter, when hours of individual, group, and family counseling were each dichotomized at 0-2 versus 3 or more (for boys and girls combined)--rather than at the "standard" 0 versus 1 or more--the earlier-mentioned results on individual and family counseling no longer held up. This is described in part b of footnotes 21, 23, and 25. The earlier-mentioned results are those described on pp. 131-135 for the Client group as a whole.

This complication suggested that we take a further look at the program elements in question. Specifically, it suggested that we ask the same type of question that was asked relative to number of visits: Were the findings for specific program elements accounted for by the Clients' pre-existing level of risk? For instance, were youths who received the fewest hours of individual counseling also those with a greater number of prior arrests?

As seen in Table 37, the answer to this question was No--the findings for each program element were not accounted for by Clients' pre-existing level of risk:³⁶ (a) Youths who did not receive individual counseling had neither a larger nor a smaller number of prior arrests (priors) than those who did receive individual counseling. (b) Youths who did not receive group counseling had a *smaller* number of priors than those who did receive group counseling. (c) Youths who did not receive family counseling had neither a larger nor a smaller number of priors than those who did receive individual counseling. For all three program elements, these findings applied to boys, girls, and boys + girls combined.

Academic tutoring and recreation. Two interesting findings emerged when EJDP looked not at the equalized subsample, but at all available youths (N = 851). (a) Clients who participated in academic tutoring, group education, and/or employment counseling performed better, in terms of status arrests, than those who did not participate.³⁷ (b) Clients who

³⁶The percentage of youths with prior arrests is shown in Appendix S, separately by sex and hours of service. These figures were derived from Table 37.

³⁷ $p < .05$. This finding relates to all youths combined. In the case of law and law+status arrests, no significant difference was observed between participants and non-participants.

TABLE 37: Relationship Between Project Services and Prior Law Plus Status Arrests in Equalized Subsample, by Sex

Type of Service	Hours of Service	Number of Youths					
		Boys ^a		Girls ^b		Boys + Girls ^c	
		No Prior Arrests	One or More Priors	No Prior Arrests	One or More Priors	No Prior Arrests	One or More Priors
Individual Counseling	0	45	29	35	16	80	45
	1 or More	39	38	69	23	108	61
Group Counseling	0	77	52	91	28	168	80
	1 or More	7	15	13	11	20	26
Family Counseling	0	19	22	31	15	50	37
	1 or More	65	45	73	24	138	69

^aN = 151.

^bN = 143.

^cN = 294.

** p < .05.

*** p < .01 (Chi square).

participated in recreation and/or social/cultural enrichment performed somewhat better, again on status arrests, than those who did not.³⁸ These outcomes differed from those reported for the equalized subsample (N = 294): As will be recalled, subsample youths who participated in these activities performed neither better nor worse than those who did not participate.

This difference between the former and latter findings suggested that one or more diversion projects whose sample-size had been reduced in order to construct the equalized subsample³⁹ were having some success with these approaches. Further analyses partially supported this hypothesis. For example, relative to the 851 youths it was found that the positive outcome on recreation was primarily accounted for by the comparatively large Pomona project (original sample-size = 238). On the other hand, no single project was chiefly responsible for the positive finding on academic tutoring; here, an approximately equal contribution was made by three separate projects.⁴⁰

Despite these findings on all available youths, the equalized subsample analysis suggested that *most* projects were not particularly successful in their use of these approaches. Moreover, analysis of each separate project that comprised this subsample made it clear that the findings (e.g., the negative outcome) for any one or two projects did not counterbalance and

³⁸p < .05. This finding relates to all youths combined. In the case of law and law + status arrests, no significant difference was observed between participants and non-participants.

³⁹E.g., reduced from 200 or 300 cases to the 53 that were included in the equalized subsample.

⁴⁰Still other analyses indicated that, in the case of recreation, positive outcome mostly related to youths with prior arrests--boys in particular. In the case of academic tutoring (etc.), it mainly related to youths without priors.

thereby cancel out the findings (e.g., positive outcome) from any four or five others, when all projects were combined and analyzed as a single group.

F. Limitations and cautions

Variations within program elements. The fact that one or two projects were relatively successful in their use of given program elements while others were measurably less successful may serve to remind us that the nature of *any* element almost certainly differed from one project to the next. For example, "academic tutoring" or "recreation" in one project was, in all likelihood, not quite the same as that which went by the same name in another; this would apply to elements such as individual and family counseling as well.⁴¹ EJDJP was unable to determine how much variation there was in this respect, from one project to the next. However, the fact that negative results were associated with family counseling for the total available sample,⁴² whereas generally positive results were associated with this same approach for the Stockton project in particular, suggests that the presumed variation may sometimes have been considerable.⁴³ EJDJP recognizes, of course, that other factors may have been largely responsible for the differing outcomes that were observed across differing projects with respect to given program elements. These factors--e.g., variations among

⁴¹When completing the YDF-2, staff within each diversion project made the decision as to exactly "what" activities would be categorized as "what".

⁴²See sections a and c of n. 25.

⁴³The finding for Stockton relates to the total available sample. Thus, among youths who did not participate in this program element, 38% were re-arrested on 6-months followup; among those who did participate, the figure was 21%. This finding applied to law arrests. For law and law + status arrests combined, the figures were 50% and 33% respectively.

projects as to type of youths who participated in specific program elements--could not be controlled relative to the present analyses.

Unfortunately, given the global nature of the data available to EJDJP regarding program elements, we are unable to provide details as to the *specific* form or configuration of any one element that was used within or across the several diversion projects--e.g., details as to the particular set of techniques, or general pattern, that was associated with greater or lesser success.⁴⁴ This is despite the fact the EJDJP *was* able to (a) pinpoint the individual projects in which each element was used, and (b) determine the relative success that was achieved, within each project, in connection with the utilization or non-utilization of that element.⁴⁵

This data-based limitation does not rule out the possibility, or hypothesis, that *more* than one form of any program element may have been associated with success. Nevertheless, here too, the data available to EJDJP allowed for neither a direct nor indirect test of this hypothesis.

Similarities among program elements. While the nature of any element almost certainly differed from one project to the next, it is possible that considerable similarity existed as well, at least for some elements. This

⁴⁴This applies whether or not the given element was actually responsible for that success. It would also apply even if the variation across projects--in outcome as well as type of elements used--had been minimal.

⁴⁵EJDJP realizes that the success which a project may have relative to a given program element might not reflect its use of that element in isolation. It may relate to that element in combination with others, instead. EJDJP did not attempt to analytically focus on this possibility and to isolate the contributions of specific combinations. In this connection it might be noted that most projects used, predominantly, one or two program elements only: individual and family counseling. As a result, the number of commonly used combinations was rather limited in the first place.

hypothesis received indirect support from the fact that individual counseling was associated with positive results not only in La Colonia, but in projects which were *not* described as successful, as well (see Chapter 6).⁴⁶ In other words, despite the results for the latter projects as a whole--results which reflected the operation of all program elements combined--findings for individual counseling in particular were still in a positive direction.⁴⁷ Positive results for this particular element were also obtained in Pomona, a project which was not presented in Chapter 6.⁴⁸

Similar support was also reflected at a broader level. Specifically, individual counseling was used successfully not only within the equalized subsample as a whole (all projects combined), but in connection with all available youths as well (N = 851). The latter group included 442 individuals--no less than 52% of the total--from projects that were not among those described as successful relative to their Comparisons.⁴⁹ In

⁴⁶As used in Chapter 6, project success or non-success related to arrest rates that were associated with all program elements combined. In that context, the term "success" focused on arrest rates for Clients as against those of Comparisons. In the context of individual program elements (the present chapter), success refers to the fact that a more positive outcome was associated with the use rather than non-use of the given element, in the case of Clients alone. (EJDP had no information regarding the elements to which Comparisons may have been exposed.) In short, with respect to individual program elements, success really means "successful usage", among Clients.

⁴⁷For example, in one project, among youths who did not participate in this program element, 26% were re-arrested within six months; among those who participated, 15% were re-arrested. In a second project, the figures were 17% and 11% respectively.

⁴⁸Among youths who did not participate in this program element, 19% were re-arrested within six months; of those who participated, the figure was 7%.

⁴⁹As indicated on p. 125, only three of the six projects that were part of the present analysis had a Comparison group. (For this reason, the *relative* success or non-success of the three remaining projects could not be determined.) Of these three projects, only one was among those described as "successful" in Chapter 6.

short, despite the *overall* lack of success on the part of these projects, when EJDP focused on the 442 Clients in question the utilization of individual counseling was associated with better performance than was its non-utilization.⁵⁰ This finding was at least consistent with the hypothesis that there may be substantial overlap, across a range of projects, regarding the specific nature of the program elements that are used. To be sure, alternate hypotheses may also account for results of this type.

At any rate, what might be termed the "overlap hypothesis" received indirect support in connection with family counseling as well. This was despite the fact that, for the same 442 youths, better performance was associated with non-utilization rather than utilization of the element in question.⁵¹

Representativeness. Youths to whom the present findings applied were:

- (1) much more likely to have been referred from Probation than from Law Enforcement;
- (2) twice as likely to have been referred in connection with a status arrest than a law arrest;
- (3) twice as likely to have had no prior arrests than one or more prior arrests;
- (4) about as likely to be non-Anglo as Anglo;
- (5) about as likely to be female as male;
- (6) just as likely to be 16 or over as 15 and under.

Specifics may be found in Appendix T.

⁵⁰ $p < .05$. This finding relates to law arrests for all boys and girls combined; it refers to projects that are described individually in n. 47. Within the equalized subsample (N = 106 for the projects in question), the results were also significant ($p < .05$).

⁵¹ $p < .01$. This finding relates to law arrests for all boys and girls combined. Within the equalized subsample (N = 106, as in n. 50), the results were not significant.

Appendix T also contains a comparison between projects that supplied all data on which the present, program-elements analysis was based ("analyzed projects") and those which supplied no data for this analysis ("unanalyzed projects"). When these comparisons and the above-mentioned findings are viewed in toto, there is no reason to believe that the analyzed projects consisted of youths who, collectively, were better parole risks than youths who comprised the unanalyzed projects--or, for that matter, those who comprised the EJDP sample as a whole.⁵² Given their overrepresentation in terms of Probation, analyzed projects would if anything be likely to contain somewhat worse risks than unanalyzed projects and than the EJDP sample as a whole.⁵³

⁵²That is, analyzed plus unanalyzed projects combined--11 projects in all.

⁵³"Risk" refers to the likelihood of future offending.

Chapter 9

TREATMENT METHODS IN THREE SUCCESSFUL PROJECTS

We will now address the following questions: What methods of intervention were most often used in projects that reduced delinquency? What methods were least likely to be used? Which were seen as having a positive impact on Clients?

To answer these questions EJDP used an instrument that was developed in the Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project.¹ This multi-scale instrument related to goals, techniques, and areas of focus that had characterized the interactions of parole agents and youths in the CTP. Each scale consisted of relatively specific items such as the following:

- involve the youth in activities and interests which show promise of reinforcing a non-delinquent concept of self.
- encourage the youth to more actively care about what happens to him.
- involve the youth in group recreational activities.
- allow the youth to significantly determine the extent of your involvement in his life.
- expose the youth to adult models whom he cannot perceive or regard as...weak, impotent, etc.
- present the youth's side--and help him obtain his rights--with school officials, police, and court, etc.
- encourage youth to interact with non-delinquent peers, and with delinquent peers who wish to communicate non-delinquent views.

¹Palmer, T. and Werner, E. The Community Treatment Project: research reports no. 12 and 13. Sacramento: California Youth Authority. 1972, 1973. (mimeographed)

There were 35 scales in all, each defined by a set of items which had certain features in common with one another. These scales ("content scales") are shown in Appendix U, together with their specific items.²

Together, they were called the Youth Intervention (YI) Scales.

To address the present questions, EJDP administered these scales to individual staff members who had worked directly with Clients from the following programs: La Colonia Youth Services Project; Compton Area Juvenile Diversion Project; Stockton New Directions Project. (As seen in Chapter 6, Clients from these projects had a significantly lower rate of recidivism than their matched Comparisons.) The goal was to find out, directly from these individuals, what methods they used, and whether, in their view, these methods had positive impact when they *were* used. Because of EJDP's limited staff resources, the YI scales were not administered to the remaining Phase 2 projects.³

Methods and Results

To achieve the above goal, individual sessions were conducted with 2, 3, and 3 staff members from the La Colonia, Compton, and Stockton projects, respectively.⁴ These individuals were chosen by their project directors as being representative of staff as a whole. In each case, the staff member had worked with Clients while the program was being evaluated by EJDP.

²For the present study, five content scales--#31-35--were added to the 30 that were used at CTP. (Appendix U)

³In carrying out this study, the limitations and advantages of self-reporting were recognized.

⁴In Compton, these staff members were from the two service agencies that accounted for the largest percentage of Clients (As will be recalled, the Compton project subcontracted with six outside agencies.) Together, these two agencies accounted for 48% of all Clients.

The above sessions took place in 1977. During these sessions each staff member (worker) answered two questions for each of the 35 content scales:⁵

1. In your work with most youths, to what extent did you focus on this area (or use this method...or work toward this goal)?
2. When you *did* focus on this area (etc.), how much positive impact did it seem to have?

For each content scale, the worker responded to each question on the following, 4-point rating scale:⁶

1 = Slight or None 2 = Moderate 3 = Much 4 = Very Much

The specific results are shown in Table 38, for each scale and all projects combined. Before reviewing these results, two points might be kept in mind: (1) Figures shown in Table 38 are unweighted averages of the ratings made by all eight workers combined.⁷ The higher the rating, the *more often* the approach was used. For instance, an Extent-of-Usage rating of 3.5 would mean the approach in question was used somewhere between "much" and "very much" (see the above rating scale). On the other hand, a rating of 1.8 would mean the approach was used to less than a "moderate" degree. These interpretations would apply to Amount-of-Impact ratings as well. (2) For the remainder of this chapter, the term "approaches" will

⁵Instructions and procedures are shown in Appendix V. All sessions were conducted by Dr. Palmer.

⁶In answering these questions, each respondent worked from the list of scale-titles and examples shown in Appendix W. This list was supplemented by the complete scale-descriptions which appear in Appendix U.

⁷The contribution of La Colonia was statistically adjusted so that it would equal that of each remaining project. This adjustment was necessary since only two, not three, La Colonia workers were available for the YI Scale sessions.

TABLE 38: Extent of Usage and Amount of Perceived Impact, For 35 Methods and Areas of Focus

Scale #	Method or Area of Focus ^a	Average Rating ^b	
		Extent of Usage	Amount of Impact
1.	Modifying attitudes toward adults/ establishment	2.8	2.2
2.	Increasing interpersonal sensitivity	3.4	2.6
3.	Increasing self-awareness/self-acceptance	3.2	2.4
4.	Teaching values and controls	2.6	2.5
5.	Enhancing/promoting a non-delinquent self-image	3.1	2.7
6.	Reducing apathy, indifference	3.2	2.4
7.	Expression of feelings	3.9	2.6
8.	Family/parental relationships	3.6	2.7
9.	Peer pressure	2.6	2.1
10.	Self-understanding	3.4	2.6
11.	Ego bolstering via "success" experiences	2.8	2.3
12.	Youth-worker relationship	3.0	2.9
13.	Practical emphasis	2.4	2.4
14.	"Programming"/rehearsing for specified life situations	2.9	1.9
15.	Recreation, socializing	2.8	2.8
16.	Frequency of contact	3.3	3.3
17.	Concreteness vs. abstractness	3.0	2.1
18.	Informality--lack of social distance	3.7	3.7
19.	Youth's commitment to the program	3.3	3.0

(Continued)

TABLE 38: (Cont'd)

Scale #	Method or Area of Focus ^a	Average Rating ^b	
		Extent of Usage	Amount of Impact
20.	Youth's participation in case-planning and decision-making	3.1	2.7
21.	Gaining youth's confidence in worker as understanding/capable	3.3	2.9
22.	Expressing personal concern for/ acceptance of youth	3.9	3.5
23.	Expressing warmth, friendliness, affection	3.5	3.3
24.	Protecting, minimizing demands--pressures	1.8	1.9
25.	Using anxiety/distress as stimulus/ motivator	2.5	2.6
26.	Being unpredictable, doing the unexpected	2.2	2.2
27.	Being forceful, blunt	1.9	2.7
28.	Using power/authority	2.1	1.8
29.	Associating concern with control	2.2	2.2
30.	Exposure to masculine adult model ^c	3.1	2.7
31.	Involving youth in the community	2.4	1.6
32.	Being an advocate for youth	2.6	2.7
33.	Using positive peer influence	2.7	2.4
34.	Familiarizing youth with authority figures	1.9	1.7
35.	Being personally available during crises	3.0	3.1

^aListed below are scale titles only. For further details see Appendix U.

^b1 = Slight or none; 2 = Moderate; 3 = Much; 4 = Very much.

^cOr, in the case of girls, *feminine* adult model.

be used to include any or all of the following: areas of focus; methods; goals.

Approaches used most often

Following are the areas of focus, the methods, and/or goals that were used most often in the three successful programs combined (the approach used most often is listed first; each of the 10 approaches that are listed received an average rating of at least 3.3 on the 4-point scale):

- Expression of feelings (e.g., help the youth verbalize and more adequately express his feelings and emotional reactions to others).
- Expressing personal concern for/acceptance of youth (e.g., help the youth feel that you really do care about him in more than a formal, 'its-my-job' fashion).
- Informality--lack of social distance (e.g., minimize social or personal distance between yourself and the youth).
- Family/parental relationships (e.g., increase the youth's understanding of the role he has played in his family and the particular way in which this might have influenced his life).
- Expressing warmth, friendliness, affection (e.g., relate to the youth in an interpersonally warm or affectionate manner).
- Increasing interpersonal sensitivity (e.g., give feedback and clarification to the youth about the personal reaction of others to him).
- Self-understanding (e.g., use review of past life and social history events to help the youth better understand his own conduct and feelings).
- Frequency of contact (e.g., make sure that you and the youth are in frequent contact).
- Youth's commitment to the program (e.g., let the youth know that he must meet you 'half-way'...i.e., [must show] reasonable willingness to work on whatever main goals have been established for him).
- Gaining youth's confidence in worker as understanding/capable (e.g., demonstrate to the youth that you are capable of understanding very personal feelings and needs which he has).

As can be seen, heavy emphasis was placed on specific elements of the worker-youth relationship--for example, expression of personal concern, informality, warmth, and gaining-of-confidence. These elements or factors could conceivably have been emphasized in the context of individual relationships (La Colonia), group meetings (Compton), and family counseling sessions (Stockton) alike. Also conspicuous--this time by their *absence* from the list--were such factors as "youth's participation in case planning and decision-making", "being an advocate for youth", and "using positive peer influence". Despite their absence from the 'top-ten list', the extent to which these approaches were used was, generally, between "moderate" and "much", in terms of the 4-point scale.

Approaches used least often

Following are the areas of focus, the methods, and/or the goals that were used least often in the three programs combined (the approach used least often is listed first; none of the eight approaches that are listed received an average rating of more than 2.4 on the 4-point scale; the first three items had a rating of less than 2.0):

- Protecting, minimizing demands-pressures (e.g., make only minimal demands and expectations on/of the youth).
- Being forceful, blunt (e.g., be verbally forceful, even harsh, when having to confront the youth).
- Familiarizing youth with authority figures (e.g., expose youth to police and probation officers as individuals, by means of informal meetings, lectures and on-site-tours).
- Using power/authority (e.g., make sure the youth sees you as the main source of power with whom he must deal when making decisions and plans).
- Being unpredictable, doing the unexpected (e.g., maintain an element of unpredictability regarding how you will react to the youth under particular circumstances).

- Associating concern with control (e.g., try to convince the youth that controls, by you, reflect real concern for his well-being).
- Practical emphasis (e.g., teach the youth how to take care of himself and how to meet his needs on a practical basis).
- Involving the youth in the community (e.g., involve the youth in civic activities and community projects).

Together, these items reflect a marked de-emphasis on the use of force, authority, and control. Also conspicuous--by their *presence* on this list--were methods that *are* often thought of in connection with diversion, and, in general, with programs that operate outside the justice system. Included are such approaches as "familiarizing the youth with authority figures" and "involving the youth in the community". Apparently, diversion projects that were successful relative to matched controls did not make much use of these approaches. This does not imply that they might not have been more successful if they *had* made more use of these approaches. Nor does it suggest that projects which were less successful *did* rely heavily on these approaches.

Approaches with most perceived-positive impact

The following were seen as having the largest amount of positive impact (the approach with the most perceived impact is listed first; all approaches had a rating of at least 2.8; the first four had a rating of 3.3 or more):

- Informality--lack of social distance (see example above⁸).
- Expressing personal concern for/acceptance of youth.
- Frequency of contact.

⁸For items already presented, examples will not be repeated.

- Expressing warmth, friendliness, affection.
- Being personally available during crises (e.g., use crisis intervention techniques, 24-hour availability, and/or 'hot lines' to help youth during emergencies).
- Youth's commitment to the program.
- Youth-worker relationship (e.g., use your relationship with the youth to illustrate...themes and problems in the way he relates to others).
- Gaining youth's confidence in worker as understanding/capable.
- Recreation, socializing (e.g., involve the youth in group recreational activities).

In general, approaches that were seen as having the most positive impact were those which had been most often used.⁹ While this finding may be no surprise, two points might be noted: Certain approaches were seen as having considerable impact even though they were not among those most often *used*. Included were such methods and areas as "being personally available during crises", and "recreation, socializing". On the other hand, some approaches that *were* often used were not among those with the most perceived *impact*. Included, for instance, were "[working on] family/parental relationships", "increasing interpersonal sensitivity", and "[working on] self-understanding".

Approaches with least perceived-positive impact

The following were seen as having the least amount of positive impact (the approach with the least perceived impact is listed first; no approach had a rating of more than 2.1):

⁹For all 35 scales combined, the correlation between Extent of Usage and Amount of Impact was .66 (Spearman rho).

- Involving youth in the community.
- Familiarizing youth with authority figures.
- Using power/authority.
- "Programming"/rehearsing for specified life situations (e.g., teach the youth how to handle specific difficulties which he may experience when he's on his own and you're not available to him).
- Protecting, minimizing demands-pressures.
- Peer pressure (e.g., serve as a counterforce to the negative effects of peer influence on the youth).
- Concreteness vs. abstractness (e.g., avoid using adult-level concepts, abstractions, or explanations when talking to the youth).

In general, approaches with the least amount of perceived impact were those which were least often used. Nevertheless, some approaches that were seldom used were not necessarily those with little positive *impact*. Included were: "being forceful, blunt"; "being unpredictable, doing the unexpected"; "using a practical emphasis"; etc. Thus, when these approaches *were* used, they were not necessarily seen as having little impact.

Additional Observations

Specific results for each of the three projects are shown in Appendix X. For present purposes, these findings need not be reviewed in the text. However, it might be noted that the 35 approaches which were surveyed had a good deal in common from one project to the next, in terms of their extent of usage and their perceived impact.¹⁰ Despite this communality, each project emphasized those approaches which were most in

¹⁰At the same time, there were several substantial differences from one project to the next. For example, see scales # 1, 4, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 35, with respect to Extent of Usage.

line with the major treatment modality around which the program was largely organized: individual, group, or family counseling. Conversely, each project tended to de-emphasize those elements which were not particularly central to the given modality.

A few closing words. This substudy would have been more meaningful if EJDJP had administered the YI Scales to several projects that had *not* reduced recidivism. Had this been done, similarities and differences that might have appeared--between these projects, on the one hand, and the above-mentioned projects on the other--could have been especially instructive. As indicated, EJDJP's resources precluded this data-collection effort.

Despite this limitation, the present findings appear to be of value. They paint a preliminary picture of the approaches used in three projects that substantially reduced recidivism; they provide a general idea of the perceived impact of those approaches as well. In effect, they provide what might be regarded as tentative, general guidelines for the operation of promising diversion programs. This does not mean they represent the only approaches that are likely to work.

It should be kept in mind that the present projects could conceivably have been using several approaches which were not reflected in the YI Scales. However, it seems probable that these scales did in fact represent a very large portion of the total spectrum of approaches. In this connection, it might be mentioned that none of the eight respondents indicated that any of their basic approaches seemed to have been overlooked, in the scale-and-item lists with which they worked. Yet, breadth-of-representation notwithstanding, the above-mentioned guidelines should not be considered a complete or sufficiently detailed blueprint for purposes of actual program operation.

Finally, it might be noted that the present projects were organized around rather different treatment modalities: La Colonia mainly emphasized individual counseling; Stockton emphasized family counseling; the Compton agencies largely emphasized group work and, to a lesser extent, recreation. Thus, a range of major modalities were represented among these projects; and, there was little reason to believe that any one modality was significantly outweighed by any other in the three projects taken together. This suggests that the present findings relate to a set of approaches that may play a significant role within a broad range of successful programs.

Chapter 10

THE COST OF DIVERSION

This chapter will focus on the cost of diversion and on juvenile justice system savings that may result from diversion programs. It is divided into the following sections: (1) cost per case; (2) cost-comparison of successful and unsuccessful projects; (3) hypothetical example of costs for justice system referrals; and (4) results and implications.

Cost Per Case

During its Phase 2 operation, EJDP has evaluated a wide range of projects. Collectively, these projects were generally though not highly representative of those found throughout the state with respect to organizational structure, amount of contact with Clients, background characteristics of Clients, and nature of setting. All projects were funded through an Office of Criminal Justice Planning grant; and, most projects received some local match from the county that had official jurisdiction over them.

In Table 39, the amount of funded expenditures and the total number of Clients served are presented for each project.¹ As can be seen, funded expenditures for individual projects ranged from a low of \$39,322 to a high of \$250,000. The average expenditure was \$101,957. The number of Clients served ranged from a low of 196 to a high of 806; the average per project was 408. The cost per case ranged from a low of \$107 to a high of \$600. Thus, the average cost per case was \$250 ($\$101,957 \div 408$).

¹To determine the cost per case, total expenditures (for the year that was assessed) were divided by the number of Clients who were served during the given project year.

TABLE 39: Funded Expenditures, Number of Clients Served, and Cost Per Case for EJDP-Evaluated Projects

Project	Funded Expenditures	Clients Served	Cost Per Case
Three Successful Projects			
La Colonia	\$ 110,000	196	561
Stockton	108,468	425	255
Compton	169,505	402	422
Eight Remaining Projects			
A	58,889	225	262
B	59,605	455	131
C	90,000	806	112
D	83,099	571	146
E	61,312	384	160
F	39,752	225	177
G	84,449	788	107
H	61,242	250	245
Additional Projects (unmatched study groups)			
I	82,711	224	369
J	39,322	240	164
K	231,000	385	600
L	250,000	551	454
All Projects Combined	\$1,529,354	6,127	$\bar{X} = \$250$

The variation in number of Clients was mostly due to inter-project differences in (a) number of potential Clients within the catchment area; (b) criteria used for accepting Clients; (c) size of program, e.g., number of staff; (d) different ways of counting Clients, e.g., caseload

versus non-caseload; and (e) duration and amount of service. Factor (e) was partly a function of project orientation and main approach, e.g., recreation or short-term family counseling versus longer-term individual counseling.

Cost-comparison of Successful and Unsuccessful Projects

For 11 projects combined, recidivism rates were lower among Clients than among Comparisons.² However, they were not lower for all projects individually. As seen in Chapter 6, recidivism was significantly lower in three of the 11 projects; in seven of the remaining eight ("unsuccessful projects") the difference in recidivism between Clients and Comparisons could be accounted for by chance.³ The three "successful" projects--those in which Clients outperformed Comparisons--will now be reviewed relative to the remaining eight.

As seen in Table 40, for successful projects the average budget was \$129,324; the average number of Clients served was 341; and the average cost per case was \$379 ($\$129,324 \div 341$). For unsuccessful projects the budget was \$67,294; the number of Clients served was 463; and, the cost per case was \$145. Thus, compared to unsuccessful projects, those which were *successful* in terms of recidivism had a budget that was almost twice as large; they served 26.3% fewer Clients; and, their cost per case was 161% greater.

One cannot conclude from these findings that larger expenditures necessarily produce a lower recidivism rate with respect to a Comparison

²Eleven projects had a Client versus Comparison research design. Projects that lacked a Comparison group were excluded from the present analysis.

³See Chapter 6, n. 15 regarding the eighth project.

TABLE 40: Expenditures, Clients Served, and Cost Per Case for Successful and Unsuccessful Projects

Project	Funded Expenditures	Clients Served	Cost Per Case
Three Successful Projects			
La Colonia	\$110,000	196	561
Stockton	108,468	425	255
Compton	169,505	402	422
	$\bar{X} = \$129,324$	$\bar{X} = 341$	$\bar{X} = \$379$
Eight Remaining Projects			
A	58,889	225	262
B	59,605	455	131
C	90,000	806	112
D	83,099	571	146
E	61,312	384	160
F	39,752	225	177
G	84,449	788	107
H	61,242	250	245
	$\bar{X} = \$ 67,294$	$\bar{X} = 463$	$\bar{X} = \$145$

group. Nevertheless, some type of relationship may exist between cost, e.g., total expenditures or cost per case, on the one hand, and project outcome, on the other. To evaluate the relation between cost and outcome, EJDP conducted several analyses relative to all 11 projects combined.

First, we looked at the relation between project expenditures and cost per case. As seen in Table 41, this relationship turned out to be positive but not statistically significant: the larger the expenditures,

the higher the cost.⁴ Next we assessed the relation between expenditures and *recidivism rate* for *Clients*.⁵ This relationship was found to be positive and significant: the larger the expenditures the higher the rate of recidivism. (Projects that spent less money were those whose youths had

TABLE 41: Relationship Between Cost Variables and Recidivism

Type of Relationship	Rho Value ^a	p-level ^b
Expenditures versus cost per case	.26	NS
Expenditures versus recidivism rate for Clients	.62	.05
Expenditures versus difference in recidivism rate between Clients and Comparisons	.66	.05
Cost per case versus recidivism rate for Clients	.26	NS
Cost per case versus difference in recidivism rate between Clients and Comparisons	.58	.05

^aSpearman Rho.

^bN = 11.

⁴Thus, in the present sample of projects, total expenditures were only slightly related to cost per case. See pp. 220-222 (including n. 19) for related discussion.

⁵"Rate of recidivism" refers to the percent of individuals who were rearrested on six-months followup, separate for each project. "Percent difference in recidivism" between Clients and Comparisons is obtained by subtracting the recidivism rate for Clients from that of Comparisons.

the fewest prior arrests. It was these particular youths who had the lowest rate of recidivism. These relationships may be seen by comparing Table 21, Table 40, and Appendix M.)

EJDP also inspected the relation between expenditures and *differences in recidivism rate* between Clients and *Comparisons*. Here, the relationship was positive and significant: the larger the expenditures, the larger the difference in recidivism, in favor of Clients over Comparisons. In addition, we looked at the relation between cost per case and the *recidivism rate* for *Clients*. This relationship was positive but not significant. (It might be kept in mind that this finding, like all others, applied to the 11 projects combined, not to the three successful programs alone.)

Finally, we assessed the relation between cost per case and differences in recidivism rate between Clients and *Comparisons*. This relationship turned out to be positive and significant: the greater the cost per case, the larger the difference in recidivism, in favor of Clients over Comparisons.

These analyses suggest that project costs may be related to the project's ability to reduce the recidivism of its Clients, relative to that of Comparisons. Does this mean that more money or increased funding will directly reduce recidivism? Probably not. The relationship between cost variables and outcome may reflect a relationship between cost and other variables which are (or may be) *also* related to outcome, e.g., better trained staff. In addition, larger funded projects may contain better salary structures and thus attract better qualified staff. At this point these thoughts represent suggested, but as yet untested hypotheses. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that still other variables may be related to the levels of recidivism in question, e.g., variables such as Client characteristics and specific program input.

Apart from any possible cause/effect relationship between expenditures and recidivism, there is the question of whether diversion represents a cost or a savings to the *justice system*. This is a complex question, one that calls for a full-fledged cost/benefit analysis. Such an analysis would require considerable comparability across projects in terms of data regarding operational costs, staffing patterns, and the flow of Clients into and out of specified program activities. The flow of Clients into and out of Police, Probation, and other agencies would have to be known as well. Within these agencies, each major type of activity would have to be analyzed in terms of staff work-flow, hours provided for each Client, and differences in activity hours by type of Client served.

Unfortunately, EJDP was unable to collect this type of information for diversion projects as well as alternative programs. Consequently, a full-fledged cost/benefit analysis could not be undertaken. Despite this, there may be some utility in addressing the issue, if only in a limited and preliminary manner, of how expensive diversion is when compared to other alternatives. In this connection a hypothetical example will first be given, one which focuses on the following question: "Potentially, is diversion a cost or a savings to the justice system when compared to other alternatives?"

Hypothetical Example of Costs for Justice System Referrals

If diversion were *not* available as an alternative, youths who would otherwise have been referred to a diversion project would routinely be processed by Police and/or Probation: some would be counseled and released by the Police and others would be sent to Probation intake. If

diversion *were* available as an alternative, youths who are sent to diversion would still bear initial justice system costs that occurred prior to their referral. Included are costs of arrest and--for youths processed by Probation prior to referral--those of Probation intake. Given these unavoidable, "pre-diversion" processing costs, one may ask: How can diversion be a savings if diversion Clients already represent an expense to the justice system as a result of having been arrested and, possibly, referred to Probation?

If diversion activities represent any kind of cost-savings, this must relate to the period *subsequent* to initial referral from the justice system. Specifically, it must result from differences in recidivism rates between diversion Clients and Probation Clients. A hypothetical example may illustrate this point:

(1) Say that 1,000 youths (cases) in "county X" are sent, on instant offense, from Probation to diversion. (2) Say that the cost of initial Police arrest is \$400 for each such youth and that the cost of closing a case at Probation intake (also known as the cost of referring a case) is \$100 per youth. (3) Let us also suppose that the cost of processing an individual beyond Probation intake is \$1,000 per youth. (For present purposes, let us assume that none of the 1,000 youths are processed beyond Probation intake, prior to being diverted.) (4) Finally, say that a diversion project's cost of handling each youth is \$200.

Given these events and estimates, the cost of handling each diverted youth is \$700 ($\$400 + 100 + 200$). This amounts to \$700,000 for the 1,000 youths in question.⁶

⁶The individual processing costs that have been used in the present illustration were arbitrarily created.

Next, suppose we have a Comparison group of 1,000 youths, all of whom (1) meet all eligibility criteria for the diversion project and (2) are matched with the above-mentioned Clients on relevant background variables. What is the cost of these individuals to the justice system, and how does it compare with that of Clients?

First, for each of the 1,000 Comparisons the cost of an arrest would of course be \$400; this would amount to \$400,000 for the 1,000 youths. Next, suppose that 60% of these 1,000 youths (600 individuals) would be closed at Probation intake while the remaining 40% would be processed *beyond* intake. Under these circumstances the cost for the 1,000 Comparisons would be \$400,000 for initial arrest, \$60,000 for counsel and release or closed at intake and \$400,000 for beyond intake: \$860,000 in all. (For purposes of the present illustration, the percentage estimates for individuals "closed at intake" or sent "beyond intake" were arbitrarily established.)

Thus, in the present example, the diversion of 1,000 Clients would produce a savings of \$160,000 in future costs ($\$860,000 - \$700,000$)--i.e., \$160 per youth. Clearly, this savings is accounted for by individuals who, had they not been diverted, would have incurred additional justice system costs as a result of being sent beyond Probation intake.

Method for analyzing cost data

In the preceding section we described a hypothetical cost-difference between diversion and Probation. However, we did not address possible differences in the type of *youths* who are ordinarily handled outside, as compared to inside, the justice system. In the present section we will

outline a method for analyzing cost data in which the type of youth (and the project size) is the same for all programs under consideration. More specifically, we will utilize similar types of offenders as a basis for comparing diversion programs with Probation or Police approaches. This will be done because the latter agencies serve, on the average, a somewhat different population than diversion, namely, more serious offenders. Thus, in the present method of analyzing cost data we will control for this routine difference in offender characteristics by using only matched Clients and Comparisons. (Actual Clients and Comparisons will be used. These individuals were, in point of fact, fairly similar to one another on age, sex, ethnicity, and number as well as type of prior arrests.) Since most serious offenders are *not* referred to diversion programs, a comparative cost analysis of diversion versus other approaches makes sense only for individuals whose backgrounds and offense history are relatively similar.

To develop a meaningful analysis of Clients and matched Comparisons, an estimate will first be made of the average cost per arrest, and that of processing a youth through Probation as well. Given these estimates, given the cost of diversion, and given the actual recidivism data for Clients and Comparisons, a cost-effectiveness estimate can then be derived. Details of this estimate will now be reviewed (readers who are not interested in technical details may skip directly to the main results, shown on p. 178:)⁷

⁷In most cost-effectiveness approaches, when a given level of *costs* is specified, the alternative policy or program which has the greatest effectiveness is then sought. Conversely, when a given level of *effectiveness* is specified, the alternative which is least costly is sought. The choice of particular levels of costs and effectiveness reflects various tradeoffs that are considered necessary or desirable at the time.

Cost per arrest. The cost of arrests varies from county to county and year to year. Since EJD's project-assessments placed heavy emphasis on the year 1974, the cost per arrest was computed for that particular year--separately by jurisdiction. Data for this computation were obtained from the Bureau of Criminal Statistics, County Criminal Justice Profiles. (5,7)

For any given county, cost of arrests is obtained by dividing (a) the prorated allocation to youths, of the county's budget for law enforcement, by (b) the number of arrests during the given year. Thus, in 1974, the actual allocation of Law Enforcement funds was prorated as \$276,302,880 for juveniles in California. During that same year the number of juvenile arrests in California was 408,131. For 1974, the Law Enforcement cost per arrest was therefore \$677 ($\$276,302,880 \div 408,131$).⁸ However, instead of using figures for California as a whole, in the present analysis we used the cost per arrest for the *specific county* that contained each EJD-evaluated project. (See Appendix Y regarding the derivation of county cost figures.)

Cost of Probation processing in California. In 1972, Gemignani used the following categories to estimate the average, nationwide cost of handling a typical juvenile probationer: "closed at intake"; "processed beyond intake". His estimated cost per arrest was \$100 for "closed at intake" (also called "referral and intake") and \$500 for "processed beyond intake" ("probation service"). (9)

⁸For the United States as a whole, the cost per arrest for juveniles plus adults was \$805. Source: Hindelang et al. Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics--1976, U.S. Dept. of Justice. 1977.

These nationwide figures grossly underestimated the cost of Probation processing in California. While statewide figures are not available to check the separate national estimates for "closed at intake" and "processed beyond intake," data that bear on the average, *overall* cost per arrest are available. (Overall cost represents the sum of "closed at intake" and "processed beyond intake".) These data were obtained from BCS and represent actual, referral agency costs per arrest. Thus, data that are used in the present analysis reflect the actual cost of processing youths through California Probation, during 1974.⁹

The estimated cost of Law Enforcement arrests as well as Probation processing are shown in Table 42, separate for the specific counties in which the diversion projects were located. For the 11 projects combined, average cost per arrest was \$511; for Probation processing it was \$477.

The above approach makes it possible to estimate justice system costs that would result if diversion projects were not available for purposes of referral. However, in deriving this estimate, the cost of *rereferrals* to diversion, by Law Enforcement or Probation, is not included. This is because the estimate relates to situations in which diversion does not exist as an alternative in the first place. As indicated, it is assumed that if diversion programs did not exist or were not available, Law Enforcement and Probation would process and reprocess "divertable" Clients by themselves, as they currently do.

⁹Data used by EJDP in the present analysis were obtained from County Criminal Justice Profiles. (5,7)

TABLE 42: California Costs for Juvenile Arrests and Probation Processing in 1974, by Project

Project	Cost Per Arrest ^a	Cost per Case for Probation Processing ^b
Three Successful Projects		
La Colonia	\$557	\$406
Stockton	430	634
Compton	669	599
Eight Remaining Projects		
A	557	406
B	560	715
C	366	430
D	331	321
E	481	761
F	596	271
G	596	271
H	482	428

^aSee Appendix Y for computational details.

^bSee Appendix Z for details.

In Table 43, a cost analysis is shown in which actual differences in recidivism between matched Clients and Comparisons are used. Here, the cost of rereferral *is* taken into account. This table will now be reviewed in detail.

In Column 1, each diversion project is listed. In column 2, each project is hypothetically assigned a base of 100 Clients from which uniform calculations can be made for all 11 projects. The percentage-points difference in rearrests is shown in column 3, for Clients and their matched Comparisons.

TABLE 43: Computation of Potential Savings or Loss for EJD P Evaluated Projects

(1) Project	(2) Hypothetical number of clients ^a	(3) Actual percentage-point difference in rearrest rate between clients and comparisons	(4) No. of clients per 100 whose recidivism was reduced or increased	(5) Estimated cost of avoided rearrests ^b	(6) No. and % of estimated clients in col. 4 who would have been referred to probation		(7) Estimated cost of avoided probation processing ^c	(8) Combined savings due to avoided rearrest and probation processing ^d	(9) Cost of diversion for clients whose recidivism was reduced or increased	(10) Net difference or total of diversion cost and combined savings or loss associated with recidivism
					N	%				
Three Successful Projects										
La Colonia	100	-25.0%	-25	\$13,925	-11	44.5	\$ 4,466	\$18,391	\$14,025	\$ 5,841
Stockton	100	-34.1%	-34	14,620	-18	52.4	11,412	26,032	8,670	17,464
Compton	100	-26.4%	-26	17,394	- 9	33.3	5,391	22,785	10,972	11,813
Eight Remaining Projects										
A	100	- 4.1%	- 4	2,228	- 2	44.5	812	3,040	1,048	1,992
B	100	- 0.1%	0	0	0	31.5	0	0	0	0
C	100	+ 5.6%	+ 6	2,196	+ 3	43.6	1,290	3,486	672	4,158 (Loss)
D	100	-12.2%	-12	3,972	- 8	66.6	2,568	6,540	1,752	4,788
E	100	+ 1.4%	+ 1	481	0	48.8	0	481	160	641 (Loss)
F	100	+ 6.6%	+ 7	4,172	+ 5	67.6	1,355	5,527	1,239	6,766 (Loss)
G	100	- 4.1%	- 4	2,304	- 3	67.6	813	3,197	428	2,769
H	100	- 4.9%	- 5	2,410	- 2	47.1	856	3,266	1,225	2,041
Total Gain (due to clients being sent to diversion)									\$46,708	
Total Loss (due to clients being sent to diversion)									\$11,565	
Net difference (gain minus loss)									\$35,143	
Gain per client									\$ 31.95	
									(\$35,143 ÷ 1,100)	

^aN = 1,100 clients (100 youths, 11 projects).

^cOr, for projects C, E, and F, cost of additional probation processing.

^bOr, for projects C, E, and F, cost of additional rearrests.

^dOr, for projects C, E, and F, combined loss due to additional rearrests and probation processing.

In column 4, the percentage-points difference in rearrest rates is related to each project's hypothetical 100 cases in order to determine the number of Clients who would show either a reduction or a gain in recidivism. Here, a minus sign indicates that the percentage-points difference--i.e., the reduction in recidivism--was in favor of Clients. A plus sign indicates an increase in recidivism, i.e., performance that favored the Comparisons.

In Column 5, the estimated cost of avoided rearrest (or, for projects C, E, and F, *added* rearrests) is computed for Clients who showed either a reduction or a gain in recidivism. This cost is obtained by multiplying the number of Clients in question (col. 4) by the *cost per arrest (rearrest)* shown in Table 42, for the jurisdiction (county) that corresponded to the given project.

In column 6, the estimated number of Clients who would have been sent to Probation by Police is presented. These figures are the product of column 4, on the one hand, and the percentage of youths who are ordinarily sent to Probation by the Police, on the other (col. 6, section 2).¹⁰

In column 7, the estimated cost of avoided Probation processing is presented. This is obtained by multiplying the average cost of Probation for the county in which each diversion project was located (Table 42) by the estimated number of youths who would have been sent to Probation (col. 6, section 1).

Column 8 shows (1) the combined savings due to *avoided* rearrests and Probation processing, and, for projects C, E, and F, (2) the combined loss due to *additional* rearrests and Probation processing.¹¹ In column 9, diversion project costs are presented for Clients whose recidivism was

¹⁰These percentages were derived from County Criminal Justice Profiles.

¹¹Column 8 is the sum of columns 5 and 7.

reduced or increased. These figures are the product of column 4 and the per-case costs shown in Table 40. Finally, in column 10, we arrive at the end result of this analysis, namely, the net difference between diversion project costs (col. 9) and the savings or loss associated with recidivism (col. 8):

Results and Implications

Using (1) a hypothetical Client base, (2) estimated as well as actual costs, and (3) actual recidivism rates, we find that diversion processing results in a modest savings per Client, compared to traditional processing. Specifically, for the present sample of projects and jurisdictions, the average saving is \$31.95 per Client (Table 43, col. 10). This means that for every 100 diversion youths whose background is comparable to that of 100 youths processed by Probation, one may expect a savings of approximately \$3,200 in terms of avoided future Law Enforcement plus Probation costs.¹²

What are the policy implications of these findings? As indicated, the present cost-differentials are an outgrowth of differences in rate of re-arrest between Clients and Comparisons. In earlier chapters we found that the Clients most likely to perform better than their Comparisons were those who had accumulated one offense prior to their instant offense. However, for "lightweights" (youths with no prior offenses) and "heavyweights" (two or more priors) no significant difference was found in rate of recidivism between Clients and Comparisons. Together, these findings suggest that

¹²It should be kept in mind that these figures relate to 1974 prices. Inflation over the past four years may have raised these numbers by 20 to 25 percent.

the justice system might place increased emphasis on the referral of "middle-weight" offenders to diversion programs, and might deemphasize the referral of other youths. This, at least, would appear to represent an appropriate strategy from a cost-effectiveness point of view, for diversion programs as a whole.

As suggested in Chapter 6, some diversion programs may well be able to handle "heavyweights". However, our overall findings suggest that this is not the case for *most* diversion programs as they are presently constituted.

Chapter 11

REVIEW OF MAIN FINDINGS

The present report has described the findings of EJDP, a three-year study of juvenile diversion within California. Fifteen projects were evaluated in order to answer the following questions:

1. How many youths (Clients) were diverted from the traditional justice system?
2. Was recidivism reduced?
3. What did the project cost?

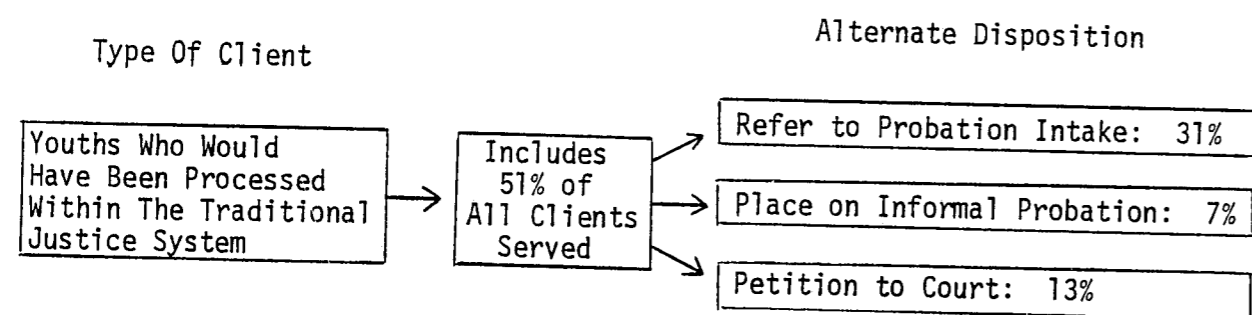
The main findings are presented under each of these areas.

Amount Of Diversion

Before proceeding, the following should be kept in mind. Diversion projects served youths in lieu of the latter's initial or subsequent processing within the traditional justice system--basically, Law Enforcement and Probation. Any given project could have operated under the auspices of either a justice or non justice system (e.g., private) agency; and, regardless of auspices, it could have served youths who were referred from a justice and/or non justice system *source*. The latter individuals--that is, non justice system youths who were served by diversion projects--mainly included those referred by self, parents, or schools.

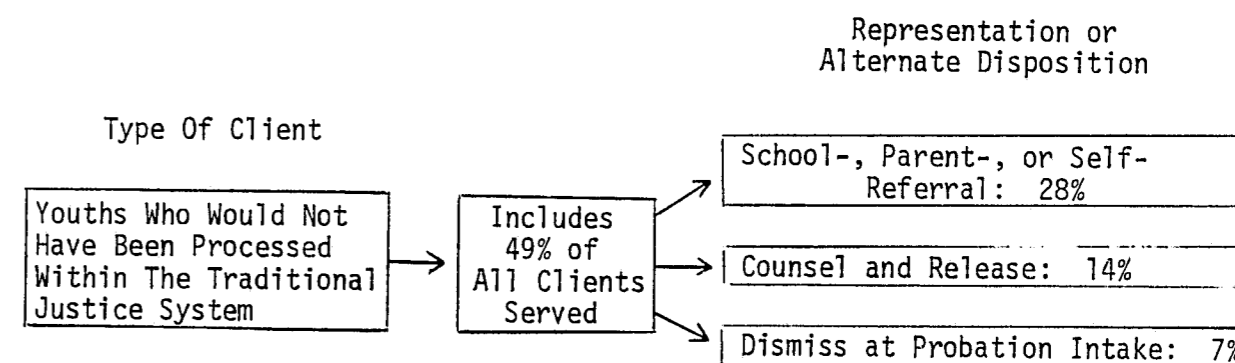
As shown in Figure 5, of all Clients who were served by Phase 2 diversion projects--i.e., of all justice and non justice system referrals combined--51% had been diverted from initial or further processing *within* the traditional justice system. More specifically, if the present diversion projects had not existed these individuals would either have been (1) sent to Probation by the Police, (2) placed on informal probation, or (3) petitioned to Court. Of these three groups the largest subgroup (31% of all Clients served) was comprised of individuals who would have been sent to Probation intake by the Police. Youths who would have been placed on informal probation comprised 7% of all Clients served; and, individuals who would have been petitioned to Court comprised the remaining 13%. All three groups were comprised of justice system referrals only.

Figure 5: Percentage of Clients who Would Have Been Further Processed by Traditional Justice System if Diversion Projects Did Not Exist



As seen in Figure 6, of all Clients who were served by Phase 2 diversion projects, the remaining 49% would *not* have been processed *within* the traditional justice system. In this respect they received services and/or controls that they would not have received if the diversion projects had not existed. Of these youths, the largest subgroup (28% of all Clients served) was comprised of *non justice system* referrals, i.e., youths who came to the diversion project via a school-, parent-, or self-referral. The second largest subgroup (14% of all Clients) consisted of justice system referrals who would have been counseled and released by the Police if the diversion projects had not existed. The third and final subgroup (7%) were justice system referrals who would have been dismissed at Probation intake if the diversion projects had not existed.

Figure 6: Percentage of Clients who Would Not Have Been Further Processed by Traditional Justice System if Diversion Projects Did Not Exist



Reduction Of Recidivism

On 6-months followup from point of instant arrest, 25.4% of the Clients and 30.7% of their matched Comparisons were arrested (law + status arrests combined). This difference was statistically reliable and represented a 17.3% reduction in recidivism.¹ It was accounted for largely by law arrests: focusing on these arrests alone, the recidivism rates for Clients and Comparisons were 15.7% and 20.3% respectively, a reduction of 22.7%.² These analyses were conducted on justice system referrals only, since it was not possible to obtain comparison cases for non justice system youths, i.e., school-, parent-, and self-referrals. The analyses were carried out relative to 11 of the 15 Phase 2 projects since it was not possible to establish valid comparison groups for the remaining 4.

Although Clients had a lower recidivism rate than Comparisons for the 11 projects combined, they did not have a lower rate in all projects *individually*. Specifically, in 8 of the 11 projects there were no significant differences in the recidivism rates of Clients and Comparisons.³ In

¹ During the 6-months followup the number of law + status arrests per youth was: Clients - 0.41; Comparisons - 0.49. This is a 16.3% reduction in rate of arrest.

² During the followup period the number of *law* arrests per youth was: Clients - 0.22; Comparisons - 0.29. This is a 24.1% reduction in arrest rate (illegal behavior).

³ See qualifying remark in Chapter 6, n. 15.

the 3 remaining projects ("successful" projects), Clients had a significantly lower rate than Comparisons on 6-months followup; here, the reduction in recidivism ranged from 33 to 56%. In 2 of the successful projects these findings held up on 12-months followup; they also held up in the 1 such project on which an 18-months followup was conducted. In these same 2 projects, the typical Client remained in the program for 8.5 and 1.5 months respectively. Given the 12-months findings, this suggested that the impact of diversion may sometimes extend beyond the period of direct program involvement.

The above findings did not apply to all youths equally: In the 11 projects combined, there were no significant differences in the recidivism rates of Clients and Comparisons who had (a) *no* arrests prior to their instant arrest, and (b) *two--*and also two or more--priors. However, among individuals who had *one* prior arrest, Clients did perform significantly better than Comparisons:⁴ on 6-months followup, 32.3% of the former and 44.1% of the latter were arrested, a reduction in recidivism of 26.8%.⁵ Covariance analyses indicated that these results were not a product of preexisting differences between Clients and Comparisons with respect to age, sex, ethnicity, instant arrest, and source of referral.

⁴ Individuals with 0, 1, and 2 priors comprised 76, 15, and 5% of the total sample, respectively.

⁵ This difference, and that for law arrests in particular (29.5%) was statistically significant.

As indicated, in the 11 projects combined, reduction in recidivism was associated with "moderate" risk (one prior arrest) rather than with "lower" or "higher" risk youths. However, in 2 of the 3 successful projects, Clients typically fell within the *higher* risk category: their average number of prior arrests was 3.3 and 2.7 respectively. (For their Comparisons the figures were 1.8 and 2.2.) Thus, the fact of higher risk did not inevitably rule out the possibility of relatively successful intervention. This was also supported by the specific finding that, for the 3 successful projects combined, Clients whose record contained two prior arrests were significantly less likely to be rearrested than Comparisons whose prior record was the same.

In all 3 successful projects, Clients and Comparisons had more prior arrests than their counterparts in each of the 8 remaining projects--those for which no significant differences were found in the recidivism rates of Clients and Comparisons. In these 8 projects, most youths (Clients and Comparisons alike) had very few priors--well under *one*, on the average--and were therefore rather low (good) risks. This fact in itself may have placed a major constraint on the extent to which a positive outcome--i.e., reduced recidivism--could be obtained. In effect, with these projects, there was very little room for improvement in the first place.

When the 6-months followup period was compared with a 6-months baseline period that preceded each youth's instant arrest, it was found that most Clients in the 11 projects actually had not changed from baseline (pre) to followup (post).⁶ For example, two-thirds of all youths had no arrests at pre and no arrests at post. (These were low-risk youths--individuals with no known offense history.) Nevertheless, at least one-fifth of all individuals changed for the worse, e.g., no arrests at pre but at least one arrest at post.

Cost Of Diversion

During the project year that was assessed, funded expenditures for individual, Phase 2 diversion projects ranged from a low of \$39,322 to a high of \$250,000. The average expenditure was \$101,957. The number of Clients served ranged from 196 to 806--the average being 408. Cost per case therefore ranged from a low of \$107 to a high of \$600, and the average cost was \$250.

The great variation in number of Clients served and, indirectly, in cost per case, was mostly due to inter-project differences in (1) number of potential Clients within the catchment area; (2) criteria

⁶The instant arrest was excluded from all pre/post analyses.

used for accepting Clients; (3) size of program, e.g., number of staff; (4) different ways of counting Clients, and (5) amount and duration of service. Factor (5) was partly a function of project orientation and main approach, e.g., use of recreation or short-term family counseling versus use of longer-term individual counseling.

For the 3 projects that were successful in reducing recidivism the average budget was \$129,324, the average number of Clients served was 341, and the cost per case was \$379. For the 8 remaining ("unsuccessful") projects the average budget was \$67,294, the number of Clients served was 463, and the cost per case was \$145. Thus, compared to "unsuccessful" projects, those which significantly reduced recidivism had a budget that was almost twice as large; they served 26.3% fewer individuals, and their cost per case was considerably greater.

Does this mean that increased funding, or more money spent per Client, directly reduced recidivism? Probably not. For example, the positive relation between cost and outcome may have been due to a further relationship between cost and intervening factors such as better trained staff, or salary structures that *attracted* more experienced or better trained staff. These possibilities, or hypotheses, could not be tested in the present study.

Finally, for 1974, the estimated average cost per Law Enforcement arrest for 11 EJDP-evaluated projects was \$511; for Probation processing

it was \$477. Using these figures together with actual recidivism rates for Clients and Comparisons in the same 11 projects, an average savings of \$31.95 was found for each diversion Client who was referred from a justice system source. This savings basically reflected the cost of re-arrests--fewer of which occurred among Clients than among Comparisons. The figure of \$31.95 means that for every 100 *diverted*, justice system referrals whose background is comparable to that of 100 youths processed by the *traditional* justice system (nondiverted youths), one could theoretically generate a savings of approximately \$3,200 in terms of avoided future Law Enforcement plus Probation costs.

Non justice system youths--e.g., self-, parent-, and school-referrals--who (a) would not have been processed by the traditional system but who (b) were served by *justice system* operated diversion projects represented an additional cost to the justice system, at least in the short-run. Those served by non justice system projects represented a cost to society, but--at least in the short-run--not to the justice system.

Additional Findings

Substudies and supplementary analyses yielded several additional findings. Chief among them were the following:

Type of cases diverted⁷

Cases most likely to be selected for diversion were those which involved misdemeanor arrests rather than felonies or prior experience with diversion. Specifically, youths most often selected for diversion were misdemeanants with no prior arrests and misdemeanants with one or two prior arrests for which they were released rather than convicted. Individuals *least* likely to be selected were those with a prior felony conviction and those who had previously terminated a diversion program, or had been terminated, due to lack of interest. Other findings indicated that when it came to ruling out the possibility of diversion, the existence of a prior offense history and a prior conviction was sometimes given more weight than the fact of a felony instant arrest per se.

Coercion versus client participation

Questionnaire responses by 32 Detectives and 12 Diversion Coordinators suggested that there is no simple answer to the question of whether diversion is primarily coercive or noncoercive, from the standpoint of decision makers. For example, there was some evidence that differing degrees of coercion as well as Client participation in decision-making are involved at differing points in the overall diversion process.

⁷ This substudy was based on a questionnaire, not on a review of actual referrals.

Moreover, it is possible that coercion and Client participation often coexist, that is, operate at essentially the same time and in relation to the very same issue.⁸ In any event it seems clear that both factors do exist within the context of diversion.

Offender characteristics and recidivism

Clients with the following characteristics had a significantly lower recidivism rate than that of matched Comparisons: (1) they were female; (2) they were Anglo or Mexican-American; (3) their prior record contained one arrest; (4) they were referred to diversion for a status offense.

While it was these characteristics that *best* predicted a reduction of delinquent behavior for Clients relative to Comparisons, they and other characteristics failed to effectively predict that behavior in an absolute and practical sense of the term. Specifically, multiple regression analyses indicated that even an optimal (linear) combination of characteristics such as these accounted for no more than 10 to 20% of the variance in performance (recidivism on 6-months followup). Thus, such characteristics--while able to distinguish the Client from Comparison group on subsequent delinquency--were unable to effectively predict

⁸ For example, coercion in the background and Client participation in the foreground.

the delinquent behavior of Clients and Comparisons as *individuals*: the margin of error, for example, the percentage of incorrect predictions, was simply too high.

Granted such practical limitations, it was also observed that *Clients* with the following characteristics were those least likely to be rearrested on 6-months followup:⁹ (1) they were female rather than male; (2) they were Anglo rather than Non-Anglo; (3) they had no prior arrests rather than one or more arrests; (4) they were referred to diversion for a law rather than status arrest; (5) they were referred to diversion by Law Enforcement rather than Probation. In short, these were the features that distinguished the more successful from the less successful Clients.

Program elements used

The percentage of youths who were exposed to given program elements--i.e., who participated at least once--was as follows:¹⁰

⁹ In this substudy, Clients of any one group--e.g., those with no prior arrests--were evaluated in relation to *Clients* of all remaining groups combined, not in relation to Comparisons.

¹⁰ Since many youths were exposed to more than one element, the percentages in this section total more than 100.

individual counseling - 52; group counseling - 9; family counseling - 72; academic tutoring, group education, etc. - 5; recreation, social/cultural enrichment - 5; referral to other resources - 2; other - 5.¹¹

Thus, family counseling was the program element to which most youths (72%) were exposed; individual counseling was next.

Of all service hours provided, the following percentage was devoted to each program element:

individual counseling - 38; group counseling - 11; family counseling - 35; academic tutoring, group education, etc. - 3; recreation, social/cultural enrichment - 6; referral to other resources - 1; other - 6.

Thus, the largest portion of all service hours was devoted to individual and family counseling; together, these elements accounted for 73% of the total. As before, group counseling was a distant third.

The hours of service that the average youth received were as follows, for each program element:

individual counseling - 2.1; group counseling - 0.6; family counseling - 1.9; academic tutoring, group education, etc. - 0.2; recreation, social/cultural enrichment - 0.3; referral to other resources - 0.1; other - 0.3.

¹¹ "Other" mostly included phone contacts.

Thus, the average youth received about 2 hours of individual counseling, 2 hours of family counseling, and one-half hour of group counseling. To be sure, no one youth was likely to receive precisely this amount of service or, for that matter, all three types of service. As to each remaining element, little service was received.

Before continuing, two points might be noted. (1) In projects that comprised the program-elements analysis (above and below), the total duration of Client/program contact was approximately 6 weeks for the vast majority of youths. (2) Of the three successful projects mentioned in earlier sections, the first emphasized individual counseling, the second focused on family counseling, and the third emphasized group work and, to a lesser extent, recreation.

Program elements and recidivism

Youths who were exposed to (1) individual counseling performed better than those who were not. This also applied, though not as strongly, to those participating in (2) group counseling. On the other hand, youths who participated in (3) family counseling performed *worse* than those who did not.¹² Clients who were exposed to (4) academic tutoring, group education, and/or employment counseling, (5) recreation and/or social/cultural enrichment, (6) referral to other resources, or (7) "other"

¹² This was despite the relative success that one project did have with this approach.

activities, performed neither better nor worse than those not exposed. Here, as elsewhere, performance referred to arrests on 6-months followup, from point of instant arrest.

Individuals who received 3 or more hours of "all services combined" (elements 1 through 7, above) performed better, in terms of law arrests, than those who received fewer than 3 hours of service. Essentially the same applied to "all counseling services combined" (elements 1 through 3): more service was associated with better performance. Finally, individuals who made more visits to their diversion project outperformed those who made relatively few.¹³

For *boys* with prior arrests and those without prior arrests the one program element that appeared to "work" was individual counseling. For *girls* with priors and those without priors no program element was found to work; moreover, for girls with priors, exposure to family counseling was associated with worse performance than no exposure at all.

Approaches used in three successful projects

During one-to-one interviews, workers from the three projects that reduced recidivism were asked to systematically assess each of 35 intervention approaches, relative to their frequency-of-usage and amount of

¹³ Youths who made more visits did not have a smaller number of prior arrests. In this respect they were not better risks from the start.

impact on project Clients.¹⁴ Following are the three approaches seen by workers as having the largest amount of positive impact:

- Informality--lack of social distance (e.g., minimize social or personal distance between yourself and the youth).
- Expressing personal concern for/acceptance of youth (e.g., help the youth feel that you really do care about him in more than a formal, 'its-my-job' fashion).
- Frequency of contact (e.g., make sure that you and the youth are in frequent contact).

In general, approaches that were seen as having the most positive impact were those which had been most often used. However, certain approaches were seen as having considerable impact even though they were not among those most often used. Included were such methods and areas of focus as "being personally available during crises," and "recreation, socializing." Still other approaches that were often used were *not* among those with the most perceived impact.

The following were seen as having the least positive impact:

- Involving youth in the community (e.g., involve the youth in civic activities and community projects).
- Familiarizing youth with authority figures (e.g., expose youth to police and probation officers as individuals, by means of informal meetings, lectures and on-site tours).

¹⁴ Because of EJDP's limited resources, a similar data gathering effort was not undertaken with the remaining Phase 2 projects.

- Using power/authority (e.g., make sure the youth sees you as the main source of power with whom he must deal when making decisions and plans).

In general, approaches with the least amount of perceived impact were those least often used. Nevertheless, some approaches that were seldom used were not necessarily those with little perceived impact. Included were: "being forceful, blunt"; "being unpredictable, doing the unexpected"; "using a practical emphasis"; etc. Thus, when these approaches *were* used, they were not necessarily seen as having little impact.

Limitations Of This Study

Findings from the projects and Clients that were studied in Phase 2 can probably be generalized to a sizable portion of all diversion projects and Clients, but certainly not to all. The main reasons for this will now be summarized.

In the following respects, the 15 projects that were studied during Phase 2 were representative of all OCJP-funded juvenile diversion programs that were operated in California during 1974: (1) target-area size; (2) proportion of projects that served youths primarily in large-sized cities, small-sized cities, and rural areas, respectively; (3) duration of project operation at time of study; (4) percent of staff-time used for direct services to Clients; (5) organizational structure; and (6)

ratio of Law Enforcement-operated to Probation-operated programs. However, they were markedly under-representative of private agency-sponsored as well as non justice system, city/county-governed operations. That is, Phase 2 projects, collectively, were somewhat heavily weighted in favor of *justice* system operations when compared to the full range of OCJP-funded projects. (Non OCJP-funded diversion projects were virtually nonexistent within California in 1974, and were never studied by EJD.P.)

Focusing on Clients, Phase 2 individuals were representative of the total OCJP sample in terms of age, sex, and--except for a moderate under-representation of Blacks--ethnicity. However, Phase 2 Clients were more likely to have been referred from justice system than non justice system sources when compared to the total OCJP sample. Taken together, these and related findings suggested that Phase 2 projects were comprised of Clients who may have been somewhat more involved in delinquency, or at least more delinquenty oriented, than those in OCJP-funded projects as a whole.

The following should also be kept in mind. The Phase 2 Client group consisted, literally, only of those individuals who "showed up" at diversion: it included no youths who were referred to a project but who, for whatever reason, did not show up. Unfortunately, EJD.P. collected no information that would directly indicate how many individuals were referred to

diversion but did not show up, as compared to every individual who was referred and did show up. Despite this lack of hard data, indirect evidence suggested that most individuals who were referred to diversion--at least by justice system agencies--did in fact show up.

Finally, as indicated, the 6-months recidivism analysis focused on justice system referrals alone. Although these individuals were quite similar to non justice system referrals on sex and ethnicity, they were approximately one year younger than the latter. Moreover, they were far less likely than non justice system youths to have been referred in connection with a status offense. Given these findings and given the difference in performance between Clients referred for law offenses as compared to status offenses (p. 82), particular caution is called for in terms of generalizing the present recidivism results from justice system to non justice system referrals.

DISCUSSION

A basic goal of the Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Project was "to develop model juvenile diversion programs, based on the evaluations of program strategies and program impact". This mandate may be interpreted in more than one way: It can refer to an account of individual projects that seem to hold promise relative to a wide range of situations; indeed, at first glance, this is all the mandate would seem to imply. However, it can also relate to an entire system of diversion programs, one that would include a set of overriding objectives and policies in terms of which individual projects would function and derive their meaning. These interpretations are not mutually exclusive: the latter includes and extends beyond the former.

In this chapter we will concentrate on the latter interpretation, for two reasons. First, at a practical level, EJDJ uncovered no individual project that seemed ideal for all youths under all conditions, or for most youths under most conditions. Second, and more basic, in reflecting on our experiences of the past three years it became increasingly clear that any project will be seen as either appropriate or inappropriate depending on its role with respect to specified *objectives*. That is, no project operates or is evaluated in a vacuum; instead, preexisting

goals can largely determine *which* clientele may be considered appropriate for the project to handle, *what* outcomes or products may be desirable, and, in some cases, *which* approaches are most likely to be used. To reflect this point of view our discussion and brief outlines of "model juvenile diversion programs" will first be organized around a series of specific goals. These outlines will then be brought together to suggest a tentative *system* of model programs and related policies--one that will attempt to build upon, yet balance, the merits of the several goals in question.

Five possible goals of diversion will be considered:

- #1 Avoidance or reduction of labelling and stigmatization;
- #2 Reduction or elimination of social controls and coercion;
- #3 Reduction of illegal behavior (recidivism);
- #4 Provision of services;
- #5 Reduction of costs.

Despite some overlap each goal will be discussed in turn; this will more clearly highlight their differing implications with respect to model-building. As in earlier chapters, we will not focus on diversion from long-term incarceration, e.g., that which is ordinarily associated with state-operated institutions. We will concentrate mainly on diversion

as practised by Police, Probation, and the Courts instead.¹

Finally, it might be noted that our discussion and suggestions concerning Goals #1, #2, and #4 are not derived from EJD_P data as such, at least not primarily. Instead, they follow logically from the respective definitions of the "problem", from various assumptions that are part of those definitions, and from the statements-of-goals themselves. On the other hand, our discussion and, especially, our suggestions which relate to Goals #3 and #5 do spring primarily from the findings of EJD_P. Beyond this, in the case of all five goals we have attempted to give scientific data--empirical findings--precedence over "intuition" and often-encountered positions that may seem self-evident to many individuals but which are far from obvious to others. At any rate we have tried, where possible, to test--and, in Chapter 13 (Conclusions), to integrate or temper--these intuitions and positions in the light of available, objective information.

Diversion and Specific Goals

Goal #1: Avoidance or reduction of labelling and stigmatization

The significance of Goal #1 derives from the widely held assumption that the greater a youth's involvement in the formal justice system, the

¹ As indicated in Chapter 3, n. 3, less than 1% of all Law Enforcement referrals were diverted from long-term institutionalization--specifically, referral to the CYA. Such a sample did not allow us to meaningfully address this potential area of diversion.

greater his chance of (a) being negatively labelled by others, (b) developing a delinquent self-image, and (c) being stigmatized and materially hampered because of his official record. The existence of these factors, in turn, is thought to increase his chance of *continued* involvement in delinquent behavior. For present purposes we will accept these views as entirely valid.

Now, let us assume that the principal or sole object of diversion is the avoidance or reduction of negative labelling and stigmatization. Relative to formal justice system processing, this goal may be achieved in two broad areas.² First, one can divert individuals from *initial* processing within the justice system. Here, one would attempt to minimize rather than increase overall contact with the system; in this respect one's immediate goal would be not to "widen its nets". Second, one can divert individuals from *continued* processing by the system of which they may already be, or have been, a part. Here, it is assumed that "deeper" involvement in the formal justice system directly increases the chance of negative labelling, stigmatization, and various harmful experiences.³

² Labelling and stigmatization would presumably be eliminated, not merely reduced, if the formal justice system were entirely abolished. However, individuals concerned with labelling and stigmatization generally agree that the system cannot be entirely abolished; they believe this is probably an unrealistic and in many respects undesirable goal.

³ The following is usually viewed as the standard series of increasingly "deep" steps, relative to involvement in the justice system: Police arrest → referral to Probation intake → placement on informal Probation → placement on formal Probation → commitment to state agency (long-term institutionalization). Referral to Court generally occurs prior to formal Probation.

Specifically, then, avoidance or reduction of labelling may be accomplished most directly and comprehensively by policies that emphasize the following:

(1) For non justice-system referrals. Divert all non justice-system referrals from initial processing within the formal justice system. Specifically, help all school-, parent-, self-, and other-referrals establish contact with

(a) non justice-system operated projects.

If such projects are unavailable, divert these individuals to

(b) Police or Probation sponsored/operated projects that would not involve them in the formal justice system with respect to booking, official and/or permanent records, etc.

(2) For justice system referrals. Release individuals who would have been counseled and released after being arrested by Law Enforcement agencies--individuals who, for example, do not seem in need of assistance or external controls. More specifically, recommend *no* program whatsoever ("diversion without programming") for non self-referrals of this type.⁴ However, one might recommend non justice-system projects and, secondarily,

⁴ This might also apply to certain non justice-system youths--for instance, individuals referred by parents or schools--who, in the opinion of intake staff, are not in need of assistance or controls.

justice system projects if counsel and release would have occurred only because no diversion project was *available* at a time when assistance seemed to be needed, yet formal justice system processing appeared inappropriate. An identical policy might be pursued with individuals whose dismissal at Probation intake would have occurred for similar reasons.

Selected implications. As indicated, these policies would be appropriate if one's sole object were the fullest possible implementation of Goal #1: reduction of labelling. With specified exceptions, such policies would apply to all individuals who fall within certain status or disposition categories, for example, *all* non justice-system referrals or all youths who would have been dismissed at Probation intake for reasons mentioned above. In short, decisions that would be made in order to implement these policies would not be based on the individual's background characteristics, e.g., features that were empirically found to be associated with greater or lesser likelihood of future offending.

In the area of costs, since far fewer cases would be processed and supervised if Goal #1 were implemented, justice system expenses might well show an immediate and substantial drop. Whether such savings would be maintained in the long run would depend largely on the frequency with which these youths were arrested subsequent to having been diverted.

The projected short-term savings assumes, of course, that staffing patterns would vary as a direct function of caseload size or total volume--i.e., fewer cases, fewer staff. However, this particular variation is by no means inevitable; that is, agencies may choose to maintain their present level of staffing despite reduced caseloads that result from diversion. This choice may reflect their wish to provide increased supervision to the *non* diverted, more delinquently involved youths who would continue to be part of their now-reduced caseloads. While such a policy would perhaps preclude the short-term savings mentioned above, it could conceivably lead to a long-range savings for the justice system as a whole. Such a savings would largely result from reduced recidivism on the part of non diverted youths. Aside from possible savings, the increased supervision that would be experienced by these more delinquently involved youths would, by definition, mean greater amounts of social control.

Finally, for justice- and non justice-system referrals alike, if diversion without programming were routinely given preference to diversion with programming--i.e., to recommendations (1a) and (1b) above--individuals who might otherwise have received service and/or control would receive essentially none. This brings us to the second goal.

Goal #2: Reduction or elimination of social controls and coercion

It is often stated that agencies of society exert too much control over too many individuals, juvenile offenders being a prime example. For instance, it is widely believed that status offenders should not be punished or controlled by being placed on Probation, and that many nonstatus offenders who are on Probation should receive neither the type nor amount of control that they do. Moreover, it is often believed that many individuals who have made official or even informal contact with the justice system are unjustifiably coerced, or deceived, into accepting services which they neither need, want, nor are likely to profit from.⁵ (4) Sometimes these services are themselves assumed to be a disguised form of social control. For reasons such as these, the reduction or elimination of controls and/or coercion is frequently viewed as a central--or even the paramount--goal of diversion.

Social control and coercion may be reduced or eliminated in essentially the same manner as that described under Goal #1, the avoidance of labelling. For instance, it might be argued that unnecessary social

⁵ This view is often held by persons who believe that--within a justice system context--the utilization of almost any form of programmed assistance (typically counseling) implies that there is something wrong with the individual who is being assisted. Here, assistance is usually said to be based on a "medical model" which assumes that all Clients are somehow defective or sick. This assumption-of-defect is thought to be communicated to Clients, and to have a negative effect on both their self-concept and relationships with others.

controls can be substantially reduced by diverting (a) all non justice-system referrals (e.g., self-referrals), individuals who accounted for no less than 28% of all Clients served by diversion projects. A similar policy might be adopted with (b) justice system referrals who would have been counseled and released, or those dismissed at Probation intake (14% and 7% of the total diversion population, respectively).

Regardless of referral source, social control and overt or covert coercion might be reduced by diverting youths to non justice- rather than justice-system sponsored diversion projects. Sometimes, of course, projects that are sponsored or operated by non justice-system agencies may be nonexistent or unavailable. In such cases the choice may have to be between increased *depth of involvement* in the justice system, on the one hand, and comparatively moderate amounts of coercion on the other. For instance, if one wished to minimize or avoid possible stigmatization and negative experiences associated with formal Probation or long-term institutionalization, the best available or perhaps only acceptable choice might be a Police- or Probation-operated diversion project that still involved explicitly or implicitly coerced participation. Quite aside from the question of coercion, it might be noted that the present study produced no evidence that non justice-system projects would operate either better or worse than justice system projects relative to future offending and

overall costs. There were too few non justice-system projects to allow for valid and reliable comparisons in this regard.

Selected implications. Within the context of diversion, the most direct way to eliminate coercion and greatly reduce social controls would probably be to make participation in such programs an entirely voluntary matter. If this were done, the following might be expected to occur:

(1) Many youths who, let us assume, need little or no assistance and control would probably choose to avoid the programs in question. These individuals might comprise a sizable portion of the 67%-of-all-Clients group who not only had no record of arrests prior to their instant arrest, but who remained free of arrests during the 6-months followup (p. 99).⁶ Thus, relative to the behavior of many such individuals there might be comparatively little loss to society in terms of future offending; from a somewhat different perspective, there would be essentially no gain in terms of reduced recidivism. Relative to the youths themselves, there would be little loss in terms of overall personal adjustment as a result of their voluntary nonparticipation. In any event, the number of individuals who might comprise this group is probably very large.

⁶To be sure, 6 months is a short time-period, one which justifies no more than tentative conclusions--here and elsewhere.

(2) If participation in diversion projects were made voluntary, many youths who would reject such programs would not receive assistance that they might have received if participation were nonvoluntary. Stated differently, many such individuals might have made constructive use of the available services despite, say, their (a) moderate *initial* resistance, (b) uncertainty, or (c) perhaps even sustained mixed feelings concerning the nonvoluntary programs in question. By way of contrast, individuals whose opposition to a diversion program is very strong would not be likely to remain in it, let alone profit from it, even if participation were nonvoluntary.

(3) With respect to social controls it might be argued that if diversion were made entirely voluntary, a restraining force which is needed for at least some individuals would no longer exist, and their feelings of responsibility for illegal behavior would be accordingly reduced. Assuming they do exist, many such individuals might fall within the group whose rate of *offending* was found, in the present study, to remain unchanged from baseline to followup, and within a second group whose level of illegal activity showed an increase. Together, these groups comprised at least one-fourth of all justice system Clients (p. 99). At any rate it might be argued that the use of coercion and social control is more important for some youths than for others, e.g., for multiple offenders than for

those who have few if any prior arrests: As seen on p. 93, youths who had 2 prior arrests were twice as likely to be rearrested on 6-months followup as those who had none.

Thus, if social control--a potential deterrent--were indeed eliminated, a central question might be: Is the resulting gain in terms of personal freedom for these individuals worth the possible loss to other individuals, e.g., loss of property?

Goal #3: Reduction of illegal behavior (recidivism)

If reduction of repeat offending were the sole object of diversion, our model-building approach would be quite different from that used to implement Goals #1 and #2: avoidance of labelling and reduction of social controls. There, decisions regarding the diversion of youths were based on broad status and disposition categories within which those individuals fell, e.g., their status as a non justice-system referral or their disposition with respect to counsel and release. To reduce recidivism, on the other hand, decisions would relate to Client characteristics and program inputs that are associated with greater or lesser amounts of repeat offending.⁷ Policies that would reflect this type of decision will now

⁷ As in earlier chapters, "recidivism" will refer to illegal behavior, especially arrests. It will not refer to "reinstitutionalization", "program failure", etc.--actions, statuses, or judgments that sometimes reflect agency policies and discretionary decision-making by program staff as much as they reflect illegal behavior per se.

be outlined (statements which follow, under "Client characteristics" and "Program inputs", are based directly on EJDP findings; those which appear under "Client/program combinations" are inferences from these findings).⁸

Client characteristics. To implement the goal of reduced recidivism, diversion efforts would focus mainly on individuals whose offense history contained one arrest prior to their instant arrest. Secondary emphasis would be on those with two prior arrests. Youths with no prior offenses would receive relatively little attention. (Among youths with no priors, four-fifths remained arrest-free during the 6-months followup. This proportion was substantially higher than in the case of individuals whose record contained one and, especially, two prior offenses.)⁹

⁸ Three points should be noted. (1) Statements concerning Client characteristics will relate to justice system (JS) referrals only, since EJDP was unable to include non JS referrals in its 6-months followup of Clients versus Comparisons. The extent to which EJDP's findings would apply to non JS referrals is essentially unknown. (2) Statements regarding program inputs will apply to JS and non JS referrals alike, since the analyses on which these statements are based included JS as well as non JS Clients. (3) In light of (1) and (2) above, statements that relate to Client characteristics and program inputs *combined* will apply primarily but not exclusively to JS referrals.

⁹ As seen on p. 93, for Clients with no prior arrests the rate of recidivism was 36% lower than that of Clients who had one prior arrest; it was 51% lower than those with two prior arrests. For youths with one prior arrest, 32% of the Clients and 44% of their Comparisons were rearrested during the followup period; for those with two arrests the figures were 43% and 49% respectively. However, for individuals with *no* priors the figures were 21% and 21% respectively. Thus, Clients with no prior record showed no reduction in recidivism relative to their Comparisons.

Since recidivism was 28% lower for female Clients than for their Comparisons, and since it was 25% lower among Clients referred for status offenses than among *their* Comparisons, particular attention would be paid to these groups of youth. However, males would in no way be ignored, nor would individuals referred for law offenses--especially if their prior record contained one or more arrests.

Program inputs. To implement the goal of reduced recidivism, diversion programs would place primary emphasis on either individual or group counseling. Except where staff have received relatively high levels of specialized training, family counseling would be deemphasized--but not eliminated.¹⁰ (As seen in Appendix S, youths who participated in individual counseling had the same number of prior arrests as those who participated in family counseling; in this respect, their preexisting "level of risk" was equal. In the case of boys, the number of prior arrests was somewhat greater among those who participated in individual as compared to family counseling. Youths who participated in group counseling had more prior arrests than those exposed to individual and family counseling alike.) Whatever approach is used, several hours of service would be involved.

¹⁰ The first part of this statement springs from the fact that the only diversion project in which family counseling proved successful was one in which staff apparently received an unusually high degree of training in this particular modality. (See p. 27 regarding the New Directions project. (18))

Client/program combinations. For males with at least one prior arrest, individual counseling would receive particular emphasis. Here, an effort would be made to involve the Client in at least 4 sessions, extending over a minimum of six weeks. (In the case of group counseling at least 7 sessions would be held.) For youths with two or more prior arrests program involvement would be considerably longer, e.g., several months in length.¹¹ While increased program involvement would raise the average cost for these Clients, it might result in a long-term savings for the justice system as a whole.

Goal #4: Provision of services (programmed assistance)

Several observations and assumptions underlie the view that diversion programs should be used as a service-resource. Chief among them are the following:

While most youths eventually "outgrow" delinquency with little outside intervention, a sizable portion do not.¹² Among the latter, illegal behavior often continues at the same level throughout much of adolescence, and sometimes begins to rise. However, several factors and conditions can

¹¹ For the La Colonia and Compton projects, average length of program involvement was 8.5 and 5.6 months respectively. (See pp. 92-98 and Appendix M regarding prior arrest record of program participants.)

¹² In a recent study, for instance, it was found that 28% of all youthful offenders who were counseled and released were rearrested within 6 months. (24) It might be argued that these youths were not showing signs of outgrowing, or at least quickly outgrowing, their delinquent behavior. Moreover, many such individuals were in their later teens at the time of rearrest.

contribute to the reduction or elimination of such behavior and to the attainment of improved overall adjustment. One set of factors might involve the avoidance of: negative labelling and resulting negative self-concepts; stigmatization and related self-fulfilling prophecies; etc. Yet, behavioral change and improved adjustment may not necessarily result from an absence of various factors, or from "doing nothing at all". Change may require, or at least be assisted by, the *presence* of specific "inputs" as well.

One type of input might include those services which are designed to help individuals: (a) recognize and more effectively utilize their abilities so they can take better advantage of social opportunities that arise; (b) learn new patterns of interacting with others; or (c) clarify and resolve debilitating feelings or conflicting desires. In working toward these and other goals, the positive impact of programmed assistance would hopefully outweigh any negative effects of labelling, stigmatization, and implicit messages of "defect"--assuming these factors could not be avoided in the first place.

Thus, if the principal or sole object of diversion were that of providing assistance as a way of changing behavior and/or improving overall adjustment, this might be achieved most directly--and perhaps efficiently as well as humanely--by making the preceding inputs or services available

mainly to individuals who strongly desire them or might readily be brought to recognize their potential value. Together, these youths could include many *non justice-system* referrals--especially self- and parent-referrals--who feel they would not receive, or in fact would not receive, such services by any other means. They would also include many *justice system* referrals who would have been counseled and released by Law Enforcement mainly because further justice system handling seemed unnecessary and perhaps inappropriate from the standpoint of social controls, inadequate with respect to quantity and quality of available services, or both. Also included might be numerous individuals who would have been dismissed at Probation intake for essentially the same reasons.

Utilizing this approach, implementation of Goal #4--provision of services--would almost certainly involve a widening of service-agency "nets" for justice- and non justice-system referrals alike. In this context, such nets would not be viewed as a sinister, oppressive, or inevitably harmful force. Instead, to persons concerned solely with the achievement of Goal #4 the widening of nets would be considered a positive development since the central issue is simply: How and where can needed services, or potentially constructive opportunities, best be provided?

From this perspective the following would apply if the only available and adequate services happened to be those supplied by Law Enforcement- or Probation-operated diversion projects: It would be completely appropriate to widen the given justice system nets, i.e., to utilize such projects, as a way of accomodating individuals who might need as well as profit from those services. Yet, exclusive concern with the provision of services would not mean that diversion projects (collectively) must be operated by justice system agencies in particular, or by such agencies alone. Obviously, *any* system or agency that offers service rather than no service, or offers seemingly adequate rather than inadequate service, can theoretically contribute to that goal. To be sure, projects that provide such services while operating *outside* the jurisdiction of Law Enforcement and Probation might be more successful in also achieving the goals of reduced stigmatization and fewer social controls.

Additional considerations. As indicated on p. 128, the average diversion youth received 5.5 hours of service during his or her six weeks on the project. One may well ask if this actually is more service than he or she would have received, say, under formal Probation supervision--albeit over a much longer timespan. If the number of service hours were approximately equal it might be contended that the present, limited-term *diversion* approach would still have at least two possible advantages over

formal Probation: (a) greater concentration of services, especially at a time that is closer to original crisis events or points of felt-need; (b) greater support by staff for integrated case planning and program implementation, presumably in response to the narrower time-constraints under which they work (i.e., decisive impact must occur more rapidly). On the other hand, it might be argued that this same diversion approach involves at least two major drawbacks: (a) little opportunity to deal with or forestall longer-range effects of the original crisis events or felt-needs, e.g., little chance to observe and uncover related, possibly underlying events or feelings; (b) little opportunity to help the individual test-out and derive satisfaction from strengths and skills (e.g., interpersonal or vocational) that may take several months to develop in the first place. Unfortunately, EJDP was unable to gather data that might have helped sort-out these possible advantages and disadvantages.

Goal #5: Reduction in costs

Three types of cost-reduction (savings) may be distinguished: immediate justice system savings; lower per-case program costs; long-term justice system savings. Each type of savings will be considered separately.

Immediate justice system savings. Rapid, short-term savings may be achieved in two main ways: (a) reduce the number of justice system cases, or (b) shift cases to non justice system resources.

The assumption which underlies the first approach is as follows: As individuals are diverted from the justice system, a corresponding savings can be realized.¹³ In implementing this approach there are no special restrictions as to which youths can be diverted. For instance, it would make no difference whether an individual were a justice system or non justice system referral; both categories would be appropriate for diversion. Nor would one have to consider the individual's proposed disposition, e.g., (a) outright release, unaccompanied by programming, or (b) diversion to a specific program. In short, to maximize immediate savings one would divert all individuals who possibly *could* be diverted from the justice system--everyone for whom diversion seems feasible, e.g., tolerable to society.

Thus, the present approach (sheer reduction in number of justice system cases) would be more in line with Goals #1 and #2--avoidance of labelling, and reduction of social controls--than with #3 and #4--reduction of recidivism, and provision of services.¹⁴ In fact, in this

¹³ As seen on p. 205, this does not mean that a savings necessarily *will* occur. In addition, outer limits doubtlessly exist in connection with this assumed relationship.

¹⁴ (See next page.)

approach, Client characteristics, program inputs, and program features would have no direct bearing on the question of whether or not to divert.¹⁵ All that would matter is that diversion actually takes place wherever it can possibly be allowed.

The assumption which underlies the second approach ("shift-cases-to-other-service-agencies") is as follows: As more youths are shifted to non justice system resources, more money can be saved by the justice system. While this approach may certainly reduce justice system costs, it would not necessarily reduce overall costs to society. In contrast, the earlier approach ("divert-when-ever-possible") may involve an actual reduction of social costs if indeed youths are *released outright*--diverted without programming--rather than shifted to a non justice system resource.

¹⁴ (From preceding page) With Goals #1 and #2 the main idea was to avoid or reduce contact with the formal justice system for as many youths as possible; in no case was contact to be increased. However, with Goals #3 and #4 some individuals would, by design, have substantially less chance of being diverted than others. Indeed, diversion itself, including diversion to *justice-system* operated projects, would not necessarily be a preferred approach with all youths.

¹⁵ For instance, none of the following would be of direct relevance to the question at hand: number of prior arrests; type of intervention; amount of program involvement (e.g., number of visits).

Lower per-case program costs.¹⁶ Reduction of per-case costs in justice and non justice system projects may be achieved through more rapid case turnover and larger caseloads as well. In both instances, Client characteristics and program features can play a central role.

For example, to maximize case turnover, diversion projects might give special emphasis to youths with no prior arrests. The assumption would be that most such individuals need less service or control than others, and could therefore complete their program in less time.¹⁷ Other things being equal, projects that accepted a high percentage of these individuals (good- or optimal-risk youths) would presumably have more rapid turnover than those which handled a substantially lower percentage. If one did not care about maintaining a given, minimum level of contact with Clients--say, 6 or more hours of service during the

¹⁶ Here, we are not focusing on overall program budget. Overall budget--generally a direct function of program size and number of paid staff--may vary independently of per-case costs. For instance, large-sized, relatively expensive programs may be established in heavily populated areas, or perhaps in response to high crime rates; on the other hand, small-sized, relatively low-budget programs may be established in thinly populated areas, or perhaps in response to low crime rates. Yet, in both types of program, per-case costs may be identical.

¹⁷ Stated differently, such individuals are presumably less likely than others to be rearrested during any given time-period. Other things being equal, they might also be more likely to fulfill the requirements for acceptable program completion within that same period. In this respect, shorter, less expensive programs might be established for these youths.

course of their program--then, as rate of case turnover increased (due to a rising percentage of good-risk youths), average caseload size might also be increased. These changes would, of course, result in fewer contacts or fewer service-hours, or both.

Per-case costs could also be reduced through an increased use of volunteer staff.¹⁸ Whether this approach would be easier to implement in justice- rather than non justice-system projects, at least most such projects, is unknown. However, in EJD's survey of 74 diversion projects it was found that twice as much volunteer service was provided to Clients of private-agency projects than to those of justice-system projects--22% and 11% of all services, respectively. (2) These differences may not be a function of differing Client characteristics alone.

It seems almost impossible to simultaneously implement and achieve all of the goals discussed thus far. For instance, the present goal (reduced per-case costs) would not be entirely consistent with that of reduced recidivism. Specifically, to achieve the latter objective, program-inputs would primarily focus on individuals who have one prior arrest, and little attention would be given to those with none; this would apply to justice- and non justice-system projects alike. On the other hand, to reduce per-case costs, youths with *no* prior arrests would

¹⁸ This would also apply to lower-salaried, e.g., paraprofessional, staff.

be focused on, i.e., would be those most likely to receive program-inputs. Similarly, the reduction of per-case costs--insofar as it involves *reduced* overall contact with good-, moderate-, and relatively poor-risk youths alike--would not be consistent with Goal #4 (provision of service).¹⁹

Finally, a key method that might be used to achieve lower per-case costs--namely, increasing the percentage of good-risk youths who comprise diversion programs--would not be entirely consistent with the basic strategy used to achieve immediate justice system savings. Specifically, to help maximize per-case savings, diversion programs would regularly handle as high a percentage of good-risk youths as possible. However, to maximize immediate justice system savings, the strategy would be to divert all youths who possibly could be diverted--and good-risk youths would presumably be the leading candidates in this regard. Apparently, these two objectives cannot be maximized at the same time, at least not by this particular method and strategy.

¹⁹ If one wished to achieve reduced per-case costs yet maintain a given, minimum amount of contact or service (e.g., 6 or more hours of contact, regardless of program length), one might use the following strategy to partially offset the reduced amount of contact that would ordinarily be associated with the present goal: Establish organizational- and work-patterns that allow a higher percentage of project time to be focused on interactions with Clients and significant others. These patterns might include higher ratios of line staff to administrators, less "paperwork", etc; hopefully, they would lead to an increase in direct or collateral interactions. Volunteer services might be used as well.

Long-term savings for the justice system. Before proceeding, certain terms must be defined: "Long-term savings" (Goal 5c) refers to all forms of reduced or avoided expenditures that extend over a period of at least two years and which, conceivably, might also become permanent.²⁰ "Reduced expenditures" are those which result from (a) *lower recidivism rates* among diverted youths (e.g., Clients) than among similar individuals who have not been diverted (Comparisons), and from (b) *lower per-case costs* of diversion projects as compared with those of standard justice system processing. "Avoided expenditures" are standard justice system costs (e.g., investigation, court appearance, and supervision) that are *not* incurred, simply by virtue of the youths' diversion from that system. These savings would occur whether or not the diverted youths are later rearrested and regardless of specific per-case costs; of course, the fewer rearrests there are, the more justice system costs can be avoided in the long-run.²¹

²⁰ Since EJD's followup data did not extend for two years, the present discussion will mostly involve a combination of inference and extrapolation from information that was obtained. (For present purposes there would be little point in distinguishing a third level of savings--namely, "medium-range" savings--one that would fall between the short-term and long-term categories.)

²¹ Two points might be noted. First, for present purposes it may be useful to distinguish between originally and subsequently avoided costs. Originally avoided costs are those which result from diversion that occurs at point of *instant arrest*, viewed as a starting point for any given followup. Subsequently avoided costs are those which result from diversion that occurs in connection with any and all rearrests. The lower the rate of recidivism (rearrest), the greater the subsequently avoided costs--that is, the lower the absolute expense to the justice system in the long-run. Second, for (footnote continued on next page)

Three additional points should be kept in mind: (1) When one implements the goal of immediate savings by diverting youths from the justice system, one automatically establishes potential long-term savings as well. That is, immediate (short-term) savings--simply by being maintained for a sufficiently long time--may become an integral part of long-term savings themselves. (2) The potential savings under consideration relate to youths who would actually be diverted. As such, they should be distinguished from other savings that might result from lower recidivism rates on the part of *nondiverted* youths--individuals who remain within the justice system. (3) Potential long-term justice system savings would be increased to the extent that any *programmed* diversion were operated by non justice rather than justice system agencies. These savings would involve avoided rather than reduced costs since justice system expenses would simply not be incurred subsequent to diversion, barring future arrests. With these points in mind, the following would apply to good-risk youths--individuals with no prior arrests:

1. If a high percentage of good-risk youths were diverted to *non* justice system projects, a substantial long-term savings might result.

(footnote 21, continued from preceding page) any given time-period, "reduced expenditures" may also be thought of as the numerical difference between (a) standard justice system costs among *nondiverted* youths, on the one hand, and (b) avoided costs among comparable diverted youths, on the other.

This seems probable (a) mainly because *justice* system costs would be avoided for a very large number of youths (thereby creating large, potential long-term savings); (b) because, in the present study, good-risk Clients and Comparisons both performed quite well in absolute terms (therefore, most potential savings would probably be maintained through time);²² and (c) despite the fact that these groups of youth performed equally well relative to one another (therefore, essentially no reduced costs would be expected).

2. Similar long-term savings might be obtained for good-risk youths who would be diverted *without* programming. However, since EJDPC collected no recidivism data on such individuals and matched Comparisons, we cannot realistically estimate how these youths would perform in absolute as well as relative terms.²³

²² In absolute terms, one-fifth of all good-risk, justice system referrals were rearrested on 6-months followup. (This ratio is almost identical to that obtained in the independent study cited in n. 23.) Counting law arrests only, the figure was one-eighth (Table 25). The following might also be noted. These findings relate to a group of projects most of which were operated by justice system agencies. As a result, in this section we are extrapolating from justice system to non justice system projects, on the assumption that recidivism rates would be approximately the same in each, for comparable good-risk youths. Findings from the study mentioned in n. 23 suggest this may be a reasonable assumption.

²³ A recent independent study suggested that, on 6-months followup, re-arrests for such individuals--specifically, a counseled-and-released group--are about the same as those for matched youths who were randomly diverted (footnote continued on next page)

3. If good-risk youths were diverted to *justice system* projects, few if any long-term savings might result. Specifically, there might be few avoided costs at all,²⁴ since justice system handling is still involved. Moreover, in view of EJD's 6-months followup on good-risk, justice-system referred Clients and Comparisons, there might be essentially no reduced costs as well. Thus, for example, Table 43 suggests that no cost reduction would occur in projects whose average youth has well under one prior arrest.²⁵

The following would apply to moderate- and poor-risk youths--individuals with one prior and two prior arrests, respectively:

1. Since long-term savings can result from reduced recidivism, one strategy that may be used to bring about these savings would be identical to that described for the reduction of illegal behavior. Here, diversion

(footnote 23, continued from preceding page) to (a) a Law Enforcement-operated project, or (b) projects which operated outside the formal justice system. (24) Despite its strong research design this study experienced very serious implementation problems--compounding of program-inputs and apparent lack of certain critical inputs, in particular. For this reason, its findings must be accepted with considerable caution.

²⁴ At least "originally avoided costs" (see n. 21).

²⁵ That is, for projects A through H collectively, the average savings was 3¢ per Client: \$25 ÷ 800 youths. As seen in Table 43, col. 10, \$25 is the net savings for projects A, B, D, G, and H, minus the net loss for projects C, E, and F. In these projects combined, the average number of prior arrests was 0.3. Seven of these projects were operated by justice system agencies.

projects would concentrate mainly on youths with one prior arrest and, secondarily, those with two or more. Little program input, counseling or otherwise, would be directed at individuals with no prior arrests.

This strategy would be generally consistent with the findings from Wolfgang's classical study of a juvenile birth cohort and with those from Venezia's recent replication of that study. (27, 26) These findings suggest that: (a) little if any official action might be called for in response to an individual's first offense (i.e., with youths who have no prior arrests), since roughly half of these youths do not commit a second offense anyway--certainly not for several years, and even in the absence of specific programming; (b) for individuals who do commit a second offense, intervention might well be in order since the chances of additional delinquency are fairly substantial from that point forward, certainly in the absence of specific programming. Here, programming would refer to service and/or control.

2. The preceding strategy would differ from that which focuses on the reduction of per-case program costs. For example, in the latter approach primary emphasis might be on good-risk youths; and, the main object would be to minimize overall contact and/or increase rate of turnover. However, in the preceding strategy, projects would focus on moderate-risk or (especially) poor-risk youths and might, by design, have *more* contact with Clients than those which handle good-risk youths.

(Thus, in La Colonia and Compton--the only projects that dealt chiefly with poor-risk youths--an average of over 50 hours were spent with these Clients. For projects described in Chapter 8 the average was 5.5.) For this reason, higher per-case costs might be expected in the former projects; and this, indeed, was observed in the present study. Specifically, among EJDP-evaluated programs, higher per-case costs were found in (a) all 3 projects that dealt, on the average, with moderate- or poor-risk youths than in (b) 7 of the 8 projects that handled, on the average, individuals with well under one prior arrest.²⁶

3. If *short-term* (e.g., 4-to-8 week) diversion projects were used to achieve long-term savings, this might reduce the chances of negative labelling. (Here, "reduction" would be measured relative to the traditional justice system.) This reduction would seem especially likely to occur if non justice system projects were used to achieve the savings in question. However, if *longer-term* (e.g., 4-to-8 month) projects were used to achieve such savings this might not reduce the chances of negative labelling, at least in projects that were operated by *justice* system agencies. On the other hand, if long-term projects were operated under

²⁶ Specifically, compare the per-case costs for (a) La Colonia, Stockton, and Compton, individually, with (b) those for projects A through H, also individually. Apart from these project-by-project comparisons, the average per-case cost for these two *groups* of projects was \$379 and \$145, respectively. (See Table 40 and Appendix M.)

the auspices of non justice system agencies the reduction in question might still occur. Naturally, short- as well as longer-term projects could both be used to achieve the savings in question. It would not be necessary to choose one type of program and ignore the other.

4. Regardless of auspices, labelling and stigmatization might be more likely to develop in connection with longer-term nonvoluntary as compared to voluntary projects. This could also occur in projects that contained a high proportion of poor-risk and few if any good-risk youths; such projects might, for instance, gain a reputation for handling "nothing but bad kids".

Projects that mainly deal with moderate-risk or (especially) poor-risk youths may be more likely to last several months than those which focus chiefly on good-risk youths.²⁷ For this reason alone it might be somewhat difficult for them to operate on a strictly voluntary basis, even outside the justice system. Here our assumption is that most youths, regardless of prior record, would be less likely to volunteer for longer-term than for short-term programs. At any rate, if longer-term programs

²⁷ This applied in La Colonia and Compton, the projects that mainly handled poor-risk youths. However, it was not observed in Stockton, the only project that dealt, on the average, with moderate-risk youths. (See Appendix M.)

were operated on a nonvoluntary basis, the goal of long-term savings through reduced recidivism might be at variance with that of reduced social controls and coercion.²⁸

In the next chapter we will draw together the themes and issues that have been reviewed.

²⁸ Degree of nonvoluntary participation could perhaps be reduced in programs that were found to have considerable drawing-power. Such a reduction would make the above objectives at least partly compatible with one another. Drawing-power might be based, for example, on a program's positive reputation among local youths and its ability to deliver concrete benefits and/or personal satisfactions.

Chapter 13

CONCLUSIONS

Guidelines For Diversion

Basic issues

The preceding discussion has drawn heavily on the fact that many differences exist not only among youths, but among diversion alternatives. Youths, for example, differed from each other with regard to number of prior arrests, source of referral, and reasons for referral. Diversion alternatives differed as to auspices (justice vs. non justice system), basis of participation (voluntary vs. nonvoluntary), and extent of program involvement (e.g., short- vs. longer-term).

The discussion also emphasized that at least five major goals exist relative to diversion: avoidance of negative labelling, reduction of social control, reduction of illegal behavior, provision of service, and reduction of costs. Some of these goals appeared quite compatible with one another; others were only slightly or moderately so. Finally, it was apparent that, in our view, the goal of reduced social control co-existed with society's need to maintain *sufficient* control, at least with some offenders.

Given these differences among youths, among diversion alternatives, and among major objectives, the following question arises: Can a set of guidelines be developed that would help practitioners and policy makers determine which youths might best be recommended for which alternatives--guidelines that would also reflect most of the social needs, humanitarian values, and practical concerns that are expressed in the five major objectives? Based on our review of these goals, such guidelines do appear possible. This is despite the fact that, in attempting to develop a balanced representation of goals which are not always mutually compatible--specifically, in trying to develop an integrated set of recommendations that embody as many of the above needs and values as possible--it is logically impossible to do complete justice to the claims of each individual goal. Moreover, in any specific case, universal agreement is not likely to be reached as to exactly what constitutes an optimal balance.

In the following pages we will present two such guidelines, also referred to as systems of diversion. These alternate systems (in essence, sets of recommendations) were developed not because of the acknowledged difficulty in balancing the five major objectives, but because of the widely differing opinions within corrections as to how youths might best be categorized--in this case, categorized relative to the question of how and where youths should be diverted. For instance, should candidates

for diversion be distinguished from one another in terms of *prior arrests*, *source of referral*, or *reasons for referral*--or on some entirely different basis instead? Relative to this question, wide differences of opinion would doubtlessly exist within as well as across many groups of practitioners, policy makers, and researchers. Given this situation, we felt it necessary to use more than one basis for differentiating--thus "categorizing"--youths.

As seen on pp. 234-246, we ended up with rather similar recommendations despite the differing approaches, i.e., the separate categorization of youngsters, that were used in each of the two guidelines. This similarity or convergence is perhaps an indication that each set of recommendations actually does reflect most of the concerns and several of the major suggestions that were presented in Chapter 12. In this respect these recommendations would be more a product of the intended balance-of-objectives than of the particular ways in which youths, and diversion alternatives, were categorized.¹

(A third set of guidelines is presented in Appendix A-1. While this set is the most complex of the three, it is also the most complete;

¹ At another level this convergence partly reflects the positive correlations among factors, and/or sets of factors, that were used for classifying youths. (As seen on pp. 234-246 and Appendix A-1, some factors were used in more than one set of guidelines, individually or in combination.)

for one thing it contains several recommendations which, of necessity, remain implicit in the previous guidelines.²⁾

Recommendations³

A. Guidelines relating to referral source and prior record. This set of recommendations relates to five groups of youth and five diversion alternatives. In effect, each recommendation is an attempt to match a particular group of youths with the most appropriate or acceptable diversion alternatives. These youth-groups and diversion alternatives will now be specified.

Briefly, youths are first divided into non justice system and justice system referrals. Non justice system referrals are then subdivided

² Although the third set used still another method for categorizing youths, the recommendations which it contains are quite consistent with those which comprise the preceding guidelines. Nevertheless, the present set would probably be the most difficult to implement, not because of its relative complexity but mainly because of the numerous diversion alternatives that it requires.

³ These recommendations, which reflect certain shared characteristics of youths, need not be regarded as hard-and-fast rules. Here, the following might be kept in mind. Wherever possible, decisions that directly affect human beings should be based not only on factors or features which those individuals share with many other individuals, but on those which contribute to their uniqueness as well. Shared characteristics, for example, would include number of prior arrests or justice- versus non justice-system status--in short, bases on which individuals may be grouped together and responded to in a relatively uniform way. Individualizing features, on the other hand, would refer to their particular life-circumstances plus their personal interests, abilities, and limitations.

into self-referrals and non self- (parent- and school-) referrals. Justice system youths are subdivided with respect to number of arrests: 1, 2, and 3 or more--that is, 0, 1, and 2 or more *prior* arrests. These subdivisions of non justice and justice system youths result in the five groups mentioned above. (Non justice system referrals are not subdivided with respect to arrests.)⁴

The five diversion alternatives are as follows (in each category other than outright release, the diversion alternative is linked with either a voluntary or nonvoluntary form of participation):

1. Outright release.
2. Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.
3. Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.
4. Justice system program on a voluntary basis.
5. Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.⁵

⁴ As suggested on p. 232, youths can be grouped together with respect to any of several factors (bases of classification). Factors used in the present system were selected because of their probable relevance to a wide range of diversion options.

⁵ In any given locale or jurisdiction, some of these diversion alternatives may not exist. Moreover, even if every alternative did exist, short- or longer-term programs might be present, but not necessarily both. Nevertheless, in any given locale some individual programs may be flexible enough to allow for short- or longer-term involvement, depending on each youth's needs or circumstances. Apart from this, some programs may be able to work with an individual on a voluntary or nonvoluntary basis.

Identical categories are used in the remaining systems as well. (See pp. 241-246 and Appendix A-1.)

Before proceeding it should be kept in mind that the recommendations which follow apply only to youths who *would* have been diverted--i.e., who *are* in fact diverted--from traditional justice system processing. (This applies whether they were referred from justice or non justice system sources.) That is, neither their instant offense, their prior record, nor any other factor would have made these individuals unacceptable for diversion, e.g., unacceptable in the view of diversion coordinators or non justice system staff. This applies to youths with 0, 1, and 2 or more prior arrests--justice and non justice system referrals alike. (In the case of other youths who have the same number of prior arrests, diversion *would* have been considered unacceptable, e.g., due to the nature of their instant offense. Since the recommendations which follow presuppose diversion, they do not apply to this group of youths.) In short, for the present youths the appropriateness or availability of diversion would not be at issue. The only question would be: What kind of diversion should take place?

As shown in Table 44, the following diversion alternatives would be recommended for the five groups (categories) of youth, respectively:

TABLE 44: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youths Grouped Mainly on Basis of Referral Source and Prior Arrests

Youth Groups	Diversion Alternatives				
	Outright Release	Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	Justice System, Voluntary Program	Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program
1. Non Justice System Referrals (Self-referrals)	--	1st Choice	--	2nd Choice	--
2. Non Justice System Referrals (Parent/School referrals)	-- ^a	1st Choice	--	2nd Choice	--
3. Justice System Referrals with No Prior Arrests	1st, 2nd, or 3rd Choice ^b	1st, 2nd, or 3rd Choice ^b	1st, 2nd or 3rd Choice ^b	-- ^a	--
4. Justice System Referrals with One Prior Arrest	--	1st Choice	3rd Choice	2nd Choice	4th Choice ^c
5. Justice System Referrals with Two or More Prior Arrests	--	3rd Choice	1st Choice	4th Choice	2nd Choice

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group. (2) Youths might be recommended for short- or longer-term programs depending largely on how much service and/or external control they appear to need.

^aMay be recommended under specified conditions (see text).

^bFirst choice among the alternatives in question depends on (a) whether there is an apparent need for service and/or external control and, if there is such a need, (b) the extent to which either service or control appears to be the principal concern (p. 241).

^cRecommended only if there is an apparent need for external control.

Category 1. Non justice system, self-referred youths who seek assistance:

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

None of the three remaining alternatives would be appropriate for these youths--outright release (in this case, refusal of service) included.

Category 2. Non justice system, parent- and school-referrals who are sent for service (assistance) and/or control:⁶

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

None of the three remaining alternatives would be recommended.

However, diversion without programming--in effect, outright release--may be appropriate if a need for service and/or control is not apparent to intake staff or diversion coordinators.

⁶Relative to categories #2 through #5, we have assumed that voluntary programs would exert less control over most youths than nonvoluntary programs, even if the former were operated by justice system personnel and the latter by non justice system staff.

Category 3. Justice system referrals with no prior arrests:

Any of the following might be appropriate: outright release; non justice system program on a voluntary basis; non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

First choice among these alternatives would depend on (a) whether there *is* an apparent need for service and/or control and, if there is such a need, (b) the extent to which either service or control--i.e., one or the other--appears to be the principal concern.

Specifically, if no such need appears to exist, outright release would be the most appropriate choice. If service (assistance) is the primary concern, the program should be voluntary; if control is uppermost, it should be nonvoluntary.

In lieu of the latter alternatives, *justice* system programs that operate on a voluntary basis might be utilized. However, non justice system programs--those mentioned immediately above--would be preferred. Justice system programs that operate on a nonvoluntary basis would not be recommended.

Category 4. Justice system referrals with one prior arrest:

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Third choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Fourth choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis. These choices are listed in order of increasing degree of social control--at least, in our perception. Since voluntary programs would be recommended over nonvoluntary programs (justice system operated or not), this implies that social control is not seen as an overriding consideration for youths with one prior arrest. Nevertheless, since programming of some type is likely to be important, outright release would not be recommended.

Category 5. Justice system referrals with two or more prior arrests:

First choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Third choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Fourth choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Here, nonvoluntary programs would be preferred to voluntary programs, given the delinquent involvement of these youths. Outright release would not be recommended.

In the present system as a whole, not just Category 5, youths might be recommended for short- or longer-term programs depending largely on how much service and/or control they appeared to need. This would especially but not exclusively be the case with justice system referrals.

We will now turn to a second set of guidelines, one that might be used either as an adjunct to or a substitute for the present set. These guidelines may be used by individuals who would prefer to match youths with specified diversion alternatives mainly in terms of the youths' apparent need for assistance and/or control. As before, the recommendations that are presented will apply only to individuals who *would be--* that is, who *are--* diverted from traditional justice system processing, regardless of their referral source.⁷

B. Guidelines relating to reasons for referral. In the preceding section youths were differentiated from one another on the basis of their referral source and prior arrests. In the present section they are differentiated in terms of their "reasons for referral", instead. Seven reasons--thus, seven categories of youth--will be distinguished, chiefly

⁷ The following distinctions might be kept in mind relative to assistance (service) and control (surveillance, etc.). (1) Some youths are sent to diversion programs because traditional justice system services seem inadequate from a quantitative or qualitative point of view, or because traditional controls seem neither appropriate nor necessary. (2) Some individuals are diverted without programming--i.e., released outright--because the seemingly necessary type of services or the appropriate level of control are not available anywhere, even within existing diversion programs. If other diversion programs had been available, those individuals might not have been released outright. (3) Still other youths are diverted without programming not because traditional justice system and diversion services seem inadequate, and not because traditional controls seem inappropriate or unnecessary, but mainly because no type of assistance or control appears to be needed, within or outside the traditional system.

in relation to the individual's apparent need, or lack of need, for service (assistance) and/or control (e.g., supervision by others). These categories of youth, or "referral groups", are as follows:

1. Service is wanted by youth; no control is needed (this category includes self-referrals only).
2. Neither service nor control is needed.
3. Service is needed; no controls are needed.
4. Controls are needed; no service is needed.
5. Primary need is for service; some control is needed.
6. Primary need is for control; some service is needed.
7. Considerable service and control is needed.

Groups #2 through #7 may each include justice and non justice system referrals, in varying proportions. (In EJD's study-sample a high proportion of youths who fell within groups #3 through #7 were probably justice system referrals.) Whatever the proportion may be, the following would apply: (a) to implement the present system, diversion coordinators or intake staff would have to make a judgment regarding the degree of service and control that is needed by each youth; (b) this judgment may be made independently of the individual's justice or non justice-system status, and of his offense history as well;⁸ (c) the five *diversion alternatives* that will now be considered in connection with each of

⁸(See next page.)

the seven referral groups are the same as those already described.

As seen in Table 45, the following alternatives would be recommended for the seven groups of youth, respectively:

Group 1. Service is wanted by youth; no control is needed (this group includes self-referrals only):

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

No other alternatives would be appropriate for these youths.

Group 2. Neither service nor control is needed:

First choice: outright release.

No other alternatives would be appropriate.

Group 3. Service is needed; no controls are needed:

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

No other alternatives would be appropriate.

⁸(From preceding page.) For instance, some individuals who have no prior arrests may nevertheless be thought to need considerable control, even though they are seen as acceptable for diversion. (See Appendix A-1 for related discussion.)

TABLE 45: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youths Grouped on Basis of Need for Service and Control

Youth Groups ^a	Diversion Alternatives				
	Outright Release	Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	Justice System, Voluntary Program	Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program
1. Service Wanted by Youth; No Controls Needed (Self- referrals only)	--	1st Choice	--	2nd Choice	--
2. No Service Needed; No Controls Needed	1st Choice	--	--	--	--
3. Service Needed; No Controls Needed	--	1st Choice	--	2nd Choice	--
4. Controls Needed; No Service Needed	--	--	1st or 2nd Choice ^b	--	1st or 2nd Choice ^b
5. Service Mainly Needed; Some Controls Needed	--	1st Choice	3rd Choice	2nd Choice	--
6. Controls Mainly Needed; Some Service Needed	--	--	1st or 2nd Choice ^b	3rd Choice	1st or 2nd Choice ^b
7. Considerable Service and Control Needed	--	--	2nd Choice	--	1st Choice

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group. (2) Youths might be recommended for short- or longer-term programs depending largely on how much service and/or external control they appear to need.

^aGroups #2 through #7 may include justice as well as non justice system referrals.

^bFirst choice among the alternatives in question would depend on the extent to which external controls appear to be needed.

Group 4. Controls are needed; no service is needed:

Either of the following would be appropriate: (a) Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis, or (b) justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis. First choice among these alternatives would depend on the extent to which external controls appeared to be needed, in the opinion of diversion coordinators or intake staff. No other alternatives would be recommended.

Group 5. Primary need is for service; some control is needed:

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis.

Third choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Because the need for controls is not considered strong, voluntary programs would be preferred over those of a nonvoluntary nature.

Group 6. Primary need is for control; some service is needed:

Either of the following would be appropriate: (a) Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis, or (b) justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis. First choice among these alternatives would depend on the extent to which external controls appeared to be needed.

CONTINUED

3 OF 5

Third choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis. This alternative would be appropriate if the need for controls, though primary, is not especially strong, and if the preceding alternatives are nonexistent or unavailable.

Group 7. Considerable service and control is needed:

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis.

No other alternatives would be appropriate.

General Observations and Concluding Remarks

Is diversion worthwhile, and, if so, how might youths best be diverted? In answering these questions one should consider the several objectives diversion can serve, and the differing youths who are involved.

Our findings and analyses suggest that diversion can serve a number of important goals. Included are the reduction of (a) negative labelling and stigmatization, (b) unnecessary social control and coercion, (c) recidivism, and (d) justice system costs; also included is the provision-of-service. Achievement of one or more such objectives, even to a modest degree, would represent a positive contribution to individuals and/or society. Individually and collectively, these contributions would, and

probably do, make diversion worthwhile. This is not to say they are always achieved--that every project is successful in all areas.⁹

Our findings and analyses also suggest there may be no "best" way to divert youths, independent of one's particular objectives, one's available alternatives (e.g., types of program), and the particular youths themselves. Thus, the preceding chapters suggest that some youths and some objectives might best be served by short-term, voluntary, nonjustice system programs; that others might best be served by longer-term, nonvoluntary, justice system programs; and that still others may best be served by a combination of these "lighter" and "heavier" approaches, e.g., short-term, nonvoluntary, justice system programs. Finally, they suggest that many youths, and a number of goals, can perhaps be served by outright release alone.

In short, to implement the above objectives for any heterogeneous group of youths,¹⁰ the availability of several diversion alternatives (options) would be especially useful. Ideally, these would include short- and longer-term, voluntary and nonvoluntary, justice and non justice system programs, among others. Theoretically, the more options that are available (outright release included), the more objectives one could address

⁹ Such contributions would be of value despite the fact that all five goals cannot be achieved simultaneously; these contributions could exist even if all youths happened to be alike. In addition, any given goal would remain potentially valuable even if it was much more difficult to achieve than others, or was appropriate for a narrower range of youths.

¹⁰ For instance, a group that consists of justice and/or non justice system referrals with 0, 1, and 2 or more arrests.

simultaneously; that is, the less one would have to ignore any particular objective or restrict one's efforts to one or two goals alone. Similarly, the more options available, the broader the range of youths that could be handled relative to any set of goals. Conceivably, some individual programs would be flexible enough to encompass a number of options; this might reduce the number of programs required, without reducing the options themselves.

If the preceding approach were used--if youths were matched with options that seemed particularly relevant to specified goals--many potential pitfalls might be avoided. For instance, diversion might not end up producing *more* negative labelling and stigmatization than may already be produced by traditional justice system processing, or, say, more social control and coercion than already exists. Similarly, diversion might not result in *fewer* services than are presently provided by traditional processing, or in a loss of critical controls.

Thus, to maximize benefits and minimize harm, diversion would be utilized in a differentiated way--that is, no single approach would be recommended for all categories of youth. Yet, however differentiated it might be, diversion would not be offered as a panacea relative to all five objectives, or for various shortcomings of the traditional system. Nor would it automatically be preferred to traditional processing

itself, for every type of youth. Instead, like any tool in any field, it would--or at least should--only be used where it is of relevance to meaningful objectives, and where equally or more effective tools do not exist.

In closing, a few words should be said regarding status offenders, family counseling, when to intervene, the scope of EJD's findings, and the current relevance of its results.

Status offenders. EJD's data on prior arrests and rearrests indicate that justice system youths referred for status offenses were *not* better risks than those referred for law offenses. In this respect, the former youths may have had as much need for assistance and/or control as law offenders.¹¹

Family counseling. EJD's relatively negative results on family counseling do not mean this approach should necessarily be avoided. However, since youths who participated in this approach were neither better nor worse risks than those who participated in individual counseling--an approach for which fairly *positive* results were obtained--these findings raise a number of issues, and suggest the following hypotheses.

Family counseling may constitute a relatively volatile approach for many participants. That is, more than other approaches, counseling sessions

¹¹ EJD collected no prior-arrest data on *non* justice system referrals--status offenders or otherwise. Thus, we cannot say that these individuals were either better or worse risks than justice system referrals, whatever their instant offense.

of this type may elicit negative interactions or rapidly arouse feelings which, unless resolved, can lead to further problems or acting-out. Once elicited or aroused, these interactions and feelings may be very difficult for numerous parents and youths to resolve in two or three such sessions. If this is true, it may be that family counseling must either be used more intensively (i.e., more sessions conducted) than in the present projects--and very skillfully in any event--or, barring such usage, should not be used at all. Regarding present usage, the average participant received less than three hours of exposure to this approach.

As an alternate or complementary hypothesis, family counseling should perhaps be used more selectively than it was: In the diversion projects studied, no less than 72% of all youths participated in this approach--much more than in any other approach. In short, most--often virtually all--clients who were diverted to projects which happened to emphasize or otherwise offer family counseling ended up participating in this approach, regardless of their specific circumstances; in this respect, little screening or selection was apparently involved. This *may* have resulted in the inappropriate or less than optimal assignment of many youths--especially those who were referred to these projects on an essentially nonvoluntary basis. To be sure, the issue of appropriate assignment would exist in connection with other approaches as well; however, as suggested earlier, the implications of inappropriate assignment may be more serious

relative to family counseling.¹²

Since we do not know exactly how much Client selection existed with respect to either family counseling or any other approach, we cannot really say that any one approach was definitely "better" or "worse" than any other. To further complicate the matter, differing amounts of intervention were received by individuals who participated in differing approaches, e.g., 4.0, 2.7, and 7.1 hours of service and/or control in the case of individual, family, and group counseling. Yet we do know that (a) youths who participated in such approaches as individual counseling, group counseling, and recreation were less likely to be rearrested on 6-months followup than those who did not participate, whereas (b) the reverse was true in the case of family counseling (Appendix Q). Moreover, for youths who participated in these approaches, the absolute rate of recidivism was substantially lower than in the case of family counseling.

Despite these findings, complications such as differential selection and differing amounts of intervention highlight the fact that various conditions must be controlled before definite conclusions can be drawn regarding

¹² Thus, for example, other things being equal, inappropriate assignment may be less important relative to individual counseling than family counseling. If indeed it exists, this difference in importance could perhaps be accounted for--at least partially--on the hypothesis that (a) ordinarily, small amounts of individual counseling are potentially less "volatile" than small amounts of family counseling, or that (b) with most youths, it is easier to "put the lid back on when necessary", in the context of individual counseling.

the effectiveness of one approach as compared to another. This is apart from the fact that a thorough test of any approach should include some assurance that the quality of service which is given to Clients is reasonably adequate, whatever the *amount* of intervention may be. Establishment of these controls, and the monitoring of services to Clients, were beyond the scope and authority of EJDP. Moreover, the assessment of specific treatment approaches was not among its top priorities.¹³

Intervention: when and how much. A pressing need within juvenile justice is that of determining the optimal point at which to first intervene. On the one hand, intervention (defined here as diversion with programming) that occurs too early may not only be superfluous and a waste of resources, it can sometimes open the door to negative labelling and self-fulfilling prophecies. On the other hand, intervention which first occurs after a youth has become somewhat committed to delinquency may be quite difficult to carry out--even in the longer-term, relatively expensive, nonvoluntary programs that may be used.

EJDP's findings suggest that, with most youths whose record contains no violent offenses, initial intervention might optimally take place at

¹³ Thus, for example, EJDP never attempted to assess--or, for that matter, operationally define--quality of service. We implicitly assumed, rightly or wrongly, that quality of service was at least adequate (by some undefined standard) in all projects that were studied, and/or that these projects were in any event representative of all others with respect to quality.

point of second offense, certainly no later than the third. This policy would seem appropriate in terms of balancing the social needs, humanitarian values, and practical concerns that are reflected in the five objectives mentioned above. From this perspective, for many or perhaps most youths, intervention which occurs fairly close to an optimal point may remain both appropriate and *feasible* in the context of short-term, relatively inexpensive, voluntary programs.

At any rate, it appears that little intervention may be called for with most individuals who have no prior arrests; however, this policy would not apply to youths who specifically seek assistance, and to those for whom an apparent crisis exists. On the other hand, for individuals with two or more prior arrests considerably more service and/or control may be necessary than was offered or required in most projects.

Scope of findings. EJDP's findings and recommendations relate to a sample of projects which, in most cases, were operated by justice system agencies. However, since about one-fourth of this sample consisted of non justice system projects, the validity of these findings and recommendations is not limited to justice system programs alone. This is true of non justice system *referrals* as well: Since these individuals were quite common among the projects studied, EJDP's results and guidelines are not

restricted to justice system youths alone.¹⁴

Current relevance of results. The types of diversion project that were studied by EJDJ continue to exist. In fact, approximately half of the specific projects surveyed in 1974 are still in operation, and most such projects handle the same kinds of youth. This suggests that EJDJ's findings and recommendations are of relevance today; it reflects the perceived utility of the projects as well. Nevertheless, during the past few years there has been increasing emphasis, at least in California, on projects which are operated by non justice system agencies and which mainly handle status offenders. These developments suggest a need for information that relates primarily or exclusively to projects and youths of this type.¹⁵

¹⁴ This applies despite the fact that EJDJ's *recidivism* findings related to justice system youths only. (EJDJ did not analyze non justice system referrals with respect to recidivism.) If recidivism rates for non justice system referrals had turned out to be substantially different than those for justice system referrals, the preceding guidelines would have to be modified to some degree, though perhaps not greatly.

¹⁵ One such data-collection effort is currently underway within the Youth Authority.

APPENDIX A: Highlights from a Survey of 74 Diversion Projects

In the fall of 1974, EJDJ carried out a survey of 74 OCJP-funded juvenile diversion programs throughout California. The goals of this survey were to describe each program in general as well as specific terms and to provide data for the selection of a subsample of projects for intensive evaluation by EJDJ. Data for this survey were collected mainly via interviews; these were supplemented by a questionnaire. The main findings were as follows.

Main Findings:

1. Projects surveyed were located in 18 of 21 OCJP regions and in 21 California counties.
2. Most projects were providing service within a city or county; however, target areas ranged in size from more than two counties to less than two-and-one-half square miles.
3. Sixteen projects were operated by Law Enforcement; 18 projects by Probation; 23 projects by private agencies; and 16 projects were run by other types of organizations.
4. Most projects had either a management (primarily policy-making) board or an advisory (primarily planning) board. Youth were represented on 26 of 64 boards.
5. Budget information was available for less than 50% of all projects. Using Fiscal Year 1974 funds, 19 projects were or would be in their first year of OCJP funding; 28 projects were in their second year; and 26 projects were in their third year.

APPENDIX A: (Cont'd)

6. The median number of paid staff in Law Enforcement projects was 4; the median number in Probation and private agency projects, 7; in other projects, the median number of paid staff was 6.5.
7. Private agency projects were using more volunteers (median = 25 volunteers) and receiving more contributed volunteer time (median = 80 hours per week) than were other types of projects.
8. One-third of total project staff time was used for individual, family, and group counseling (collectively). More than half of all Clients were involved in either individual or group counseling.
9. Seventy-one percent of all project directors and 91% of all referral sources felt that project services were adequate for the types of Clients referred.
10. Almost all projects referred some Clients elsewhere for service. Where no grant funds were involved, outside service was usually provided by tax-supported agencies.
11. Sixty-one percent of project Clients were males and 39% were females. Forty-two percent of Clients were 13 to 15 years of age, 6% were under 10 years of age, and 4% were over 21 years of age.
12. The percentage of Clients who were referred to projects as a result of specific 601 and/or 602 behavior (status offenses and criminal acts, respectively) ranged from a high of 80% in Law Enforcement projects to 60% in "Other" projects. Across all projects, 51% of all Clients were referred for status offenses, 36% were referred

APPENDIX A: (Cont'd)

- for criminal acts, and 13% were referred for other than offense behavior.
13. As offense behavior which results in referral to projects increases in severity, the percentage of female Clients decreases and the percentage of male Clients increases. These trends are similar to those found elsewhere, for juvenile arrestees.
14. The attitude of a youth was mentioned (by 75% of the Client referral sources) more often than anything else as influencing the decision to refer or not refer to a diversion project.
15. Procedures for referring youths to projects varied from very formal-- in which several documents may be completed and forwarded to the projects--to very informal. In the latter case, the referral may only have required a phone call to the project; or, the youth may simply have been given the project's address and phone number.
16. Fifty-four percent of the projects completed intake screening and made the decision to accept or not accept a youth within 24 hours; 21% of all projects required more than 48 hours to complete this process.
17. According to directors and staff combined, 42% of all Clients participated in diversion projects as a result of pressure from the referral source. Directors reported that 41% of all Clients participated voluntarily.

APPENDIX B: Youth Data Forms 1, 2, and 3

APPENDIX A: (Cont'd)

- 18. The most common reason for projects not accepting youths as Clients was that he/she had allegedly been involved in serious delinquent or criminal behavior.
- 19. Thirty-three percent of the projects were engaged in some form of evaluation.
- 20. Fifty-seven percent of the projects reported that--as a result of project efforts--far fewer youth were being processed by the juvenile justice system.
- 21. Referral agencies felt that either they or the community would be negatively affected if the projects were not in existence.

BEFORE MARKING FORM, READ INSTRUCTIONS ON BACK OF LAST PAGE

YOUTH DATA FORM 1

1. Name of Youth: (Project Use Only) _____

2. Project Code: 3. Youth Code: (7-11)

4. Date of Birth: Mo. Day Yr. (12-13) (14-15) (16-17) (18) Date Ukn:

5. Present Age: Age Ukn: (19-20) (21)

6. Sex: (22) Male 1 Female 2

7. Ethnic Group: (Check One) (23) Anglo-American. 1 Asian-American. 2 Black-American. 3 Mexican-American. 4 Native-American. 5 Other (Specify) 6

8. Enrolled or enrolled last day of last school session: (Check One Only) (26) Yes. 1 Yes (Suspended). 2 No (Expelled). 3 No (Excluded). 4 No (Dropped Out) 5 No (Graduated) 6 Unknown. 7

9. Last school (27-28) grade completed: Grade Ukn: (29)

10. Referred By: Check one only and specify (Leave Blank) (30) Law Enforcement (Specify Agency). 1 (31-32) Probation (Specify Agency). 2 (33-34) Other Criminal Justice Agency 3 (35-36) (Specify) School (Specify). 4 (37-38) Other Non-Criminal Justice Agency 5 (39-40) (Specify) Parent/Guardian 6 Self. 7 Other (Specify) 8 (41-42)

11. Immediate reason(s) for referral: Specify as accurately as possible (for example: "Needs Job", "Behind in school", "Refuses to obey parents", "Runaway", "Petty Theft (488 PC)", "Marijuana Possession (11530 HSC)", "26 MPH in Golf Cart (M21716 VC)", etc.): _____

12. Referral Source decided (12-13) (14-15) (16-17) (18) to refer youth. N/A

13. Project first notified (19-20) (21-22) (23-24) (25) (26) of referral by source

14. Project and youth first (27-28) (29-30) (31-32) (33) (34) face to face contact.

15. Any prior project contact (35) Yes No Ukn with youth. 1 2 3

16. Youth previously accepted (36) as client 1 2 3

17. Youth previously rejected (37) as client 1 2 3

IF 16 or 17 is YES, give (38-42) (43) prior Youth Code. Ukn

18. Youth accepted as Project Client on Current Referral: (44) Yes 1 Mo. Day Yr. (45-46) (47-48) (49-50) No 2

18a. If not accepted as client, why not? _____ (Leave (51-52) Blank)

19. The following are dispositions/decisions which may be made in relation to a youth. Check a box which best describes the next course of action you believe the referral source would have taken IF the youth had not been referred to the project ("self" and "parents" MAY be referral sources). (Check One Only) (53-54)

- No Action. 01
- Release or counsel/reprimand and release 02
- School discipline (suspension, etc.) 03
- Refer to non-criminal justice agency 04
- Refer to probation. 05
- Cite to probation/juvenile traffic 06
- Deliver to/retain in local custody 07
- Informal supervision (prior to court hearing). 08
- File petition. 09
- Detention hearing. 10
- Refer to non-probation criminal justice agency. 11
- Informal probation (by court w/out wardship) 12
- Non-custody placement. 13
- Deliver to non-local custody 14
- Unknown. 15
- Other (Specify) 16

(Leave Blank) (55-56) (79-80)

4/1/75 (43-46) (47-50) (51-54) (55-58) (79-80)

Instructions for Completing YOUTH DATA FORM 1

PURPOSE: This form is to be used to obtain standardized information on youth who are being considered as possible project clients. A client is any person who, for the purpose of reporting to governing and/or funding bodies, receives direct service(s) from, or as a result of, your project.

ON WHOM SHOULD FORM BE COMPLETED: Complete the form for each person under the age of 18 who is referred to the project regardless of the source of referral (e.g., complete a form even on 'self' referrals). Do not complete a form for any referred youth who is, at the time of referral, already a project client.

WHEN SHOULD THE FORM BE COMPLETED: Assign a Youth Code number and complete as much of the form as possible immediately upon being notified of a referral. The remainder of the form should be completed when it is decided that the youth definitely is or is not a project client. If the decision has not been made within five working days of the date on which the project was first notified (see Item 13), complete all items except #18 at that time. Item 18 would then be completed when the acceptance/non-acceptance decision is finally made.

DISTRIBUTION: When the form is completely filled out, file the carbon copy (numerically by Youth Code number, Item 3) for the Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Programs project. The original is for use within your project.

INFORMATION RECORDING:

Please place "v's" or "x's" inside appropriate boxes to avoid misinterpretation.

For example, or ; not or

For all dates (Items 4, 12, 13, 14, 18), use two-digit numbers for Mo., Day and Yr.

For example, Mo. Day Yr.

"Ukn" means "Unknown"; N/A means "Not Applicable". "Leave Blank" boxes should not be marked. They are for data encoding purposes only.

Item 1: Youth Name to be filled-in only if you wish. Youth Code number is sufficient for EJDP purposes. However, it will be necessary for the project to maintain a separate list of referred youths' names with their assigned Youth Code numbers.

Item 2: Project Code is the four-digit OCJP project number.

Item 3: Assign a Youth Code number to each youth who is referred rather than only to those who are eventually accepted. Unless other specific arrangements have been made, begin numbering referrals (as soon as notice is received that a referral is being made) consecutively beginning with "10001", "10002", etc. Please do not skip numbers in the sequence nor assign the same Youth Code to more than one referral.

Item 4: If at all possible, fill in Date of Birth. If this is not known, check the box for "Unknown". Whether or not the date of birth is known, write in the youth's current age as a two-digit number (e.g.,) if it is known. If current age is unknown, check to indicate.

Item 9: Enter last school grade completed as a two-digit number (e.g.,).

Item 10: In addition to checking the box to indicate the general category of referral source (e.g., "Law Enforcement" or "School"), where specifics are asked for, please be as specific as possible (e.g., "Firebaugh, P.D.", "Johnson Jr. Hi.", etc.).

Items 16 & 17: If you checked "Yes" on either item, in the space provided write in the Youth Code number which was previously assigned.

BEFORE MARKING FORM, READ INSTRUCTIONS ON BACK OF PAGE

1. Name of person completing this form: YOUTH DATA FORM 2

2. Name of Youth: (Project Use Only) (2)

3. Project Code: (3-6)

4. Youth Code: (7-11)

5. At the end of reporting month: (12-13), 197 (14), client project status was: (check one) Active 1
 Inactive 2
 Case Closed 3. Date Closed: (16-21)
 Mo. Day Yr.

6. Has there been any recurrence(s) of the reason(s) for referral to the project during this reporting month? Yes No Ukn
 Reason No. 1: (22) 1 2 3
 Reason No. 2: (23) 1 2 3

7. If client's status is "inactive" or "case closed", specify primary reason: (check one only) (24)

Completion of project program <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Needed service(s) not available <input type="checkbox"/> 5	EDP (79-80)
Client refused further service(s) <input type="checkbox"/> 2	No longer meets eligibility criteria <input type="checkbox"/> 6	(25-26)
Referred to other service provider (no further project service nor follow-up) <input type="checkbox"/> 3	Other (specify) <input type="text"/>	(27-28)
No service(s) required currently <input type="checkbox"/> 4	Other (specify) <input type="text"/>	(29-31)

8. Service(s) with Project Funds or by Project Volunteer(s)

Service(s) Received During Reporting Month	Service Hours	Service Provider	Service(s) Received During Reporting Month	Service Hours	Service Provider
No Service(s) Provided. <input type="checkbox"/> Skip to Item 9	(30-31)	(32-34)	Recreation	(55-56)	(57-59)
Counseling, Individual	(35-36)	(37-39)	Social/Cultural Enrichment	(60-61)	(62-64)
Counseling, Group	(40-41)	(42-44)	Group Education (Drug, Sex, etc.)	(65-66)	(67-69)
Counseling, Family	(45-46)	(47-49)	Referral to Other Resources	(70-71)	(72-74)
Tutoring, Academic	(50-51)	(52-54)	Other (specify) <input type="text"/>	(12-13)	(14-16)
Employment Counseling	(55-56)	(57-59)	Other (specify) <input type="text"/>	(17-18)	(19-21)
Total Client Visits with Service Provider(s): <input type="text"/> (26-27)					

EDP (79-80)
 Dup. Cols. 1-11, Card 1 (22-23)
 (24-25)

9a. Were service(s) provided by other than project funds and/or project volunteers during this reporting month? (check one) (28)

No 1 (Skip to Item 10) Yes 2

Give code for principal Other Service Provider: (29-31)

Give name of Other Service Provider: (32-34) (35)

9b. Total client visits with all Other Service Provider(s): (36-38) Contacts Ukn: (39)

Total hours of service from all Other Service Provider(s): (36-38) Hours Ukn: (39)

10. Have incident(s) other than those identified in Item 6 occurred during this reporting month? (check one) (40)

If "yes", specify: No 1 Yes 2

11. Comments:

EDP (41-42)
 (43-44)
 (45-46)
 (79-80)

APPENDIX B: (Cont'd)

Instructions for Completing YOUTH DATA FORM 2

PURPOSE: To obtain standardized information on project clients.

ON WHOM SHOULD THE FORM BE COMPLETED: On every youth who has been accepted as a project client as indicated on the individual Youth Data Form 1.

WHEN SHOULD THE FORM BE COMPLETED: Complete Items 2, 3, 4 and the narrative on Item 6 when the youth is accepted as a project client. The first Youth Data Form 2 report should be completed at the end of the month during which youth was accepted. Complete a report at the end of each subsequent month, including the month during which termination of services (case closure) occurs.

DISTRIBUTION: When this form is completed, keep the pink copy for your own use. The original should be delivered to the Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Programs Project as you are doing with Youth Data Form 1.

INFORMATION RECORDING: Do not use carbon paper. Press firmly. Place numbers, "v" 's, or "x" clearly inside appropriate boxes to avoid misinterpretation.

For example: Mo. Day Yr.

"Ukn" means "Unknown"; EDP boxes along the right-hand side should not be marked; they are for data encoding purposes only. DO NOT use decimals or fractions of an hour.

ITEM 1: Name of person completing form at end of service month.

ITEM 2: Youth Name to be filled in only if you wish.

ITEM 3: Project Code is your four-digit OCJP project number.

ITEM 4: Youth Code is the same number assigned to the client at intake and recorded on Youth Data Form 1, Item 3.

ITEM 5: Use the following operational definitions for Client Status: "Active" - client currently receiving project services; "Inactive" - client not receiving services, but has not been terminated; "Case Closed" - client officially terminated from the project. If "Case Closed", be sure to indicate the date of closure.

ITEM 6: Specify exactly as the reason(s) appear on Youth Data Form 1, Item 11, and check appropriately. If more than two "Reasons" are reported on YDF 1, omit all but the two most important/serious.

ITEM 8: In this item, we want to quantify the service provider by project staff, volunteers, and others paid from project funds to provide service (e.g., contractors). Under Service Hours, record the total number of hours of service received by the client in each appropriate service category. Under Service Provider, code "100" if the principal provider of the service is a paid staff member; "200", if the principal provider is a volunteer; and "300", if the service is purchased from someone outside the project. If you wish, you may use the "zero" spaces to further specify the service provider (e.g., 101 for Mary Smith and 102 for John Jones, both staff members).

In the columns marked "(26-27)", show the total number of face-to-face client contacts with all service providers identified in Item 8.

ITEM 9: Indicate in this item if the client received service from other than those service providers specified in Item 8. Please use the codes provided to you to specify the type of service provider and name the agency, or affiliation of the person providing the service. If more than one Other Service Provider provided service, code and identify only the one which you feel provided the most important service.

In Item 9b, indicate the total face-to-face client contacts with and hours of client service received from all Other Service Providers.

ITEM 10: Indicate anything which you feel has influenced your working with the client (e.g., "family moved out of area", "dropped out of school", etc.). If incidents have occurred which, under other circumstances, could result in a referral to the project, specify as you would on YDF 1, Item 11, and be sure to add a "seriousness" rating of 1 to 10.

ITEM 11: For your own use.

APPENDIX B: (Cont'd)

YOUTH DATA FORM 3

²
 Project Code: (3-6) Youth Code: (7-11) Date Form Completed: (12-17)
Mo. Day Yr.

Birthdate: (18-23) Date Ukn: (24) Sex: (25) Ethnicity: (26)
Mo. Day Yr. Male 1 Female 2 Anglo-American. . . 1
Asian-American. . . 2
Black-American. . . 3
Mexican-American. . . 4
Native-American. . . 5
Other 6
Unknown 7

Instant Arrest: Date: (27-32) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (33-35) Disposition: (36-37)

Prior Arrest: Date: (38-43) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (44-46) Disposition: (47-48)

(49-54) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (55-57) Disposition: (58-59)

(60-65) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (66-68) Disposition: (69-70)

(12-17) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (18-20) Disposition: (21-22)

TOTAL Law Violations: (23-24) Mo. Day Yr. TOTAL Other (status, etc.): (25-26)

Subsequent Arrest: Date: (27-32) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (33-35) Disposition: (36-37)

(38-43) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (44-46) Disposition: (47-48)

(49-54) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (55-57) Disposition: (58-59)

(60-65) Mo. Day Yr. Offense Code: (66-68) Disposition: (69-70)

TOTAL Law Violations: (71-72) Mo. Day Yr. TOTAL Other (status, etc.): (73-74)

9/2/75

APPENDIX C: Estimated Number of Clients With Specified Dispositions, For Nine Diversion Projects

Project	Type of Disposition						Total
	#0 No Justice System Disposition	#1 Counsel and Release	#2 Refer to Probation Intake	#3 Dismissed at Probation	#4 Informal Probation	#5 Petition to Court	
#1	166	0	0	0	165	240	571
#2	61	0	291	0	32	0	384
#3	129	0	438	112	0	127	806
#4	96	25	12	28	25	10	196
#5	187	48	3	0	8	4	250
#6	108	98	13	0	1	5	225
#7	47	21	130	125	18	84	425
#8	56	44	116	0	2	7	225
#9	229	307	190	0	28	34	788
Total	1,079	543	1,193	265	279	511	3,870

APPENDIX D: Detective Questionnaire

1. For those cases you chose to divert, what were the most important factors in reaching that decision? (Check one or more, and add other items as necessary.)

low offense severity
 no or few priors
 sufficient family strengths to support a referral
 other

2. For those cases you chose to petition, what were the most important factors in reaching that decision? (Check one or more, and add other items as necessary.)

severity of offense
 priors
 family too weak to support a referral
 other

3. Which of the following kinds of cases would normally be eligible for diversion from your unit? (Check one or more.)

(a) misdemeanants, no prior arrests
 (b) misdemeanants, 1 or 2 prior arrests, released (B-8)
 (c) misdemeanants with 3 or more prior arrests, released (B-8)
 (d) misdemeanants with prior misdemeanor conviction
 (e) prior diversion, successfully completed
 (f) prior diversion, terminated due to lack of interest
 (g) felony arrest, no priors
 (h) felony arrest, 1 or more prior misdemeanors, released (B-8)
 (i) felony arrest with prior felony arrest
 (j) felony arrest, prior felony conviction

APPENDIX D: (Cont'd)

4. Could your unit divert more cases that you now do if: (Check one or more.)

- (a) you had more or better agencies to divert cases to.
- (b) some of the detectives were more willing to use diversion.
- (c) it were not for community resistance (including victims) which sees diversion as lenience.
- (d) you had more administrative support for diversion from within the department.
- (e) none of the above; you are now diverting all you would want to.

5. In explaining diversion to the juvenile arrestee, which of the statements do you feel would be most appropriate? (Check one.)

- (a) If you don't attend or don't participate, you can drop out of the program, but you won't be able to get this kind of break again.
- (b) If you find you aren't benefiting from this program, we'll see if we can work out something better.
- (c) You have agreed to participate in this program; if you don't, you will have to go back to court.

6. Diversion is most valuable as a way of: (Check one.)

- (a) preventing further delinquency among pre-delinquent juveniles.
- (b) keeping juvenile offenders out of the justice system.

7. In referring a case for diversion, do you normally: (Check one.)

- (a) refer to probation intake with a recommendation to divert.
- (b) refer to the diversion agency or the diversion coordinator within your own agency.
- (c) refer to the service-providing agency directly, then notify diversion for their records.

APPENDIX E: Diversion Coordinator Questionnaire

1. For those cases you chose to divert, what were the most important factors in reaching that decision? (Check one or more, adding other items as necessary.)

- low offense severity
- no or few priors
- sufficient family strengths to support a referral
- other

2. For those cases you chose to petition, what were the most important factors in reaching that decision? (Check one or more, adding other items as necessary.)

- severity of offense
- priors
- family too weak to support a referral
- other

3. Consider each case you diverted in the "Case Summaries" questionnaire and the possible explanation of the diversion agreement listed below. In the spaces below, indicate (by case number) which cases would have received which explanations.

- If you don't attend or don't participate, you can drop out of the program, but you won't be able to get this kind of break again.
- If you find you aren't benefiting from this program, we'll see if we can work out something better.
- You have agreed to participate in this program; if you don't, you will have to go back to court.

4. Indicate in which of the "diverted" cases you would sign a written contract and in which you would have a verbal agreement only.

Written contract _____

Verbal agreement only _____

APPENDIX E: (Cont'd)

5. For each of the "diverted" cases, indicate how you might respond in the event that the agency to which the client was referred contacted you to request that he be reminded of his obligation to attend regularly. (Indicate a unanimous choice by writing "all" if appropriate.)
- call the client and remind him, (or request someone else to do so).
 - explore the possibility of an alternative placement.
 - discuss ways in which the client's participation might be improved, but decline to pressure the client.
 - call the referral agency to ask what they recommend be done in this case in the event of poor attendance.
6. How would you respond if the agency called to indicate that the same people no longer wanted to participate in their program. Assume the referral was made one month ago. (Write "all" if appropriate.)
- talk with the client in an attempt to work out an alternate program
 - talk with the client and indicate that if he fails to participate you will have to file a petition.
 - take action to have a petition filed.
 - call the referral agency, asking them what action they recommend.
7. How much of a choice do you give the client in the selection of an agency? Indicate which of your "diverted" cases you would assign to each of the following categories.
- In these cases, I would invite the client's opinions regarding the choice of an agency.
 - In these cases, I would not allow my decision to be influenced by the client's wishes.
 - In these cases, I would change my mind only if the client expressed an objection.
 - (Does not apply; I really have no choice of agency in the first place.)

APPENDIX E: (Cont'd)

8. Do you normally close out cases due to lack of client interest?
- (a) yes
 - (b) no
9. Does the service-providing agency normally expect you to exert pressure on the client in the event he fails to attend?
- (a) yes
 - (b) no
10. Follow-up information is most important:
- (a) to be sure the client is participating as agreed--that is, to supervise the client.
 - (b) to be sure the agency is providing services as agreed--that is, to supervise the agency.
 - (c) to be sure my referrals are accurate--that is, to learn if the right cases are being diverted, and to the right agencies.
11. Diversion is most valuable as a way of: (Check one.)
- (a) preventing further delinquency among pre-delinquent juveniles.
 - (b) keeping juvenile offenders out of the justice system.

APPENDIX F: Case Summaries

After reading each of the following case summaries, indicate whether you would petition, divert, or counsel and release.

In all of the cases that follow, *assume* the following:

1. client is 15 years old unless otherwise indicated;
2. none has been diverted before;
3. no restitution is required;
4. none is currently on probation;
5. all have admitted guilt to the instant offense;
6. there is no gang involvement;
7. there exists a good enough case to file a petition if you choose to.

You will note that the designation "(B-8)" is used in some of the case summaries below. "(B-8)" means the case was counseled and released.

1. John F., arrested for petty theft, was apprehended upon leaving a department store with a cassette tape in his back pocket. John was fairly well known for previous law violations: a curfew a year ago (B-8), an incident involving drinking (B-8), and a call to his home involving a family dispute. Later, John's father appeared at the station, where he spent some time blaming the boy's problems on his alcoholic mother. She was not present at the time of the interview, but is still living in the home. Though John's father has been out of work for over a year, chances of work now appear good. John is known by school authorities for his disruptive behavior. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

2. Marion S. was arrested for being drunk after neighbors complained of a loud party at her parent's residence. Her record shows three prior arrests, two for curfew (both involving some drinking) and one brief runaway. She was released to her parent's custody on each occasion. The school reports average grades--well below her estimated potential--but occasionally disruptive behavior. Her parents are concerned regarding the outcome of the instant offense, and angry at Marion for violating their trust (they were not at home at the time). Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

3. Michael P. was arrested with an 18-year-old companion as they were burglarizing a house in a well-to-do residential area. Except for two curfew violations 12 and 16 months ago (both B-8), Mike shows no prior law violations or other negative reports. When interviewed, he appeared cooperative. His parents expressed shock and concern, saying they were determined to do what they could to "get to the bottom of this." Would you:

APPENDIX F: (Cont'd)

3. (Cont'd)

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

4. Betty B. was arrested in a car in front of a friend's house with her boy-friend and another couple. Betty and her companion were clearly drunk; the other couple may have been smoking marijuana. Betty had two violations during the last year but none earlier: a curfew and a drinking incident much like the instant offense. Betty is generally a good student who is thought to associate with generally conforming and well-behaved friends. Both parents were cooperative when they met with officers, generally denying what may be some friction within the home. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

5. David L., well known to local juvenile officers for his history of vandalism (restitution payed) and drug use (pills and marijuana--B-8) was arrested for burglary when stolen goods were found in the car he was driving. His adjustment at a continuation school has been marginal at best, disobedient and disruptive at worst. David lives with his father--his mother is deceased--and although the two have a long history of fighting, his father may be somewhat more impressed with the seriousness of this offense than has been the case in the past. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

6. Sue K. was implicated by other juveniles to whom she had sold or given marijuana during the last several months. A search of her belongings revealed 2-1/2 "lids". She has no prior arrest record, although her involvement on this occasion appears extensive. When questioned by detectives, she seemed depressed though cooperative. Her relationship with her parents appears strained, though neither party discussed this openly. They seem to minimize the severity of the present offense. A conforming student, her grades have slipped some during the last year but are still more than satisfactory. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

7. Fred S. was apprehended in a car with several other minors who were smoking marijuana after school. The drug did not appear to have belonged to Fred, although he was clearly using it. His record shows two incidents during the last year when officers were called to the house by Fred's mother to settle a family dispute between Fred and his father. At school, his behavior has generally been acceptable, with the exception of one incident involving a violent argument with a male teacher a few months ago. He seems to get along cooperatively and nonviolently with his mother. Would you:

APPENDIX F: (Cont'd)

7. (Cont'd)

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

8. Tom L. was stopped for questioning with three other minors who were loitering around the parking lot of a convenience store at about 11:30 on a Friday night. Tom and his friends were somewhat intoxicated, having added liquor to soft drinks bought from the store. Neither Tom nor two of his friends have any prior contacts with the police, while the fourth boy has one curfew prior. Tom's school adjustment is satisfactory and his parents are anxious that no further action be taken. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

9. Police responded to a call from a drug store whose clerk was holding Helen P. for shoplifting. Helen and a friend had attempted to take some earrings when spotted by the employee. Though her companion fled, Helen remained and appeared immediately regretful and shaken by the experience. Her school adjustment is satisfactory. With the exception of frequent quarrels with her brother, her home life appears satisfactory. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

10. Betty M. was taken into custody by store security officers after having taken several belts, removed the price tags and stuffed them into her purse. This was the third time Betty has been involved in shoplifting or in the company of others who were evidently shoplifting. (One petition not sustained, one B-8, once she was not arrested, though her friend was.) Betty lives with her mother, who has been divorced for about a year. On this occasion, Betty has cooperated with officers; her mother is increasingly upset by her daughter's delinquency but at a loss for an adequate solution. Betty's school performance reflects weak grades but only minor behavioral disruption. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

11. John L. was arrested after he and a companion attempted to flee a record store with several albums. The proprietor locked the door on the boys, after seeing them conceal the albums, but they beat him about the face with their fists, pushed him away from the door, and fled. John is known for a prior petty theft (B-8) and an incident of 601 incorrigibility which was resolved short of court action. His father, who was involved, is no longer in the home. His mother wants to be helpful but is at a loss to control his behavior. School officials report he associates with a disruptive element. John's other positive association is with an aunt who lives alone not far away. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

APPENDIX F: (Cont'd)

12. Susan L. was apprehended in the parking lot of a discount store from which she had stolen some pants. Her prior arrest history reflects one incident involving a curfew violation which involved some drinking (B-8) and one suspicion of shoplifting. School officials report some difficulty with Susan's use of bad language and occasionally disruptive behavior. When interrogated, she remained rather sullen. Her father is not in the home; officers also talked to her mother and aunt, who came in together, and who were both obviously upset by this event. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

13. Lou H. was arrested inside a residence after handing a number of valuable items, including watches, a calculator and a clock radio, out a rear window to a companion, who then fled upon the arrival of officers. Lou identified his companion, was generally cooperative, and seemed regretful when he later talked to detectives. His parents are concerned and cooperative. His record shows one other offense, a curfew (B-8) some 18 months ago. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

14. Janet L. was loitering with several other friends, at least some of whom were smoking marijuana on a corner of the schoolyard. Although she was sullen when in the company of her friends, she later agreed to discuss the entire matter with officers. She has not been a problem otherwise at school, and her grades have been consistently good. Her parents were concerned to learn of her close association with those who were smoking marijuana, and are anxiously cooperative. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

15. Bob F. and a 14-year-old friend were apprehended as they prepared to shoot out a streetlight with a BB gun. It was evidently the first encounter of either boy with the police, and they were clearly shaken by the experience. Although his parents are concerned that no further action be taken, they mentioned no other problems of a serious nature. He has been doing fairly well in school. Assuming no restitution is needed, would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

16. Jeannette S. tried to keep officers from discovering the 1-1/2 marijuana cigarettes which were in her purse along with some minor cosmetic items she had taken from a local drugstore. Although Jeannette officially lives with her mother, it was learned that she spends a great deal of

APPENDIX F: (Cont'd)

16. (Cont'd)

time with friends, one of whom is older (17) and evidently more sophisticated than Jeannette. She does not seem to have much genuine communication with her mother (her father is not in the home); her mother, in return, attempts to minimize the severity of the offense. However, she does have what seems to be a warm relationship with an uncle who lives nearby. Grades and school behavior are average to low average. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

17. In a fight with another child, Freddy T. pushed him off his bike and stole the bike. Freddy's parents have punished him and want to assure police that a similar incident will not reoccur. The school reports that Freddy is indeed an aggressive youngster, though they have no combative incidents to add. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

18. Donny L. was arrested by officers after they saw him flee from a car he was stripping with two other boys. The car, an expensive one, was parked in the carport of nearby apartments. Donny and his companions were later picked up at the home of one of his companions. The car was identified as stolen, though there is no indication that Donny was involved in the theft. Donny lives with his mother and uncle, and seems to have a better relationship with his uncle than he used to have with his father, who left the home. Prior arrests include two curfew violations, one of which apparently involved some drinking (released to his parents in both cases) and a 601 incorrigibility, when his father was in the home. The school reports generally slow motivation, average to marginal grades, and a minor disturbance about 6 months ago. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

19. Mary P. was arrested when she left a store from which she had stolen two record albums, hidden under her raincoat. Four months ago she was stopped for suspicion of shoplifting, with no conclusive evidence; a year ago she was in the company of a girl who was arrested for the same offense. As in the past, Mary was courteous and cooperative with officers. She lives with her mother, who she describes as often absent in the evenings. There has been no father in the home for the last year. There is by now little affection left for her mother, and Mary seems more attached to the mother of her best friend. She has not been a problem at school, where her grades are average. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

APPENDIX F: (Cont'd)

20. Jane D. was found with several other 15 and 16-year-old companions loitering in front of a candy store across the street from their school. It was late in the afternoon, and they had shared several cans of beer, though none was conspicuously drunk. Jane has one recent curfew, with some of the same friends, and a suspicion of petty theft several months ago, from which she was released. One of the other girls has two curfew violations. Her parents seem fairly good. Would you:

Petition _____ Divert _____ Counsel & Release _____

APPENDIX G: Technical Details Regarding Severity of Instant Arrest and Level of Social-Psychological Adjustment

A. Severity of Instant Arrest

The following method was used to divide the 20 illustrative cases into arrests of higher and lower severity:

1. Three EJDP research analysts independently rated each illustrative case as to severity of instant arrest. They used the following 5-point scale: 1 - not at all severe; 2 - mildly severe; 3 - moderately severe; 4 - severe; 5 - extremely severe.

2. A total score was then derived for each of the 20 cases. This score was the unweighted sum of the three independent ratings that had been made for that case. (For example, on case #1 the ratings of the three independent raters were 3, 3 and 2, respectively. The total score for case #1 was therefore 8.) The total scores of all 20 cases were then added together in order to derive an average score for the 20 cases as a group: Using the above-mentioned ratings, the latter score--namely, the average score-per-case, across all 20 cases--was 7.80. This was equivalent to a score of 2.60 per *individual* case, i.e., per rater per case (7.80 divided by 3). Thus, the "typical" case was seen as falling about halfway between mildly severe and moderately severe in terms of the 5-point scale.

3. If the total score for any given case was 8 or higher--i.e., if the total score fell above the average score per case, for the 20 cases as a group--the given case was then considered "high"; in short, the instant arrest in question was then regarded as being of higher severity. All remaining scores--i.e., those which fell *below* the group average--were considered "low".

APPENDIX G: (Cont'd)

This procedure resulted in 12 higher severity cases and 8 lower severity cases. The specific cases that were designated as "higher severity" were: case #1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, and 19. All remaining cases were designated as "lower severity".

4. Interrater reliability was high: Based on the original independent judgments of the three raters with respect to all 20 cases, the intraclass correlation was .82

B. Level of Social-Psychological Adjustment

The method that was used to divide the 20 cases into poorer or better social-psychological adjustment was identical to that which was used in relation to severity of instant arrest. Here, the 5-point scale was as follows: 1 - very poor [adjustment]; 2 - poor; 3 - average; 4 - above average; 5 - very good or excellent. This procedure resulted in an average score of 8.20 per case, or 2.73 per rater per case. Thus, the typical case was seen as falling slightly below "average" relative to the raters' concept of social-psychological adjustment. Cases with a total score of 9 or more were regarded as being of "better adjustment"; the remaining cases were ...of "poorer adjustment". There were 8 better adjusted cases in all--case #4, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 20. Interrater reliability was the same as in the case of instant arrest: for the three raters, the intraclass correlation was .83.

C. Severity of Arrest and Level of Social-Psychological Adjustment Combined

By using the "higher/lower" and "poorer/better" classifications mentioned

APPENDIX G: (Cont'd)

above, all 20 cases were then divided into one of the following groups: (a) higher severity/poorer adjustment; (b) higher severity/better adjustment; (c) lower severity/poorer adjustment; (d) lower severity/better adjustment. The number of cases that fell into these categories were 10, 2, 2, and 6, respectively.

D. Relationship Between Severity of Arrest and Level of Adjustment

Using the total score for each item,¹ the relationship between severity of arrest and level of adjustment was found to be moderately high: The Spearman rho was .69. Using the "higher/lower" and "poorer/better" classifications, it was .70.

¹And adjusting for direction of scale--i.e., for scale-meaning--as needed.

APPENDIX H: Comparability of Clients and Comparisons for 11 Projects Combined

Statistical analyses were performed in order to determine the degree of similarity between Clients and Comparisons on each of the following variables and factors: age, sex, ethnicity, number of prior arrests, type of instant arrest, and specific referral source. The results were as follows:

Age. Clients (C1's) were slightly younger than Comparisons (Co's): 60% of the C1's were under 16; the figure for Co's was 58%. This difference, which was not statistically significant, amounted to three months in all: the average age for C1's was 15.0; for Co's it was 15.3¹. (Table H-1)

TABLE H-1: Age at Referral for Client and Comparison Groups

Age at Referral	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 1,345	Comparison N = 1,192
Under 16	60.2	57.8
16 & Up	39.8	42.2
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 1.62, df = 1, NS.$

Sex. A lower percentage of Clients than Comparisons were male: 55% versus 63%. This difference was statistically significant.² (Table H-2)

¹Younger adolescent offenders are usually considered worse "risks" than older offenders, in terms of their potential for future delinquent behavior.

²Male offenders are usually considered worse risks than female offenders.

APPENDIX H: (Cont'd)

TABLE H-2: Sex of Client and Comparison Groups

Sex	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 1,345	Comparison N = 1,192
Male	55.4	63.4
Female	44.6	36.6
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 16.88, df = 1, p < .01.$

Ethnicity. A slightly higher percentage of Clients than Comparisons were Anglo, as compared to all other groups combined. The figure for Clients was 67% Anglo; for Comparisons it was 61%. This difference was statistically significant.³ (Table H-3)

Number of prior arrests. Clients were more likely than Comparisons to have had *no* record of prior arrests: 75% of all Cl's had no prior arrests; the figure for Co's was 62%. Statistically, this difference was highly significant.⁴ (Table H-4)

³Non-Anglo offenders are often considered worse risks than Anglo offenders. This may reflect the fact that minority membership is generally related to the factor of socioeconomic status. Specifically, Non-Anglo offenders are more likely to come from lower- and lower-middle-class--i.e., economically poorer backgrounds.

⁴Youths who have a prior arrest record are usually considered worse risks than those without such a record.

APPENDIX H: (Cont'd)

TABLE H-3: Ethnic Background of Client and Comparison Groups

Ethnic Background	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 1,206 ^a	Comparison N = 1,081 ^a
Anglo	66.7	61.0
All others	33.3	39.0
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 8.29, df = 1, p < .01.$

^aExcludes youths whose ethnicity was unknown.

TABLE H-4: Prior Arrests for Client and Comparison Groups

Number of Arrests	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 1,345	Comparison N = 1,114 ^a
None	75.1	62.4
1 or more	24.9	37.6
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 47.59, df = 1, p < .01.$

^aExcludes youths whose prior arrest record was unknown.

APPENDIX H: (Cont'd)

Type of instant arrest. Clients and Comparisons were essentially the same with respect to type of instant arrest. Fifty-two percent (52%) of the Cl's and 54% of the Co's were referred in connection with a law arrest; all others were referred in connection with a status arrest. Statistically, this difference was not significant. (Table H-5)

TABLE H-5: Type of Instant Arrest for Client and Comparison Groups

Type of Instant Arrest	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 1,345	Comparison N = 1,192
Law Arrest	51.8	54.0
Status Arrest	48.2	46.0
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 1.23, df = 1, NS.$

Specific referral source.⁵ Clients were more likely than Comparisons to have been referred by Law Enforcement (LE) rather than Probation: Fifty-four percent (54%) of the Cl's were referred by LE and 46% were referred by Probation. The figures for Co's were 39% and 61%, respectively. Statistically, this difference was highly significant. It may be related to the fact that Comparisons, on the average, were more likely than Clients to have had a prior record. (Table H-6)

⁵As indicated on p. 76, all youths who were included in the present analyses were justice system referrals.

APPENDIX H: (Cont'd)

TABLE H-6: Specific Source of Referral for Client and Comparison Groups

Source of Referral	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 1,343 ^a	Comparison N = 1,192
Law Enforcement	53.6	38.6
Probation	46.4	61.4
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 57.26, df = 1, p < .01.$

^aExcludes youths whose source of referral was unknown.

APPENDIX I: Details Regarding Specific Source of Referral

In seven of the 11 projects, all followup cases were referred from a single justice system source: Law Enforcement or Probation. In three of the remaining four, more than 90% were from a single source. The reason for this "all-or-none" (or markedly skewed) representation was as follows.

As suggested in Chapter 3, referrals to any given project mainly came from the agency under whose auspices the project was operated; this was especially true of projects sponsored by justice system agencies. Thus, a Probation-sponsored project was likely to contain few Law Enforcement referrals; and vice versa for a Law Enforcement-sponsored project. Now then, EJDP used the following approach in order to hold specific referral source constant, across Clients and Comparisons of any *one* project. If EJDP staff found that a project contained few Clients who had been referred from a particular justice system agency--say, Probation--it almost always tried to select *every* followup case (Clients and Comparisons alike) from the agency whose Clients *were* heavily represented on the given project--say, Police.¹ (In five of the 11 projects, 100% of all Clients, not just followup cases, were referred from a single justice system source.²)

¹This approach accounts for the percentage differences in figures that are shown in Tables 1 and 6, on the one hand, and pp. 24-30 of Chapter 3, on the other.

²In a number of other projects, a large majority of Clients were referred from a single justice system source.

APPENDIX J: Relationship Between the Number of Law, Status, and Law Plus Status Arrests Combined

The following might be kept in mind regarding the numbers that appear in Tables 18, 19, and 20 of Chapter 6: Table 18 contains a set of figures that relate to the number of youths with law and status arrests combined (one column relates to the number of Clients with these arrests; the other relates to the number of Comparisons with these arrests); Table 19 contains a set of numbers that relate to youths with law arrests; Table 20 contains a set that relate to youths with status arrests. These three sets have been reproduced in Table J-1 of the present Appendix. They are presented in the following order: law, status, and law + status arrests combined.

Now then, each set of numbers is based on a separate--i.e., independent--computer run. Thus, as seen in Table J-1, 14 of the 1,345 Clients had three law arrests, 17 of the 1,345 Clients had three status arrests, and 41 of these same 1,345 Clients had three law and/or status arrests. The number that is shown for law and/or status arrests is larger than that for law arrests and status arrests added together, because 10 additional Clients had entered the picture during the law and/or status arrests run. More specifically, 10 of the 48 Clients who had two Law arrests (see Column 1) also had one status arrest. When these 10 Clients (youths who had three law + status arrests *combined*) were added to the above-mentioned 14 and 17, the total number of Clients who had three law and/or status arrests became 41.

APPENDIX J: (Cont'd)

TABLE J-1: Number of Clients and Comparisons with Law, Status, and Law + Status Arrests During 6-Months Followup

Number of Arrests	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests ^a	
	No. of Youths		No. of Youths		No. of Youths	
	Clients	Compar.	Clients	Compar.	Clients	Compar.
0	1,134	950	1,157	1,008	1,004	826
1	148	163	139	141	203	221
2	48	55	30	35	83	86
3	14	18	17	7	41	42
4 & Up	1	6	2	1	14	17
Total	1,345	1,192	1,345	1,192	1,345	1,192

^aAll arrests refers to law and status arrests combined.

APPENDIX K: Comparability of a Client and Comparison Subsample for 11 Projects Combined

Statistical analyses were performed in order to determine the degree of similarity between 379 Clients and 379 Comparisons on each of the following variables and factors: age, sex, ethnicity, number of prior arrests, type of instant arrest, and specific referral source. The results were as follows:

Age. Clients (C1's) were essentially the same age as Comparisons (Co's): 56% of the C1's were under 16; the figure for Co's was 58%. This difference, which was not statistically significant, amounted to one month in all: the average age for C1's was 15.2; for Co's it was 15.3. (Table K-1)

TABLE K-1: Age at Referral for Client and Comparison Groups

Age at Referral	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 379	Comparison N = 379
Under 16	55.9	57.8
16 & Up	44.1	42.2
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 0.26, df = 1, NS.$

Sex. A lower percentage of Clients than Comparisons were male: 58% versus 68%. This difference was statistically significant.¹ (Table K-2)

¹Male offenders are usually considered worse risks than female offenders.

APPENDIX K: (Cont'd)

TABLE K-2: Sex of Client and Comparison Groups

Sex	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 379	Comparison N = 379
Male	57.8	67.6
Female	42.2	32.5
Total	100.0	100.1

$\chi^2 = 7.72, df = 1, p < .01.$

Ethnicity. A higher percentage of Clients than Comparisons were Non-Anglo, as compared to all other groups combined. The figure for Clients was 44% Non-Anglo; for Comparisons it was 35%. This difference was statistically significant.² (Table K-3)

²Non-Anglo offenders are often considered worse risks than Anglo offenders. This may reflect the fact that minority membership is generally related to the factor of socio-economic status. Specifically, Non-Anglo offenders are more likely to come from lower- and lower-middle-class--i.e., economically poorer--backgrounds.

APPENDIX K: (Cont'd)

TABLE K-3: Ethnic Background of Client and Comparison Groups

Ethnic Background	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 312 ^a	Comparison N = 340 ^a
Anglo	56.1	65.0
All others	43.9	35.0
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 5.42, df = 1, p < .05.$

^aExcludes youths whose ethnicity was unknown.

Number of prior arrests. Clients were a little more likely than Comparisons to have had *no* prior arrests: 69% of all Cl's had no prior arrests; the figure for Co's was 66%. Statistically, this difference was not significant.³ (Table K-4)

TABLE K-4: Prior Arrests for Client and Comparison Groups

Number of Arrests	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 379	Comparison N = 343 ^a
None	69.4	65.6
1 or more	30.6	34.4
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 1.18, df = 1, NS.$

^aExcludes youths whose prior arrest record was unknown.

³Youths who have no prior record are usually considered better risks than those who have a record.

APPENDIX K: (Cont'd)

Type of instant arrest. Clients and Comparisons were essentially the same with respect to type of instant arrest. Fifty-seven percent (57%) of the C1's and 62% of the Co's were referred in connection with a law arrest; all others were referred in connection with a status arrest. Statistically, this difference was not significant. (Table K-5)

TABLE K-5: Type of Instant Arrest for Client and Comparison Groups

Type of Instant Arrest	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 379	Comparison N = 379
Law Arrest	57.3	62.3
Status Arrest	42.7	37.7
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 1.98, df = 1, NS.$

Specific referral source.⁴ Clients and Comparisons were almost identical in terms of specific referral source: Fifty-three percent (53%) of the C1's were referred by LE and 47% were referred by Probation. The figures for Co's were 53% and 48%, respectively. Statistically, this difference was not significant. (Table K-6)

⁴As indicated on p. 76, all youths who were included in the present analyses were justice system referrals.

APPENDIX K: (Cont'd)

TABLE K-6: Specific Source of Referral for Client and Comparison Groups

Source of Referral	Percentage of Youths	
	Client N = 378 ^a	Comparison N = 379
Law Enforcement	53.2	52.5
Probation	46.8	47.5
Total	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 0.03, df = 1, NS.$

^aExcludes youth whose source of referral was unknown.

APPENDIX E: Covariance Analyses and Background Characteristics

Covariance analyses

Using the equalized subsample, covariance analyses were carried out for Clients versus Comparisons with 0, 1, 2, and 2 or more prior arrests, respectively. The covariates were age, sex, ethnicity, instant arrest, and source of referral. The dependent variables were number of law, status, and all arrests (law + status) combined, on 6-months followup from instant arrest. Results were as follows:

For youths who had no prior arrests, no statistically significant differences in recidivism were found between Clients and Comparisons. This applied not only to all arrests combined, but to law and status arrests separately.¹

For youths with *one* prior, significant differences in recidivism were found on law and law + status arrests combined; this applied relative to status arrests as well. All differences were in favor of Clients.²

For youths who had two priors, no significant differences were found between Clients and Comparisons.³ This applied to individuals with two or more priors as well.⁴

¹F-test results were as follows, for law, status, and law + status arrests respectively (F-ratios are shown for 1 degree of freedom; the corresponding level of significance is indicated in parentheses): 0.83 (.36); 0.05 (.50); 0.72 (.40).

²F-test results were as follows, for law, status, and law + status arrests respectively: 4.30 (.04); 3.91 (.05); 6.17 (.02).

³F-test results were as follows, for law, status, and law + status arrests respectively: 0.51 (.48); 0.00 (.50); 1.03 (.32).

⁴F-test results were as follows, for law, status, and law + status arrests respectively: 0.00 (.50); 1.53 (.22); 1.09 (.30).

Background characteristics

Clients versus Comparisons. Using the equalized subsample, similarities and differences in background characteristics were inspected separately for individuals with 0, 1, and 2 or more prior offenses. Results were as follows (Chi square tests were used; significance levels are shown in parentheses⁵):

For youths who had no prior arrests, no statistically significant differences were found between Clients and Comparisons on age and source of referral. However, the Client group contained proportionately more females than the Comparison group (.01); it also contained a somewhat higher proportion of Non-Anglos (.10) and was more often referred in connection with a status offense (.05).

For youths who had one prior arrest, no significant differences were found between Clients and Comparisons on age, sex, and ethnicity. However, proportionately more Clients had been referred (a) in connection with a status offense (.05), and (b) by Law Enforcement rather than Probation (.01).⁶

⁵All significance levels that were derived from these tests were virtually identical to those obtained as part of the above-mentioned covariance analyses, for individuals with 0 and 1 prior offense, respectively. (Covariance analyses were not performed relative to youths with 2 or more priors; Chi square tests were not performed for those with exactly 2 priors.)

⁶Specifically: (a) 63% of the Clients were referred in connection with a status offense, and 37% for a law offense; among Comparisons the figures were 43% and 57%, respectively. (b) 46% of the Clients were referred by Law Enforcement and 54% by Probation; for Comparisons the figures were 21% and 79%.

For youths who had two or more priors, no significant differences were found on age, sex, and source of referral. However, proportionately more Clients (a) were Non-Anglo (.05) and (b) had been referred in connection with a law offense (.01).

As indicated, for each set of Clients and Comparisons all differences on the above variables were statistically adjusted to the extent possible, by the earlier-mentioned covariance technique.

Clients versus Clients. As seen in Chapter 6, Clients who had 1 prior arrest performed better than their Comparisons. This raised the following question: In what ways were these Clients similar to and different from all *remaining* Clients--those with no priors and 2 or more priors combined? As in previous analyses, this question was addressed by means of Chi square tests. Results are as follows (significance levels are shown in parentheses):

No statistically significant differences were found between Clients who had 1 prior arrest and all remaining Clients combined, as to age, sex, ethnicity, and source of referral. However, compared to the latter individuals, Clients who had 1 prior were more often referred in connection with a status offense (.01). On balance, then, the two groups of Clients were fairly similar to each other.⁷

⁷The following might be noted. (1) Clients who had 1 prior were similar to those with *no* priors, as to age, sex, and ethnicity. However, those with 1 prior were more often referred (a) in connection with a status offense (.01), and (b) from Probation (.10). (2) Clients who had 1 prior were similar to those with *2 or more* priors, as to sex and source of referral. However, they were (a) somewhat younger (.10), (b) more likely to be Anglo (.05), and (c) more often referred in connection with a status offense (.01).

APPENDIX L: (Cont'd)

Comparisons versus Comparisons. No significant differences were found between Comparisons who had 1 prior arrest and all remaining Comparisons, as to age, sex, and instant offense. The former individuals were more likely than the latter to have been (a) referred from Probation, and (b) Non-Anglo.

APPENDIX M: Number of Prior Arrests per Youth, by Individual Project

Project	Number of Prior Arrests ^a	
	Clients	Comparisons
Three Successful Projects		
La Colonia	3.26	1.81
Stockton	1.10	1.73
Compton	2.68	2.21
Eight Remaining Projects		
A	.24	.87
B	.18	.29
C	.76	1.24
D	.10	.98
E	.00 ^b	.00 ^b
F	.00 ^b	.21 ^b
G	.50	.55
H	.47	.43

^aLaw and status arrests combined. - For Clients, the correlation (rho) between number of prior arrests and rate of recidivism on 6-months followup (Table 21) was + .58 (p < .05). For Comparisons, the correlation was + .87 (p < .01). This applied to all 11 projects combined.

^bRefers only to the subsample that was used in the 6-months followup. (See, e.g., Bohnstedt, et al--Year-End Report on the Fremont Project.) The number of prior arrests per youth is estimated to be .39 and .05 for the total, i.e., unselected sample of Clients and Comparisons in project E, and .30 in both cases for those in project F.

APPENDIX N: Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses, and Correlations
Among Predictors

Multiple regression analyses were carried out for Clients, Comparisons, and Clients + Comparisons, respectively. They were performed relative to each of three outcome measures: law arrests, status arrests, and all arrests combined.¹ Since they were carried out not only on the total sample,² but the equalized subsample as well,³ the total number of analyses was therefore 18 (3x3x2). Results of all analyses are shown on the following pages, together with correlations among the independent variables (predictors) that were used in analyses #9 and #18.⁴

¹The standard, 6-months followup was used in all analyses.

²N = 1,345 Clients and 1,192 Comparisons.

³N = 379 Clients and 379 Comparisons.

⁴Identical predictors were used in all 18 analyses. These were: age, sex, ethnicity, number of prior law arrests, number of prior status arrests, total number of prior arrests, instant arrest, and source of referral.

APPENDIX N: I Analyses on Total Sample^a

Study Group	Outcome Measure: Subsequent Law Arrests			Subsequent Status Arrests			All Subsequent Arrests		
	Predictors	Mult. R	Mult. R ²	Predictors	Mult. R	Mult. R ²	Predictors	Mult. R	Mult. R ²
Clients	Prior law arrests	.165	.027	Instant arrest	.215	.046	Total prior arrests	.191	.036
	Sex	.219	.048	Prior status arrests	.246	.061	Sex	.198	.039
	Prior status arrests	.231	.053	Referral source	.252	.063			
	(Analysis #1)			(Analysis #2)			(Analysis #3)		
Comparisons	Prior law arrests	.237	.056	Instant arrest	.230	.053	Total prior arrests	.279	.078
	Sex	.256	.065	Prior status arrests	.285	.081	Instant arrest	.304	.093
				Prior law arrests	.292	.085	Ethnicity	.313	.098
	(Analysis #4)			(Analysis #5)			(Analysis #6)		
Clients + Comparisons	Prior law arrests	.208	.043	Instant arrest	.221	.049	Total prior arrests	.240	.057
	Sex	.242	.058	Prior status arrests	.265	.070	Instant arrest	.253	.064
	Prior status arrests	.260	.067	Prior law arrests	.271	.074			
	(Analysis #7)			(Analysis #8)			(Analysis #9)		

^aStepwise computations were programmed to terminate as soon as a given step increased the R² figure by less than .010. For this reason, the number of predictors that appear across the 18 analyses are often dissimilar.

APPENDIX N, (Cont'd): II Analyses on Equalized Subsample^a

Study Group	Outcome Measure: Subsequent Law Arrests			Subsequent Status Arrests			All Subsequent Arrests		
	Predictors	Mult. R	Mult. R ²	Predictors	Mult. R	Mult. R ²	Predictors	Mult. R	Mult. R ²
Clients	Prior law arrests	.359	.129	Prior status arrests	.231	.053	Prior law arrests	.374	.140
	Instant arrest	.408	.166	Instant arrest	.263	.069	Prior status arrests	.396	.157
	Sex	.427	.182	Prior law arrests	.287	.083	Instant arrest	<u>.406</u>	<u>.165</u>
	Ethnicity	<u>.433</u>	<u>.187</u>	Total prior arrests	.310	.096			
			Ethnicity	<u>.320</u>	<u>.102</u>				
	<i>(Analysis #10)</i>			<i>(Analysis #11)</i>			<i>(Analysis #12)</i>		
Comparisons	Prior law arrests	.312	.097	Prior status arrests	.253	.064	Total prior arrests	.365	.133
	Sex	.330	.109	Instant arrest	.307	.094	Instant arrest	<u>.374</u>	<u>.140</u>
	Total prior arrests	.347	.120	Sex	<u>.313</u>	<u>.098</u>			
	Age	<u>.351</u>	<u>.123</u>						
	<i>(Analysis #13)</i>			<i>(Analysis #14)</i>			<i>(Analysis #15)</i>		
Clients + Comparisons	Prior law arrests	.3355	.112	Prior status arrests	.243	.059	Total prior arrests	.355	.126
	Sex	.366	.134	Instant arrest	.284	.081	Prior law arrests	<u>.366</u>	<u>.134</u>
	Total prior arrests	<u>.372</u>	<u>.138</u>	Ethnicity	<u>.292</u>	<u>.085</u>			
	<i>(Analysis #16)</i>			<i>(Analysis #17)</i>			<i>(Analysis #18)</i>		

APPENDIX N, (Cont'd): III A. Intercorrelations Among Predictor Variables, for Total Sample^b
 B. Correlation Between Predictor Variables and Outcome Measure, for Total Sample^b

	Predictor Variables								Outcome Measure
	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Prior Law Arrests	Prior Status Arrests	Total Prior Arrests	Instant Offense	Referral Source	All Subseq. Arrests
Age	1.00	-.02	.03	.02	-.03	-.01	-.05	.04	-.02
Sex	--	1.00	-.04	-.16	.07	-.05	.33	-.03	-.04
Ethnicity	--	--	1.00	-.07	-.10	-.12	-.12	-.03	-.06
Prior Law Arrests	--	--	--	1.00	.24	.76	.02	.03	.20
Prior Status Arrests	--	--	--	--	1.00	.69	.23	.01	.20
Total Prior Arrests	--	--	--	--	--	1.00	.16	.02	.24
Instant Offense	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.00	.04	.12
Referral Source	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.00	.04

^bRelates to analysis #9: Clients + Comparisons, on All Subsequent Arrests.

APPENDIX N, (Cont'd): IV A. Intercorrelations Among Predictor Variables, for Equalized Subsample^c
 B. Correlation Between Predictor Variables and Outcome Measure, for Equalized Subsample^c

	Predictor Variables								Outcome Measure
	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Prior Law Arrests	Prior Status Arrests	Total Prior Arrests	Instant Offense	Referral Source	All Subseq. Arrests
Age	1.00	-.03	-.04	-.02	-.05	-.05	-.02	.07	-.04
Sex	--	1.00	.02	-.18	-.01	-.11	.29	.01	-.11
Ethnicity	--	--	1.00	-.09	-.10	-.13	-.06	-.05	-.11
Prior Law Arrests	--	--	--	1.00	.26	.79	.03	.05	.34
Prior Status Arrests	--	--	--	--	1.00	.68	.24	.03	.23
Total Prior Arrests	--	--	--	--	--	1.00	.14	.03	.36
Instant Offense	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.00	.06	.04
Referral Source	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.00	.02

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^cRelates to analysis #18: Clients + Comparisons, on All Subsequent Arrests.

APPENDIX O: Percentage of Comparisons Rearrested, by Specified Characteristics and Factors^a

Characteristics and Factors	Law Arrests		Status Arrests		All Arrests	
	% of Youths	z-ratio ^b	% of Youths	z-ratio ^b	% of Youths	z-ratio ^b
<u>Age</u>						
Under 16	17.8		17.8		30.5	
16 & Up	21.7	1.56	14.2	1.63	30.2	0.09
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	24.4	4.77***	11.4	5.25***	30.6	0.05
Female	13.1		22.5		30.8	
<u>Ethnicity</u>						
Anglo	16.8	4.55***	16.5	0.09	29.5	3.16***
Non-Anglo ^c	28.2		16.4		37.9	
<u>Prior Arrests</u>						
None	13.2	7.30***	10.5	5.43***	21.2	8.56***
Some	30.2		22.3		44.1	
<u>Instant Arrest</u>						
Law	18.8		7.9		23.8	
Status	22.0	1.38	24.2	7.75***	38.8	5.58***
<u>Referral Source</u>						
Law Enforcement	14.3	4.22***	8.9	4.90***	19.7	6.46***
Probation	24.1		19.6		37.6	

^a6-months followup. ^bU-tests (two-tailed, except for Sex and Prior Arrests).

^cNon-Anglo = Black + Mexican-American + All Others.

*** p < .01.

APPENDIX P: Hours of Service Given to Specified Client Subgroups

Project Services for Boys With Prior Arrests				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 43) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	93	2.2	18	5.2
2. Group Counseling	57	1.3	6	9.5
3. Family Counseling	63	1.5	26	2.4
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	10	0.2	3	3.3
5. Recreation, Social- Cultural Enrichment	39	0.9	5	7.8
6. Referral to Other Resources	0	0.0	0	0.0
7. Other ^e	40	0.9	4	10.0
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	302	7.0	38	8.0
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	213	5.0	36	5.9
10. Total Number of Visits	258	6.0	37	7.0

^aParticipants + non-participants combined.

^cOr, in item 10, Number of Visits.

^eUsually phone contacts. For any given youth, three phone contacts were considered equivalent to one hour of service.

^bRefers to youths who were exposed to the given service--e.g., individual counseling--at least once.

^dOr, in item 10, Visits per Youth.

* If one excludes the 5 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 2.4, 1.5, 1.7, 0.3, 1.0, 0.0, 1.1, 7.9, 5.6, and 6.8, respectively.

Project Services for Boys Without Prior Arrests				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 76) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	175	2.3	32	5.5
2. Group Counseling	19	0.3	3	6.3
3. Family Counseling	163	2.1	61	2.7
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	15	0.2	5	3.0
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	16	0.2	4	4.0
6. Referral to Other Resources	15	0.2	4	3.8
7. Other ^e	1	0.0	1	1.0
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	404	5.3	72	5.6
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	357	4.7	72	5.0
10. Total Number of Visits	344	4.5	71	4.9

* If one excludes the 4 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 2.4, 0.3, 2.3, 0.2, 0.2, 0.2, 0.0, 5.6, 5.0, and 4.8, respectively.

Project Services for Girls With Prior Arrests				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 28) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	44	1.6	15	2.9
2. Group Counseling	18	0.6	4	4.5
3. Family Counseling	50	1.8	19	2.6
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	9	0.3	3	3.0
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	6	0.2	1	6.0
6. Referral to Other Resources	0	0.0	0	0.0
7. Other ^e	8	0.3	3	2.7
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	135	4.8	26	5.2
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	112	4.0	26	4.3
10. Total Number of Visits	107	3.8	26	4.1

* If one excludes the 2 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 1.7, 0.7, 1.9, 0.3, 0.2, 0.0, 0.3, 5.2, 4.3, and 4.1, respectively.

Project Services for Girls Without Prior Arrests				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 94) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	187	2.0	60	3.1
2. Group Counseling	56	0.6	8	7.0
3. Family Counseling	190	2.0	67	2.8
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	2	0.0	1	2.0
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	20	0.2	2	10.0
6. Referral to Other Resources	1	0.0	1	1.0
7. Other ^e	26	0.3	5	5.2
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	482	5.1	91	5.3
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	433	4.6	91	4.8
10. Total Number of Visits	372	4.0	91	4.1

* If one excludes the 3 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 2.1, 0.6, 2.1, 0.0, 0.2, 0.0, 0.3, 5.3, 4.8, and 4.1, respectively.

Project Services for All Boys				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 119) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	268	2.3	50	5.4
2. Group Counseling	76	0.6	9	8.4
3. Family Counseling	226	1.9	87	2.6
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	25	0.2	8	3.1
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	55	0.5	9	6.1
6. Referral to Other Resources	15	0.1	4	3.8
7. Other ^e	41	0.3	5	8.2
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	706	5.9	110	6.4
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	570	4.8	108	5.3
10. Total Number of Visits	602	5.1	108	5.6

* If one excludes the 9 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 2.4, 0.7, 2.1, 0.2, 0.5, 0.1, 0.4, 6.4, 5.2, and 5.5, respectively.

Project Services for All Girls				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 122) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	231	1.9	75	3.1
2. Group Counseling	74	0.6	12	6.2
3. Family Counseling	240	2.0	86	2.8
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	11	0.1	4	2.8
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	26	0.2	3	8.7
6. Referral to Other Resources	1	0.0	1	1.0
7. Other ^e	34	0.3	8	4.3
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	617	5.1	117	5.3
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	545	4.5	117	4.7
10. Total Number of Visits	479	3.9	117	4.1

*If one excludes the 5 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 2.0, 0.6, 2.1, 0.1, 0.2, 0.0, 0.3, 5.3, 4.7, and 4.1, respectively.

Project Services for Youths With Prior Arrests				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 71) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	137	1.9	33	4.2
2. Group Counseling	75	1.1	10	7.5
3. Family Counseling	113	1.6	45	2.5
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	19	0.3	6	3.2
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	45	0.6	6	7.5
6. Referral to Other Resources	0	0.0	0	0.0
7. Other ^e	48	0.7	7	6.9
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	437	6.2	64	6.8
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	325	4.6	62	5.2
10. Total Number of Visits	365	5.1	63	5.8

*If one excludes the 7 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 2.1, 1.2, 1.8, 0.3, 0.7, 0.0, 0.8, 6.8, 5.1, and 5.7, respectively.

APPENDIX P: (Cont'd)

Project Services for Youths Without Prior Arrests				
Type of Service	Total Hours of Service ^c	All Youths (N = 170) ^a	Participants Only ^b	
		Hours per Youth ^d *	No. of Youths Served	Hours per Youth ^d
1. Individual Counseling	362	2.1	92	3.9
2. Group Counseling	75	0.4	11	6.8
3. Family Counseling	353	2.1	128	2.8
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	17	0.1	5	2.8
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	36	0.2	6	6.0
6. Referral to Other Resources	16	0.1	5	3.2
7. Other ^e	27	0.2	6	4.5
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	886	5.2	163	5.4
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	790	4.7	163	4.9
10. Total Number of Visits	716	4.2	162	4.4

* If one excludes the 7 youths who received no service of any kind, the figures in this column become 2.2, 0.5, 2.2, 0.1, 0.2, 0.1, 0.2, 5.4, 4.8, and 4.4, respectively.

APPENDIX Q: Percentage of Youths Rearrested on 6-Months Followup, by Program Element

Type of Service	Hours of Service	Percentage of Youths (N = 294)		
		Subsequent Law Arrests	Subsequent Status Arrests	All Subsequent Arrests
Individual Counseling	0	22.4 ***	17.6	33.6 ***
	1 or More	10.7	11.8	20.1 ***
Group Counseling	0	16.9	15.3	27.8 *
	1 or More	8.7	8.7	15.2
Family Counseling	0	12.6	5.7 ***	18.4 *
	1 or More	16.9	17.9	29.0
Tutor., Group Educ., Empl. Counseling	0	15.6	14.9	26.0
	1 or More	16.0	8.0	24.0
Recreation, Soc./Cultural Enrichment	0	15.9	15.1	26.7
	1 or More	13.9	8.3	19.4
Refer--Other Resources	0	15.8	13.6	25.1
	1 or More	13.3	26.7	40.0
Other ^a	0	16.0	14.1	26.0
	1 or More	12.5	15.6	25.0
All Services Combined	0-2	20.5 **	14.2	29.9
	3 or More	12.0	14.4	22.8
All Counseling Combined	0-3	19.1 *	15.3	29.3
	4 or More	11.7	13.1	21.9
Total Number of Visits	0-2	21.3 **	15.6	31.9 **
	3 or More	10.5	13.1	20.3

^a Usually phone contacts.

* p < .10.

** p < .05.

*** p < .01.

APPENDIX R: Relationship Between Project Services and Client Performance in Equalized Subsample, by Subgroup

Type of Service	Performance of Boys With Prior Arrests		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	4.26 ^{**+}	1.40	5.53 ^{**+}
2. Group Counseling	0.77	0.00	0.79
3. Family Counseling	0.72	0.46	0.18
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.00	0.00	0.00
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.28	1.37	2.38
6. Referral to Other Resources	1.01	0.13	3.63 [*] -
7. Other ^b	0.11	1.69	1.12
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	2.90 [*] +	0.00	2.86 [*] +
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	4.76 ^{**+}	0.86	5.47 ^{**+}
10. Total Number of Visits	3.25 [*] +	0.00	2.76 [*] +

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 67.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX R: (Cont'd)

Type of Service	Performance of Boys Without Prior Arrests		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	4.22* +	0.13	1.93
2. Group Counseling	0.50	0.32	1.30
3. Family Counseling	0.22	2.72* -	1.84
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.50	0.32	1.30
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.02	0.00	0.00
6. Referral to Other Resources	0.17	1.07	0.07
7. Other ^b	0.05	0.01	0.35
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	5.60** +	0.01	2.33
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	3.49* +	2.06	4.65** +
10. Total Number of Visits	2.83* +	0.40	1.98

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 84.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX R: (Cont'd)

Type of Service	Performance of Girls With Prior Arrests		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	0.10	0.51	0.32
2. Group Counseling	0.19	0.23	0.29
3. Family Counseling	3.54* -	1.60	4.89** -
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.07	0.19	0.00
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.00	0.00	0.00
6. Referral to Other Resources	0.25	0.94	1.96
7. Other ^b	0.94	0.00	0.22
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	0.00	1.50	0.94
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	0.01	0.94	0.04
10. Total Number of Visits	0.28	0.51	1.53

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 39.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX R: (Cont'd)

Type of Service	Performance of Girls Without Prior Arrests		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	1.04	0.00	0.27
2. Group Counseling	0.00	0.00	0.35
3. Family Counseling	0.00	0.52	0.60
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.00	0.00	0.00
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.00	0.00	0.00
6. Referral to Other Resources	0.00	0.36	0.08
7. Other ^b	0.03	0.24	0.74
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	0.00	2.89* -	0.74
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	0.00	5.21** -	2.51
10. Total Number of Visits	0.82	0.16	0.62

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 104.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX R: (Cont'd)

Type of Service	Performance of All Boys		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	7.53*** +	1.74	6.24** +
2. Group Counseling	1.33	0.78	2.78* +
3. Family Counseling	0.07	5.26** -	0.46
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.15	0.10	0.22
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.66	1.48	1.60
6. Referral to Other Resources	0.00	2.68	3.20* -
7. Other ^b	0.02	0.15	0.31
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	7.57*** +	0.05	4.75** +
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	7.48*** +	3.98** +	9.42*** +
10. Total Number of Visits	4.73** +	0.50	3.73* +

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 151.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX R: (Cont'd)

Type of Service	Performance of All Girls		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	0.14	0.73	0.85
2. Group Counseling	0.00	0.05	0.67
3. Family Counseling	1.85	2.74* -	3.85** -
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.23	0.01	0.02
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.00	0.00	0.00
6. Referral to Other Resources	0.09	0.00	0.01
7. Other ^b	1.04	0.00	0.56
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	0.00	0.13	0.03
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	0.42	1.35	1.43
10. Total Number of Visits	1.43	0.06	1.43

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 143.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX R: (Cont'd)

Type of Service	Performance of Youths With Prior Arrests		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	1.74	3.09* +	4.76** +
2. Group Counseling	2.42	0.30	2.12
3. Family Counseling	0.45	3.17* -	1.55
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.00	0.00	0.20
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.37	1.57	2.41
6. Referral to Other Resources	0.00	0.00	0.00
7. Other ^b	0.00	0.53	0.28
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	1.68	2.60	3.85** +
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	2.24	2.69	3.91** +
10. Total Number of Visits	4.06** +	0.80	4.29** +

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 106.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX R: (Cont'd)

Type of Service	Performance of Youths Without Prior Arrests		
	χ^2 for Subsequent Law Arrests ^a	χ^2 for Subsequent Status Arrests ^a	χ^2 for All Subsequent Arrests ^a
1. Individual Counseling	6.69 ^{***} +	0.12	2.57
2. Group Counseling	0.38	0.56	2.39
3. Family Counseling	0.90	4.70 ^{**} -	3.17 [*] -
4. Tutor., Group Educ., Employ. Counseling	0.46	0.57	1.59
5. Recreation, Social-Cultural Enrichment	0.00	0.00	0.00
6. Referral to Other Resources	0.15	3.44 [*] -	0.99
7. Other ^b	0.70	0.85	2.14
8. All Services Combined (Items 1-7)	3.21 [*] +	1.71	0.18
9. All Counseling Combined (Items 1-3)	1.54	0.38	0.19
10. Total Number of Visits	4.24 ^{**} +	0.05	2.83 [*] +

^a6-months followup from instant arrest. Number of Clients = 188.

^bUsually phone contacts.

* p < .10. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.

"+" means: more service (e.g., more hours of counseling) is associated with better performance (fewer arrests).

"-" means: more service is associated with worse performance.

APPENDIX S: Percentage of Youths With Prior Arrests, By Sex and Hours of Service

Type of Service	Hours of Service	Percentage of Youths ^a		
		Boys With Prior Arrests	Girls With Prior Arrests	Boys + Girls With Prior Arrests
Individual Counseling	0	39.2	31.4	36.0
	1 or More	49.4	25.0	36.1
Group Counseling	0	40.3	23.5	32.3
	1 or More	68.2 ^{**}	45.8 ^{**}	56.5 ^{***}
Family Counseling	0	53.7	32.6	42.5
	1 or More	40.9	24.7	33.3

^aN = 151 boys, 143 girls.

** p < .05. *** p < .01.

APPENDIX T: Comparisons Between Analyzed and Unanalyzed Projects

Analyzed projects were compared to unanalyzed projects with respect to seven variables and factors: specific source of referral, global source of referral, instant arrest, prior arrests, ethnicity, sex, and age. These will now be reviewed.

The most striking difference between analyzed and unanalyzed projects related to *specific source of referral*. In the case of analyzed projects, 77% of all youths were referred from Probation while 23% were referred from Law Enforcement. Among unanalyzed projects, 11% were from Probation and 89% were from Law Enforcement.¹ EJDP staff see no intrinsic reason why projects that were more able and/or willing to supply the data in question should also be those whose referrals were more often from Probation; what occurred may have been a matter of chance alone, among the six projects in question. In any event, the fact remains that Probation referrals were over-represented among youths to whom the present findings apply.

At another, more *global* level, there was no significant difference between analyzed and unanalyzed projects in terms of source of referral. Among the former projects, 30% of all youths were referred from non-justice system sources while the remaining 70% were referred from justice system sources. In the case of unanalyzed projects the figures were 31% and 69%, respectively.²

¹The difference between analyzed (A) and unanalyzed (UA) projects was statistically significant ($p < .01$).

²The difference between A and UA projects was not significant.

APPENDIX T: (Cont'd)

A sharp difference was observed between analyzed and unanalyzed projects in connection with type of *instant arrest*. Among analyzed projects 65% of all youths were referred in connection with a status arrest; the remaining individuals were referred for a law arrest. In the case of unanalyzed projects essentially the reverse applied; here, figures were 31% and 69% for status and law arrests respectively.³ This finding is perhaps related to the above-mentioned results on Probation. That is, the Probation Departments in question may have seen diversion as a more appropriate resource for status than for law offenders. (As indicated above, unanalyzed projects were much less likely to contain Probation referrals in the first place.)

Among analyzed projects, 32% of all youths had one or more *prior arrests*; among unanalyzed projects the figure was 28%.⁴ This difference, while tending to be statistically significant, amounted to less than 0.2 arrests per youth.

A substantial difference was found between analyzed and unanalyzed projects with respect to *ethnicity*. Among analyzed projects, 46% of all youths were Non-Anglo while 54% were Anglo. Among unanalyzed projects the figures were 23% and 77% respectively.⁵ In all likelihood, this finding was primarily a reflection of the specific geographic areas in which the various projects were located. It was probably not related, or was only

³The difference between A and UA projects was statistically significant ($p < .01$).

⁴The difference between A and UA projects tended to be significant ($p < .10$).

⁵The difference between A and UA projects was significant ($p < .01$).

APPENDIX T: (Cont'd)

marginally related, to the over-representation of analyzed projects with regard to either Probation referrals or status offenders as such.

A moderate, but again statistically significant difference was observed in connection with *sex*. In the case of analyzed projects, 45% of all youths were female; among unanalyzed projects the figure was 39%.⁶ This may have been related to the findings on status offenders and over-representation in terms of Probation.

A substantial yet not extreme difference was found with regard to *age*. Among analyzed projects 49% of all youths were 16 or over; among unanalyzed projects the figure was 36%.⁷ In absolute terms, this amounted to a difference of four months per youth.

⁶The difference between A and UA projects was significant ($p < .01$).

⁷The difference between A and UA projects was significant ($p < .01$).

APPENDIX U: Further Examples--Youth Intervention Scales and Items

Scale # Modifying Attitudes Toward Adults/Establishment

1

- Show the youth that many adults are worthy of his respect.
- Show the youth that there are many adults whom he can trust and look up to.
- Try to convince the youth that you represent more than "the man", or more than an extension of the establishment.

Scale # Increasing Interpersonal Sensitivity

2

- Teach the youth more mature ways of influencing others.
- Give feedback and clarification to the youth about the personal reactions of others to him.
- Encourage the youth to perceive, appreciate, and respond appropriately to more individual differences among other personalities.
- Encourage the youth to at least consider new ways of perceiving and interpreting the behavior of others (including their motives and needs for behaving as they do).

Scale # Increasing Self-awareness/Self-acceptance

3

- Help the youth understand some of the original sources of his present self-image.
- Help the youth change some of his beliefs regarding what and who he "should" be or "ought" to be.
- Help the youth resolve doubts about his basic adequacy and worthiness.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Teaching Values and Controls

4

- Try to get the youth to start "thinking twice" before acting.
- Try to instill in the youth certain basic social values and standards.
- Instruct the youth on basic "do's" and "dont's" as though he were a child.
- Teach the youth how to cope with delay of gratification of his needs and wants.

Scale # Enhancing/Promoting a Non-Delinquent Self-Image

5

- Expose the youth to adequate males/females who are not impressed or taken in by "tough" or "delinquent" mannerisms.
- Try to extinguish value to the youth of a delinquent self-image.
- Involve the youth in activities and interests which show promise of reinforcing a non-delinquent concept of self.

Scale # Reducing Apathy, Indifference

6

- Encourage the youth to more actively care about what happens to him.
- Try to get the youth to be more evaluative and responsive to his social world.
- Try to get the youth to be more reactive to the events in his life, to take a more active stance in determining what happens to him.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Expression of Feelings

7

- Show the youth that it is all right to direct reasonable emotion and anger at their true source (rather than displacing, suppressing, etc.).
- Help the youth verbalize and more adequately express his feelings and emotional reactions to others.
- Emphasize to the youth the importance of expressing his inner feelings directly to those whom they involve (parents, peers, yourself, etc.).
- Serve the youth as a source of catharsis, listening to expressions of pent up needs, emotions, or fears.

Scale # Family/Parental Relationships

8

- Help the youth become aware of the ways in which the personal problems of parental figures can interact or have interacted with his own development.
- Get the youth to see his parents in a realistic light--their strengths, weaknesses, and individual personalities.
- Increase the youth's understanding of the role he has played in his family and the particular ways in which this might have influenced his life.

Scale # Peer Pressure

9

- Explain to the youth specific ways in which other youngsters may set him up to meet their own needs at the expense of his.
- Serve as a counterforce to the negative effects of peer influence on the youth.
- Discuss the issue of the price of loyalty to, or "going along with", peers in various circumstances.
- Suggest to the youth alternatives to conforming behavior on his part when he is confronted with peer-pressure situations.

CONTINUED

4 OF 5

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Self-understanding

10

- Discuss with the youth particular ways in which his unique needs and response style can manifest themselves in his interpersonal relationships.
- Increase the youth's awareness of how factors such as guilt or feelings of inadequacy can be a destructive force in his life.
- Try to get the youth to begin asking questions (at least of himself) regarding inner sources of his behavior.
- Develop what may approach a professional counseling or therapy relationship with the youth.
- Use review of past life and social history events to help the youth better understand his own conduct and feelings.

Scale # (Ego-bolstering via) "Success" Experiences

11

- Expose the youth to probable success experiences (even though they may represent menial challenges).
- Expose the youth to situations in which he can "win".
- Make sure the youth gets ego-bolstering recognition from others (even if only for menial successes or accomplishments).

Scale # Youth-Worker Relationship

12

- Emphasize to the youth that you expect him to relate to you on a quite personal basis.
- Talk with the youth about how he and you are relating to one another--about the nature and qualities of the relationship between you.
- Encourage the youth to begin actively thinking about the nature of, and changes in, the relationship between you and him.
- Use your relationship with the youth to illustrate (to the youth) themes and problems in the way he relates to others.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Practical Emphasis

13

- Actively help the youth find and secure job opportunities.
- Work primarily with performance (e.g., school, employment, living arrangements) rather than with emotions and psychological factors.
- Teach the youth how to take care of himself and how to meet his needs on a practical basis.

Scale # "Programming"/Rehearsal For Specified Life Situations

14

- Teach the youth specific alternative ways of "avoiding trouble" (e.g., fights, narcotics, etc.) under various circumstances.
- Teach the youth how to handle specific difficulties which he may experience when he's on his own and you're not available to him.
- Review with the youth how he is going to handle difficult situations (e.g., temptations, pressures, etc.) which may arise when you're not around.

Scale # Recreation, Socializing

15

- Encourage the youth to participate in activities such as fishing, baseball, or group field trips.
- Involve the youth in group recreational activities.

Scale # Frequency of Contact

16

- Make sure that you and the youth are in frequent contact.
- Maintain a regular schedule of frequent contact with the youth.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Concreteness vs. Abstractness

17

- Repeat and reiterate any expectations you have of the youth so that he will be less likely to forget them as soon as you're gone.
- Speak to the youth in very concrete terms, avoiding abstractions.
- Avoid using adult-level concepts, abstractions, or explanations when talking to the youth.

Scale # Informality--Lack of Social Distance

18

- Minimize social or personal distance between yourself and the youth.
- Talk with the youth about yourself and your feelings in order to let him know you on a fairly personal level.
- Invite the youth to your home much as you would a friend.

Scale # Youth's Commitment to Treatment

19

- Let the youth know that he must meet you "half-way" in the sense of committing himself to treatment (showing reasonable willingness to work on whatever main goals have been established for him).
- Let the youth know that your support of him is largely contingent upon his making a reasonable commitment to treatment objectives and goals.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Youth's Participation in Case-Planning & Decision-Making

20

- Discuss with the youth your treatment rationale, plans, and goals.
- Involve the youth as an equal in case decisions.
- Discuss thoroughly with the youth any challenges and objections he has to your decision with regard to the handling of his case.
- Allow the youth to significantly determine the extent of your involvement in his life.
- Allow the youth to make nearly all his own decisions largely without your participation.
- Allow the youth to pretty much run his life by himself.
- Discuss and review the progress of treatment with the youth.

Scale # Gaining Youth's Confidence in Worker as Understanding/Capable

21

- Demonstrate to the youth that you are capable of understanding very personal feelings and needs which he has.
- Gain the youth's confidence in you as a therapeutic treater.
- Gain the youth's confidence as someone skilled in understanding interpersonal problems.

Scale # Expressing Personal Concern for/Acceptance of Youth

22

- Help the youth feel that you do not see him as someone who is "sick", "weird", or undesirable.
- Help the youth feel that you accept and care for him as an individual--for his own uniqueness, and independently of particular problems and behavior.
- Help the youth feel that his personal happiness is quite important to you.
- Help the youth feel that you really do care about him in more than a formal, "it's-my-job" fashion.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Expressing Warmth, Friendliness, Affection

23

- Give the youth warm, friendly physical contact.
- Relate to the youth in an interpersonally warm or affectionate manner.
- Express to the youth positive affection you feel for him.

Scale # Protecting, Minimizing Demands-Pressures

24

- Avoid exposing the youth to sophisticated, aggressive, or manipulative delinquents.
- Expose the youth to supportive, non-threatening social situations.
- Allow the youth to be childish and immature (including childish dependency).
- Make only minimal demands and expectations of the youth.
- Avoid exposing the youth to harsh, direct, personal-encounter group situations.

Scale # Using Anxiety/Distress as Stimulus/Motivator

25

- Capitalize on internal pressures (e.g., anxiety, guilt) as stimuli for motivating the youth for treatment.
- Capitalize on distress or anxiety in the youth as a stimulus for change.

Scale # Being Unpredictable, Doing the Unexpected

26

- Try to prevent the youth from thinking that he can predict your responses to his behavior on the basis of simple formulas.
- Intentionally relate to the youth in ways which will not readily fit into his usual manner of perceiving and interpreting others.
- Maintain an element of unpredictability regarding how you will react to the youth under particular circumstances.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Being Forceful, Blunt

27

- In confrontations with the youth, be willing to yell at him, "tell him off", and be verbally harsh (though not necessarily abusive).
- Be willing to 'tell off' the youth when you feel he needs it.
- Be verbally forceful, even harsh, when having to confront the youth.

Scale # Using Power/Authority

28

- Give the youth a relatively specific set of terms or conditions which he must meet or live up to while on your caseload. (There need not be a great many of these conditions.)
- Make the youth responsible for failure to follow through on his agreements with you by taking privileges or freedom from him. (Others may be involved in the agreements, too.)
- Provide support to those living with youth and responsible for helping to control the youth's behavior.
- Keep "on top" of the youth; don't accept any shining on; let him know that you're usually around and interested in what he's doing.
- Make sure the youth sees you as the main source of power with whom he must deal when making decisions and plans.
- Make sure that the youth does not succeed with "power plays", intimidation tactics, or manipulation efforts in your relationship with him.

Scale # Associating Concern with Control

29

- Make sure the youth understands that discipline of him by you is not to be interpreted as a sign of personal rejection.
- Emphasize to the youth that his being controlled by you is not the same as being emasculated by you.
- Try to convince the youth that controls, by you, reflect real concern for his well being.

APPENDIX U: (Cont'd)

Scale # Exposure to Masculine Adult Model*

30

- Expose the youth to adult models whom he cannot perceive or regard as unmanly, weak, impotent, etc.
- Behave in a definitely masculine (feminine) manner in the presence of the youth.

*Or, in the case of girls, Feminine Adult Model.

APPENDIX V: Instructions for Administration of Youth Intervention Scales

Part I

I'd like to get an idea of some of the approaches you used with the youths that you worked with on the _____ Project. To do this I'd like us to go over 35 items that deal with the way youth-workers, counselors, etc., sometimes work with youths.

(Hand person the YI Scales.)

These items deal with what you might call Areas, Methods, or Goals. In other words, they deal with Areas that you might have focused on...with Methods that you might have used..or Goals that you might have worked toward.

While you're looking over the items you'll see that each one includes a brief example that should help define or illustrate what the item means. For example, the first item is accompanied by a statement: "Show the youth that many adult are worthy of his respect." That statement would be an example of one way in which a youth-worker might go about Modifying Attitudes Toward Adults/Establishment.

Let me give you another small packet that contains additional examples for most of the 35 items. --(Hand person the Further Examples packet.)-- Feel free to look over these examples if you want more by way of description, on any item.

OK, now here's what I'd like you to do. I'd like you to answer two questions about each item. --(Hand person the Questions and Instructions Sheet.)-- If you look over this sheet you'll see that the first question has to do with: How much did you focus on this area or on this method, etc? The second question is: How Much Positive Impact did there seem to be on the youths, as a result of your work in this area?

As you see at the bottom of the same sheet, each question can be answered either SLIGHT OR NONE, MODERATE, MUCH, or VERY MUCH. For example, MODERATE would mean that you gave moderate emphasis to this area, or that you believe your work in this area had moderate positive impact on the youths.

Before we start on the items, let me add three important things: When you answer these questions be sure to think of the majority of youths that you worked with--that is, at least 70 to 80 percent of them. In other words, ask yourself about the extent to which you used each method, or worked toward each goal, with most of the youths--not with an occasional or exceptional youth only. - Another thing: When answering the question about Impact, try to emphasize the youths' behavior, but don't feel that you have to exclude their attitude. - The last thing is this: Try to focus on the time-period during which the youths were officially on the Project, and on your caseload only.

Any questions? (If not, Start.)

APPENDIX V: (Cont'd)

Administrator (Admr.) should begin with item #1 and should work straight through without a break, unless the person seems to need one. - Admr. should write down S's answers (and his comments, if possible) on an extra copy of the YI Scales. Admr. should not ask S to write anything; this will help S to concentrate on the questions per se. - Admr. should write the responses as follows:

Slight or None = 1 Moderate = 2 Much = 3 Very Much = 4

Note. If the person asks what is meant by the term "Much" (e.g., "What's much emphasis?"), Admr. should indicate the following: "Think of it this way. If you consider the full range of methods that you used with most youths, or if you think of all the areas that you focused on, the question would be this: Compared with other methods or approaches, was this method (e.g., modifying attitudes toward adults/establishment) one that you gave a lot of emphasis to...or gave hardly any emphasis at all? In other words, you should look at this as a relative matter. That is, you should compare your approach in this area with your approaches in all other areas."

If the person asks what to base his Impact answers on (e.g., he might say that he never saw any official followup records on most youths), Admr. should say: "You can answer this in terms of whatever information you were able to get, and whatever impressions you were able to form. In other words, you can answer this on the basis of your personal knowledge and observations of the youths, and on the basis of your own standards as to what constitutes positive impact. However, as I mentioned before, do give primary emphasis to the youth's behavior, to the extent possible."

APPENDIX V: (Cont'd)

Part II YI Scales: Questions and Instructions Sheet

Question #1 AMOUNT OF INTERVENTION

In your work with most youths, to what extent did you focus on this area (or use this method...or work toward this goal)?

Question #2 IMPACT OF INTERVENTION

When you did focus on this area (etc.), how much positive impact did it seem to have?

In Answering These Questions, Please Choose One Of The Following Terms:

SLIGHT OR NONE MODERATE MUCH VERY MUCH

*Emphasize the time-period during which the youth was on the Project.

APPENDIX W: Youth Intervention Scales

1. Modifying Attitudes Toward Adults/Establishment
Show the youth that many adults are worthy of his respect.
2. Increasing Interpersonal Sensitivity
Give feedback and clarification to the youth about the personal reactions of others to him.
3. Increasing Self-Awareness/Self-Acceptance
Help the youth resolve doubts about his basic adequacy and worthiness.
4. Teaching Values And Controls
Try to instill in the youth certain basic social values and standards.
5. Enhancing/Promoting A Non-Delinquent Self-Image
Involve the youth in activities and interests which show promise of reinforcing a non-delinquent concept of self.
6. Reducing Apathy, Indifference
Encourage the youth to more actively care about what happens to him.
7. Expression Of Feelings
Help the youth verbalize and more adequately express his feelings and emotional reactions to others.
8. Family/Parental Relationships
Increase the youth's understanding of the role he has played in his family and the particular ways in which this might have influenced his life.
9. Peer Pressure
Serve as a counterforce to the negative effects of peer influence on the youth.

APPENDIX W: (Cont'd)

10. Self-Understanding

Use review of past life and social history events to help the youth better understand his own conduct and feelings.

11. (Ego-Bolstering Via) "Success" Experiences

Expose the youth to probable success experiences (even though they may represent menial challenges).

12. Youth-Worker Relationship

Use your relationship with the youth to illustrate (to the youth) themes and problems in the way he relates to others.

13. Practical Emphasis

Teach the youth how to take care of himself and how to meet his needs on a practical basis.

14. "Programming"/Rehearsing For Specified Life Situations

Teach the youth how to handle specific difficulties which he may experience when he's on his own and you're not available to him.

15. Recreation, Socializing

Involve the youth in group recreational activities.

16. Frequency Of Contact

Make sure that you and the youth are in frequent contact.

17. Concreteness Vs. Abstractness

Avoid using adult-level concepts, abstractions, or explanations when talking to the youth.

18. Informality--Lack Of Social Distance

Minimize social or personal distance between yourself and the youth.

APPENDIX W: (Cont'd)

19. Youth's Commitment To The Program

Let the youth know that he must meet you "half way" in the sense of committing himself to the program (i.e., showing reasonable willingness to work on whatever main goals have been established for him).

20. Youth's Participation In Case-Planning & Decision-Making

Allow the youth to significantly determine the extent of your involvement in his life.

21. Gaining Youth's Confidence In Worker As Understanding/Capable

Demonstrate to the youth that you are capable of understanding very personal feelings and needs which he has.

22. Expressing Personal Concern For/Acceptance Of Youth

Help the youth feel that you really do care about him in more than a formal, "it's-my-job" fashion.

23. Expressing Warmth, Friendliness, Affection

Relate to the youth in an interpersonally warm or affectionate manner.

24. Protecting, Minimizing Demands-Pressures

Make only minimal demands and expectations on/of the youth.

25. Using Anxiety/Distress As Stimulus/Motivator

Capitalize on distress or anxiety in the youth as a stimulus for change.

26. Being Unpredictable, Doing The Unexpected

Maintain an element of unpredictability regarding how you will react to the youth under particular circumstances.

27. Being Forceful, Blunt

Be verbally forceful, even harsh, when having to confront the youth.

APPENDIX W: (Cont'd)

28. Using Power/Authority

Make sure the youth sees you as the main source of power with whom he must deal when making decisions and plans.

29. Associating Concern With Control

Try to convince the youth that controls, by you, reflect real concern for his well being.

30. Exposure To Masculine Adult Model *

Expose the youth to adult models whom he cannot perceive or regard as unmanly, weak, impotent, etc.

31. Involving Youth In The Community

Involve the youth in civic activities and community projects.

32. Being An Advocate For Youth

Present the youth's side--and help him obtain his rights--with school officials, police, the court, etc.

33. Using Positive Peer Influence

Encourage youth to interact with non-delinquent peers, and with delinquent peers who wish to communicate non-delinquent views.

34. Familiarizing Youth With Authority Figures

Expose youth to police and probation officers as individuals, by means of informal meetings, lectures and on-site tours.

35. Being Personally Available During Crises

Use crisis intervention techniques, 24-hour availability, and/or 'hot lines' to help youth during emergencies.

*Or, in the case of girls, Feminine Adult Model.

APPENDIX X: Extent of Usage and Amount of Impact, for 35 Methods and Areas of Focus--Separate by Individual Project

I - Extent of Usage		Project and Average Rating ^b		
Scale #	Method or Area of Focus ^a	La Colonia	Compton	Stockton
1.	Modifying attitudes toward adults/ establishment	3.5	3.3	1.7
2.	Increasing interpersonal sensitivity	3.0	3.7	3.7
3.	Increasing self-awareness/self-acceptance	3.5	2.7	3.3
4.	Teaching values and controls	3.5	3.0	1.3
5.	Enhancing/promoting a non-delinquent self-image	3.5	3.3	2.3
6.	Reducing apathy, indifference	3.0	4.0	2.7
7.	Expression of feelings	4.0	3.7	4.0
8.	Family/parental relationships	3.5	3.7	3.7
9.	Peer pressure	2.0	4.0	1.7
10.	Self-understanding	3.5	2.7	4.0
11.	Ego bolstering via "success" experiences	3.0	3.3	2.0
12.	Youth-worker relationship	4.0	3.7	1.3
13.	Practical emphasis	3.5	2.0	1.7
14.	"Programming"/rehearsing for specified life situations	3.5	3.0	2.3
15.	Recreation, socializing	3.5	2.7	2.3
16.	Frequency of contact	4.0	4.0	2.0
17.	Concreteness vs. abstractness	3.0	4.0	2.0
18.	Informality--lack of social distance	4.0	4.0	3.0

APPENDIX X: (Cont'd)

Scale #	Method or Area of Focus ^a	Project and Average Rating		
		La Colonia	Compton	Stockton
19.	Youth's commitment to the program	3.0	4.0	3.0
20.	Youth's participation in case-planning and decision-making	2.5	3.3	3.3
21.	Gaining youth's confidence in worker as understanding/capable	2.5	3.7	3.7
22.	Expressing personal concern for/ acceptance of youth	4.0	4.0	3.7
23.	Expressing warmth, friendliness, affection	3.5	4.0	3.0
24.	Protecting, minimizing demands-pressures	2.0	2.3	1.0
25.	Using anxiety/distress as stimulus/ motivator	2.5	2.3	2.7
26.	Being unpredictable, doing the unexpected	2.5	1.3	2.7
27.	Being forceful, blunt	1.5	3.3	1.0
28.	Using power/authority	3.0	2.3	1.0
29.	Associating concern with control	2.0	3.7	1.0
30.	Exposure to masculine adult model ^c	3.5	3.7	2.0
31.	Involving youth in the community	3.5	2.0	1.7
32.	Being an advocate for youth	3.5	3.3	1.0
33.	Using positive peer influence	3.0	3.7	1.3
34.	Familiarizing youth with authority figures	2.5	1.7	1.7
35.	Being personally available during crises	4.0	1.7	3.3

APPENDIX X: (Cont'd)

II - Amount of Impact				
Scale #	Method or Area of Focus ^a	Project and Average Rating ^b		
		La Colonia	Compton	Stockton
1.	Modifying attitudes toward adults/ establishment	2.5	2.7	1.3
2.	Increasing interpersonal sensitivity	2.5	2.7	2.7
3.	Increasing self-awareness/self-acceptance	2.5	2.3	2.3
4.	Teaching values and controls	3.5	2.7	1.3
5.	Enhancing/promoting a non-delinquent self-image	3.5	2.7	2.0
6.	Reducing apathy, indifference	2.0	3.0	2.3
7.	Expression of feelings	1.0	3.3	3.3
8.	Family/parental relationships	2.5	2.7	3.0
9.	Peer pressure	1.5	3.3	1.3
10.	Self-understanding	2.0	2.7	3.0
11.	Ego bolstering via "success" experiences	2.0	2.7	2.3
12.	Youth-worker relationship	4.0	3.3	1.3
13.	Practical emphasis	4.0	1.7	1.7
14.	"Programming"/rehearsing for specified life situations	1.0	2.7	2.0
15.	Recreation, socializing	3.5	2.7	2.3
16.	Frequency of contact	4.0	4.0	2.0
17.	Concreteness vs. abstractness	1.5	3.3	1.3
18.	Informality--lack of social distance	4.0	4.0	3.0

APPENDIX X: (Cont'd)

Scale #	Method or Area of Focus ^a	Project and Average Rating		
		La Colonia	Compton	Stockton
19.	Youth's commitment to the program	3.0	3.3	2.7
20.	Youth's participation in case-planning and decision-making	1.5	3.7	3.0
21.	Gaining youth's confidence in worker as understanding/capable	2.5	3.3	3.0
22.	Expressing personal concern for/ acceptance of youth	3.5	4.0	3.0
23.	Expressing warmth, friendliness, affection	3.0	4.0	3.0
24.	Protecting, minimizing demands-pressures	2.0	2.7	1.0
25.	Using anxiety/distress as stimulus/motivator	3.0	2.3	2.3
26.	Being unpredictable, doing the unexpected	2.5	1.7	2.3
27.	Being forceful, blunt	3.0	4.0	1.0
28.	Using power/authority	2.0	2.3	1.0
29.	Associating concern with control	2.0	3.7	1.0
30.	Exposure to masculine adult model ^c	3.0	3.3	1.7
31.	Involving youth in the community	1.5	2.0	1.3
32.	Being an advocate for youth	3.5	3.7	1.0
33.	Using positive peer influence	2.5	3.3	1.3
34.	Familiarizing youth with authority figures	1.5	2.0	1.7
35.	Being personally available during crises	4.0	2.3	3.0

^aListed below are scale titles only. For further details see Appendix U.

^b1 = Slight or none; 2 = Moderate; 3 = Much; 4 = Very much.

^cOr, in the case of girls, *feminine* adult model.

APPENDIX Y: Cost per Juvenile Arrest in 1974, by County in which Project is Located

Project	County Data		
	Funds Allocated to Law Enforcement for Juveniles	Number of Youths Arrested	Law Enforcement Cost Per Arrest
Three Successful Projects			
La Colonia	\$ 5,598,840	10,046	557
Stockton	2,436,774	5,668	430
Compton	76,722,228	114,606	669
Eight Remaining Projects			
A	5,598,840	10,046	557
B	22,413,300	40,035	560
C	4,017,600	10,981	366
D	591,630	1,787	331
E	10,834,161	22,505	481
F	2,352,362	3,944	596
G	2,352,362	3,944	596
H	622,644	1,293	482

APPENDIX Z: Cost of Juvenile Probation Processing in 1974, by County in which Project is Located

Project	County Data		
	Funds Allocated to Probation for Juveniles ^a	Number of Youths Processed ^b	Probation Processing Cost per Case ^c
Three Successful Projects			
La Colonia	1,816,158	4,475	406
Stockton	1,882,867	2,971	634
Compton	22,893,876	38,218	599
Eight Remaining Projects			
A	1,816,158	4,475	406
B	9,003,739	12,592	715
C	2,056,626	4,786	430
D	381,893	1,190	321
E	8,363,655	10,990	761
F	721,543	2,666	271
G	721,543	2,666	271
H	260,400	609	428

^aThese figures were derived by multiplying the total Probation Department budget for 1974 by the ratio of juvenile probationers to total number of juvenile plus adult probationers.

^bThese figures were obtained from County Criminal Justice Profiles. (5,7)

^cThese figures were obtained by dividing "funds allocated" by "number of youths processed".

APPENDIX A-1: Further Guidelines--A Third System of Diversion

As indicated, two sets of guidelines--systems of diversion--are described in the text. In the first set, youths are differentiated from each other mainly in terms of their referral source and number of prior arrests; in the second they are differentiated on the basis of their reasons for referral. In the present system, youths are distinguished mainly in terms of their *reasons for referral* and *prior arrests*. Specifically, in this third system all seven reasons for referral that are used in the second set of guidelines reappear;¹ however, each "reason" is subdivided on the basis of the youth's prior arrests.² The nature of these subdivisions will become clear in the following pages.

In the second set of guidelines, judgments regarding the degree of service and control that are needed by each youth can be made independently of the latter's offense history (p. 242). However, since independent judgments of these factors are not specifically required, there is no reason to believe they *will* necessarily be made. On the contrary, it is entirely possible that an individual's offense history will itself be used as a partial *basis for* the assessment of his service-and-control needs. In the third set of guidelines an individual's offense history

¹As in the first and second set of guidelines, each "reason" corresponds to a specific category of youths, or "referral group" (p. 242).

²See Tables A-1.3, A-1.5, and A-1.7 regarding the distinction that is made among youths who have two or more priors.

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

does, or should, make a largely independent contribution. More specifically, in the present guidelines it is used, regardless of reasons for referral, as the main factor in determining whether a short- or longer-term program will be recommended.³ (It is also used, together with reasons for referral, to help determine whether a voluntary or nonvoluntary program will be recommended.)

The five diversion alternatives that will now be considered in relation to each of the seven referral groups are identical to those used in the previous guidelines (p. 235). Similarly, the recommendations that are presented with respect to these alternatives will apply only to individuals who *would* be diverted from traditional justice system processing (p. 236).

Recommendations

As seen in Tables A-1.1 through A-1.7, the following alternatives ("choices") would be recommended for the seven groups of youth respectively-- separate for each prior-arrest category:

---Group 1. Service is wanted by youth; no control is needed (this group includes self-referrals only): (See Table A-1.1)

³ This usage reflects the findings of both Wolfgang and Venezia (p. 227), in conjunction with those of EJD (pp. 183-186).

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

TABLE A-1.1: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youth-Group #1: Service Wanted by Youth; No Controls Needed (Self-Referrals Only)

Diversion Alternatives	Number of Prior Arrests		
	0	1	2+ ^a
Outright Release	--	--	n.a.
Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	1st S	1st S/L	n.a.
Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	--	--	n.a.
Justice System, Voluntary Program	2nd S	2nd S/L	n.a.
Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	--	--	n.a.

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group.
 (2) S = short-term program; S/L = short- or longer-term program.

^a Not applicable (n.a.) since, in this system, it is assumed that youths with two or more prior arrests will be judged in need of service and/or control, and will therefore fall within one of the remaining youth-groups (#3 through #7).

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

A. Youths with no prior arrests

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short-term program).

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short-term program).

No other alternatives would be appropriate for these youths.

B. Youths with one prior arrest

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short- or longer-term program).

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short- or longer-term program).

No other alternatives would be appropriate.⁴

---Group 2. Neither service nor control is needed: (See Table A-1.2)

A. Youths with no prior arrests

First choice: Outright release.

No other alternatives would be appropriate.

⁴ See Table A-1.1, footnote a, regarding individuals with two or more prior arrests.

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

TABLE A-1.2: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youth-Group #2:
No Service Needed; No Controls Needed^a

Diversion Alternatives	Number of Prior Arrests		
	0	1	2+ ^b
Outright Release	1st	1st	n.a.
Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	--	--	n.a.
Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	--	--	n.a.
Justice System, Voluntary Program	--	--	n.a.
Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	--	--	n.a.

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group.

^aService and control are not wanted by youth, either.

^bNot applicable (n.a.) since, in this system, it is assumed that youths with two or more prior arrests will be judged in need of service and/or control, and will therefore fall within one of the remaining youth-groups (#3 through #7).

B. Youths with one prior arrest

First choice: Outright release.

No other alternatives would be appropriate.⁵

---Group 3. Service is needed; no controls are needed: (See Table A-1.3)

A. Youths with no prior arrests

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis (short-term).

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis (short-term).

No other alternatives would be appropriate.

B. Youths with one prior arrest

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis (short- or longer-term).

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis (short- or longer-term).

No other alternatives would be appropriate.

⁵ See Table A-1.1, footnote a, regarding youths with two or more prior arrests.

TABLE A-1.3: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youth-Group #3: Service Needed; No Controls Needed

Diversion Alternatives	Number of Prior Arrests			
	0	1	2+ ^a	2+
Outright Release	--	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	1st S	1st S/L	1st L	2nd L
Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	--	--	--	3rd L
Justice System, Voluntary Program	2nd S	2nd S/L	2nd L	1st L
Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	--	--	--	4th L

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group.
 (2) S = short-term program; S/L = short- or longer-term program. L = longer-term program.

^aService is also wanted, by youth.

C. Youths with two or more prior arrests
(youths want assistance)

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis
 (longer-term).

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
 (longer-term).

No other alternatives would be appropriate.

D. Youths with two or more prior arrests
(no clear desire for assistance)

First choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
 (longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis
 (longer-term).

Third choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
 (longer-term).

Fourth choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
 (longer-term).

---Group 4. Controls are needed; no service is needed:⁶ (See Table A-1.4)

A. Youths with no prior arrests

⁶ As in the first set of guidelines, we have assumed that the vast majority of these individuals do not seek external controls.

TABLE A-1.4: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youth-Group #4:
 Controls Needed; No Service Needed^a

Diversion Alternatives	Number of Prior Arrests		
	0	1	2+
Outright Release	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	1st S	2nd S/L	2nd L
Justice System, Voluntary Program	--	--	--
Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	2nd S	1st S/L	1st L

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group.
 (2) S = short-term program; S/L = short- or longer-term program; L = longer-term program.

^aService and controls are not wanted by youth, either.

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

First choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short-term).

Second choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short-term).

No other alternatives would be recommended.⁷

B. Youths with one prior arrest

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

C. Youths with two or more prior arrests

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

---Group 5. Primary need is for service; some control is needed:

(See Table A-1.5)

A. Youths with no prior arrests

⁷ For the remainder of this Appendix no alternatives are recommended other than those which are specified for the given referral group. Thus, the phrase "no other alternatives would be recommended" will no longer appear.

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

TABLE A-1.5: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youth-Group #5:
Service Mainly Needed; Some Controls Needed

Diversion Alternatives	Number of Prior Arrests			
	0	1	2+ ^a	2+
Outright Release	--	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	1st S	1st S/L	--	--
Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	2nd S	2nd S/L	1st L	1st L
Justice System, Voluntary Program	3rd S	4th S/L	2nd L	--
Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	--	3rd S/L	3rd L	2nd L

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group.
(2) S = short-term program; S/L = short- or longer-term program.
L = longer-term program.

^aService is also wanted, by youth.

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short-term).

Third choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short-term).

B. Youths with one prior arrest

First choice: Non justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Third choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Fourth choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

C. Youths with two or more prior arrests
(youths want assistance)

First choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

Second choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(longer-term).

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

Third choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

D. Youths with two or more prior arrests
(no clear desire for assistance)

First choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

Second choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

---Group 6. Primary need is for control; some service is needed:
(See Table A-1.6)

A. Youths with no prior arrests

First choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short-term).

Second choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short-term).

Third choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short-term).

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

TABLE A-1.6: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youth-Group #6:
Controls Mainly Needed; Some Service Needed^a

Diversion Alternatives	Number of Prior Arrests		
	0	1	2+
Outright Release	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	1st S	2nd S/L	2nd L
Justice System, Voluntary Program	3rd S	3rd S/L	--
Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	2nd S	1st S/L	1st L

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group.
(2) S = short-term program; S/L = short- or longer-term program.
L = longer-term program.

^aService and controls are not wanted by youth, either.

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

B. Youths with one prior arrest

First choice: Justice system program on nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Third choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

C. Youths with two or more prior arrests

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

Second choice: Nonjustice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

---Group 7. Considerable service and control is needed: (See Table A-1.7)

A. Youths with no prior arrests

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short-term).

Third choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short-term).

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

TABLE A-1.7: Diversion Alternatives Recommended for Youth-Group #7:
Considerable Service and Control Needed

Diversion Alternatives	Number of Prior Arrests			
	0	1	2+ ^a	2+
Outright Release	--	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Voluntary Program	--	--	--	--
Non Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	2nd S	2nd S/L	2nd L	2nd L
Justice System, Voluntary Program	3rd S	3rd S/L	--	--
Justice System, Nonvoluntary Program	1st S	1st S/L	1st L	1st L

Note: (1) Diversion alternatives for which a blank cell ("--") appears are not recommended for the given referral group.
(2) S = short-term program; S/L = short- or longer-term program.
L = longer-term program.

^aService is also *wanted*, by youth.

APPENDIX A-1: (Cont'd)

B. Youths with one prior arrest

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

Third choice: Justice system program on a voluntary basis
(short- or longer-term).

C. Youths with two or more prior arrests

(youths want assistance)

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

D. Youths with two or more prior arrests

(no clear desire for assistance)

First choice: Justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

Second choice: Non justice system program on a nonvoluntary basis
(longer-term).

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