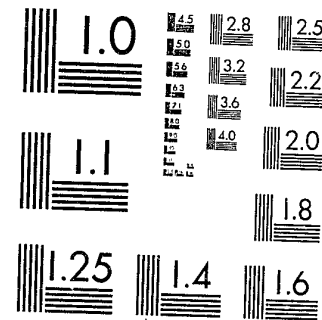


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National Evaluation of Diversion Projects Final Report

80830



National Evaluation of Diversion Projects Final Report

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June 1982

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PREFACE

The members of the BRI research team wish to acknowledge the full support and kind assistance of the project directors, staffs, and justice personnel associated with the diversion programs reviewed in this report. We are also indebted to Dr. James C. Howell and Mr. Peter Frievalds of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention for their unwavering support throughout the duration of the project. We are especially grateful to the parents and youths of the study for their cooperation over the many months of their participation. Finally, we are appreciative of the assistance of Judy Beth Entler in the preparation of this manuscript, and the invaluable contributions of Dr. Larry Severy in the early stages of the research.

A general overview of findings is presented in Chapter 9, Summary, page 408, and those desirous of a brief summary of findings are so referred.

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Chapter 1

DIVERSION: BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

I. Introduction

A review of the literature dealing with diversion indicates that the impetus for diversion programming began with the report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967). While there is consensus that diversion, in terms of its broadest definition, existed and was universally practiced by law enforcement and justice personnel prior to 1967, the President's Commission is credited with bringing new meaning to the term, new excitement relative to its potential, and new resources to its support.

In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson submitted to Congress a presidential message focusing on crime and announcing the establishment of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. This interest in crime and its control was in response to a growing concern about increased crime in America. For example, over the decade of the 1960s, court cases increased by 94% as compared with a 26% increase in the number of children ages 10 through 17 (American Correctional Association, 1972:4). In 1965 more than 2,000,000 Americans were placed in prisons, juvenile training schools, or on probation. One-third of a representative national sample of Americans indicated that it was unsafe to walk alone at night in their neighborhoods, and over two-thirds reportedly kept firearms in their homes for protection

against criminals. Further, it was suggested that 40% of all male children would be arrested for a nontraffic offense during their lives (President's Commission, 1967).

Crime in the streets had become a political issue in the 1960s and was accompanied by a disillusionment with the juvenile justice system as an agency of effective control. The juvenile court had traditionally held immense discretionary powers which were deemed necessary instruments of the parens patriae philosophy of the treatment of juveniles. This philosophy was intended to give the court the greatest flexibility in meeting the needs of individual delinquent youths, but it was increasingly under attack for deficiencies in controlling crime and for due process violations (Gault, 1967; Kent vs. United States, 1966). DeShane et al. (undated) indicated that the criticisms of the juvenile court centered on several issues: its lack of resources, its understaffing, its overly bureaucratic organization, and its failure to provide effective treatment to youths. Out of this climate the Commission¹ concluded that the hopes originally held for the juvenile court were not fulfilled:

It the juvenile court has not succeeded significantly in rehabilitating delinquent youth, in reducing or even stemming the tide of juvenile criminality, or in bringing justice and compassion to the child offender. (p. 80)

The Commission did not limit criticism to juvenile court omissions. The court was further charged as fostering behavior that it was created to control:

¹The general report issued in February 1967 by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice is entitled The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. All quotations in this chapter relating to the President's Commission are from that report. (Other supporting material issued by the Commission included Task Force Reports on The Police; The Courts; Corrections; Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime; Organized Crime; Science and Technology; Assessment of Crime; Narcotics and Drugs; and Drunkenness.)

Official action may actually help to fix and perpetuate delinquency in the child through a process in which the individual begins to think of himself as delinquent and organizes his behavior accordingly. That process itself is further reinforced by the effect of the labeling upon the child's family, neighbors, teachers, and peers, whose reactions communicate to the child in subtle ways a kind of expectation of delinquent conduct. The undesirable consequences of official treatment are maximized in programs that rely on institutionalizing the child. The most informed and benign official treatment of the child therefore contains within it the seeds of its own frustration and itself may often feed the very disorder it is designed to cure. (p. 80)

The Commission's extensive critique of the juvenile court was not meant to fuel a move to eliminate the court. Rather, the Commission argued for a revision of the philosophy of the court, suggesting that it should continue to deal with juvenile offenders through individualized and humane policies and approaches, but that it was obligated to employ whatever means required within the law to insure the protection of the community. The juvenile court should be distinguished, the Commission argued, from the criminal court in its greater emphasis on rehabilitation, not its exclusive preoccupation with it. (p. 81)

The Commission thus recommended that the formal sanctioning power of the court be used only as a last resort, and that dispositional alternatives to formal processing be developed for dealing with juvenile offenders to achieve control without unnecessary stigma. To this end, the Commission recommended that community-based resources be used to deal with delinquents outside of the court system. The advantages of this approach involved avoiding the stigma placed on youths when processed by an official agency regarded by the public as an arm of crime control; heightening the community's awareness of the need for recreation, employment, tutoring, and other youth development services, substituting for official agencies organizations better suited for redirecting conduct; and engendering the sense of public responsibility that financial

support of such programs requires. (p. 83)

The Commission formally recommended the establishment of neighborhood youth service programs to receive juvenile referrals from agents of the justice system as well as from schools and parents (p. 83). Furthermore, the Commission advocated the use of federal, state, and local funds for the establishment and support of these programs (pp. x, xi).

Within a few years of the Commission's report, the idea of diversion had been endorsed by public officials, the American Bar Association, national commissions, and others. Federal and state legislators had introduced diversion legislation, and the courts had developed interpretations of the law that facilitated diversion programming (Yale Law Journal, 1974). By the late 1970s almost every community in America had established a diversion program of some kind, and in the larger cities it was not uncommon to see the supply of diversion programs exceed the number of justice referrals available for services. Diversion had "caught on," and a virtual explosion of diversion programming had occurred (Bullington et al., 1978; Klein, 1975b).

Although there has been a general increase in enthusiasm for diversion among legislators, civic leaders, and representatives of the youth service industry, legal and academic support has declined over the years. Reservations center around the legality of diversion and due process considerations (Bullington et al., 1978), the usefulness of the labeling perspective as a rationale for diversion (Maron, 1975), encapsulation or "widening the nets," (Blomberg, 1977), and a dearth of sound empirical research support (Cressey and McDermott, 1974; Elliott and Blanchard, 1975). The latter issue, the desire for methodologically adequate research, was the impetus for the work described herein.

In 1976 the Special Emphasis Office of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) made \$10,000,000 available for the development of 11 diversion programs throughout the United States and its territories. The National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NIJJDP) of OJJDP joined with the Special Emphasis Office for the purpose of funding a national evaluation of diversion programming designed to bring sound methodology and adequate research resources to bear on the evaluation of diversion as an alternative to traditional justice practices. A number of requirements were stipulated in OJJDP's program announcement to insure an adequate evaluation. Perhaps the most significant was the requirement that projects provide for the random assignment of apprehended youths to one of three treatment conditions (no services, diversion for services, or further penetration into the justice system) to provide for a true experimental test of the effectiveness of diversion programming. The collaboration of the two OJJDP divisions for the purpose of providing diversion services as well as a rigorous evaluation of those services was farsighted, thoughtful, and rare.

II. Prior Research

It has been said that correctional programs are largely a mixture of precedent, hunch, and prejudice (Criminal Justice Monograph, 1973). To the extent that diversion programs remain untested, they continue to be thought of as examples of just another fashion or unverified fad. While it is unfair to say that diversion programming has never been evaluated, it is true that much of the evaluative work to date is speculative, primarily due to flawed research designs resulting in mixed and unconvincing results. Thus, even though more than a decade has lapsed since the President's Commission issued

its report, we find ourselves in the uncomfortable position of wondering about the efficacy of diversion. For the purpose of illustrating the dilemma we face, a review of a few of the better evaluations of diversion programs will be presented. Evaluations of programs receiving adjudicated youths, which are sometimes mistaken for diversion projects, are omitted (e.g., Quay and Love, 1977); adult diversion studies are also excluded (e.g., Vera Institute of Justice, 1972), as are evaluations lumping together adolescents and adults (e.g., Calhoun, 1976). Finally, several evaluations are left out because of extreme methodological deficiencies (e.g., Fishman, 1977).

Baron et al. (1973) reported positive findings for a diversion project established in the early 1970s in northern California. In an effort to test whether 601² youths could be handled better through short-term family crisis therapy as opposed to traditional juvenile court procedures, the Sacramento 601 Diversion Project was developed. Treatment consisted of crisis intervention and family crisis counseling for 601 referrals and their families, who were seen for a maximum of five sessions lasting from approximately 1 to 2-1/2 hours. The project staff was composed of one supervisor and six deputy probation officers who were apparently housed at the probation department.

The authors compared project cases with a group of probation referrals predating the project by three months and a group of control cases handled by the probation department in the normal manner. They concluded that, in terms of official repeat offenses, project youths did better than preproject or

²Section 601 of the California Welfare and Institution Code mainly refers to youths who have run away from home, who are beyond control of their parents, or who are truant from school.

control youths. Comparisons of rearrest data support their conclusions. However, inasmuch as no information is provided about the selection and matching procedures used to form the preproject and control groups, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the validity of these data.

In fact, the authors stated that the project did not accept, for a variety of reasons, about 40% of all 601 referrals during the nine project months in which the experimental group was selected; no mention is made of similar exclusions for the preproject or control group. It appears that youths with cases pending in court, youths with warrants outstanding, and youths involved in court placements or on probation for prior serious offenses were systematically excluded from the project and included in the preproject and control group against which comparisons were made. If this is so, the findings associated with the conclusions would have to be dismissed as artifacts of the way comparison groups were selected, rather than as any substantive difference in experiences members of the three groups may have had.

The work of Klein (1975a) with the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department is important for its methodological approach to the study of diversion programming as well as for its findings. Sheriff's Department personnel agreed to randomly assign apprehended youths (one-half of whom ordinarily would have been counseled and released and the other half subject to nondetained petitions to the juvenile court) to one of four dispositions: (1) the juvenile court, (2) referral without purchase of services, (3) referral with purchase of services, and (4) nondetained petitions to court.

Klein reported that he had evidence that the random assignment process worked out with the Sheriff's Department was contaminated, and that assignments were in some cases deliberately manipulated by individual

officers. A powerful research design was thus compromised. Age and prior offense, the variables found to differentiate between randomly developed dispositional groups, had to be independently controlled for in subsequent analyses. Nevertheless, Klein did demonstrate the feasibility of employing tighter research designs in the evaluation of diversion programs than had been reported before.

His assessment of simple recidivism, i.e., comparing youths rearrested six months after the presenting offense with youths not rearrested (controlling for age and prior records), indicated no strong trend favoring release, referral of either kind, or petitioning. Klein's multiple recidivism analyses, i.e., comparing youths who had one new offense with those who had two or more new offenses (controlling for age and prior records), indicated that petitioning resulted in higher numbers of rearrested youth while outright release was associated with the fewest rearrests.

Klein's assessment of youths' self reports of rearrest and delinquent behavior resulted in findings similar to those reported for official recidivism. The number of youths lost to the interviewing for which self-report data were presented was very high; however, the findings were almost identical to those of the analyses of official return rates in that youths diverted for services were not favored by the data. In fact, the self-report data for the counseled and released cases showed the lowest rearrest rates, the petitioned group the highest, with the diversion service groups falling in the middle; this led Klein to comment:

The situation now seems to stand that all three conditions in which something is done for the offenders leads to higher reported rearrest rates than does the condition - counsel and release - in which the least action is taken. (p. 36)

Additionally, his measures of self-reported delinquent activity indicated no differences in delinquent behavior between the four groups, suggesting that arrests are not mere reflections of behavior. Klein concluded, rather, that the higher rearrest rate among those petitioned was less a function of their behavior than it was their visibility to their "treaters" and to the police (p. 39).

Klein's work with the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department suggests that in terms of official recidivism rates and self-reported delinquency, the most advantageous police disposition is release. He also indicated that youths petitioned to court are the most disadvantaged of the youths in the three police dispositions.

While mixed, the overall conclusions to be reached from these data are clearly not favorable for diversion services. We must be careful, however, not to overemphasize these findings. First, the research design employed was seriously compromised, rendering a good design susceptible to all of the problems associated with nonexperimental research. Second, the compromised model necessitated adopting control procedures which reduced the already small number of respondents to the point that too few subjects were available to conduct statistical tests for selected comparisons. Finally, the fact that so many youths from the offender sample were not included in the survey for self-reported delinquency and rearrests (56% of the cases were not surveyed) suggests that the results of the survey may be unrepresentative of the original sample of offenders, and thus an inappropriate data base from which to draw conclusions about delinquent behavior and recidivism as perceived by participants.

Elliott and Blanchard (1975) studied diversion in terms of two projects funded by the Office of Youth Development of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. One program (YSB) was located in a small city of 70,000 in the Northwest and the other (NYRC) in a 70-block area of a large city in the East. Fifty youths from each project were selected, along with 50 youths on probation during the same time period in each of the cities.

An attempt was made to match project and probation samples in terms of age, sex, and ethnicity, but the matching process had to be abandoned. The YSB diversion sample consisted of a substantially higher proportion of females than did the counterpart probation sample (70% to 35%), and the NYRC probation sample was slightly older than the diversion group (mean age of 16.02 years compared with 15.00 years) and had a higher proportion of blacks (100% to 94%). All youths were interviewed subsequent to apprehension and again at four- and eight-month intervals. Sample sizes at the last measure were small, representing serious attrition problems (YSB Diversion - 20; YSB Probation - 8; NYRC Diversion - 41; and NYRC Probation - 28).

The evaluation outcome measures were developed from the OYD National Strategy for reducing delinquent behavior, which focused upon increased access to desirable social roles and reductions of alienation and negative labeling. Eleven scales provided the basis for the test of the model - three measures of positive social roles, three measures of negative labeling, one measure of self-esteem, three measures of alienation, and a self-reported delinquency scale. All of the measures were based upon self-reported youth perceptions.

Comparisons of diversion and probation groups at both sites on each of these scales at the first measurement period revealed two differences. Diversion youths scored lower on self-esteem and reported greater perceived

negative labeling than did probation youths. A difference of means test on residual gain scores was used to compare the impact of diversion and probation services for a 12-month period. Residual gain scores were calculated and used for the purpose of controlling for initial differences in scores. Of the 11 comparisons for change, two were indicative of significant treatment effects. The diversion group evidenced positive gains in access to desirable social roles with friends and positive changes in labeling by friends. No other treatment effects were found.

The authors summarize their impact assessment by stating:

Overall there was only limited evidence to support the position that treatment in a diversion program as compared to a probation program is more effective in producing changes in those variables specified in OYD's National Strategy for Youth Development as leading to reduced involvement in delinquency. . . With respect to the ultimate criterion - a reduction in delinquent behavior - there was no evidence that the diversion programs were any more effective than traditional probation programs. (p. 12)

The Elliott and Blanchard study is of special interest because of the multiple outcome measures employed. Program success was not left to hinge solely upon the results of a justice record search. Rather, a theoretical model was employed to identify multiple success variables and to develop a variety of measures that were hypothesized to be related to acting out and delinquent behavior.

Unfortunately, several factors combined to reduce the credibility of the findings associated with this work. The most important is the excessive mortality rate across the one-year measurement period. Losses ranged from 60% and 84% for the YSB project and probation samples on one site, to 18% and 44% for the NYRC samples on the other. Second, assessment for the effects of these losses were not reported. Given this uncommonly high loss rate (more youths were lost to the study than remained) and the lack of countervailing

evidence, it is difficult to accept these data as unbiased. In sum, the power of the multiple outcome design was destroyed by an enormous and an apparently uninvestigated loss rate.

Forward et al. (1974) evaluated a Denver court diversion project which matched adult volunteers to work with court-referred youths for an average of three hours a week for one year. A sample of 27 diverted youths were compared at a six-month interval with 22 control group youths. The control group was randomly selected from adolescents that the Denver Juvenile Court had placed under informal court supervision and thus were reported as being similar to partner-diverted youths, except that they did not receive partner volunteer services.

To ascertain the comparability of the experimental and control cases, both groups were compared at the outset of services on a set of demographic variables. Statistically significant differences were found that indicated that members of the control group were older than those of the experimental group (15 years 9 months to 13 years 6 months, respectively), and that there were more females in the experimental group. The authors also indicate that there were more blacks in the control group but that the differences were not statistically significant.

Outcome was measured in terms of self-reported changes in recidivism, self-concept, and selected societal attitudes about school, the police, and the courts. The comparisons between groups indicated that for both the instances of self-reported recidivism were relatively small in number; further, there were reductions in serious as well as victimless offenses among project youths vis-a-vis comparison group members, except for alcohol and drug use, for which there were sharp increases among project youths compared with

comparison group members. Two factors were found to negatively correlate with recidivism: the higher the regard (both level and unconditionality) that youths reported for their partners, the greater the reduction in recidivism; and the greater the respondent attitudinal change to a more favorable attitude toward the police, the greater the reduction in recidivism. Findings associated with the self-concept measures, however, were notable for the complete lack of changes in most of the measures used to assess self-esteem. Inasmuch as the Partner program placed considerable emphasis upon the creation of volunteer/youth relationships that would foster improved self-esteem among diverted youth participants, this finding clearly represents negative evidence for the effectiveness of diversion/partner services.

The Forward et al. study, like the Elliott and Blanchard study, is of major interest because of the presence of multiple-outcome measures linked, in this instance, to a theoretically based treatment strategy. While the findings supportive of partner diversion services were mixed, the initial differences between the experimental and control groups represent a biasing potential that was never seriously addressed. The small sample sizes employed also detracted from the power of the findings.

Lincoln (1976) conducted a recidivism analysis for 30 youths diverted for services by the police during a 40 day pilot period of a newly developed diversion program. A comparison group of 30 offenders from the same neighborhood as the 30 diverted youths was selected on the basis of similarity to the referred youths with respect to race, age, sex, family status, seriousness of the presenting offense, and the number and seriousness of the juvenile's prior record of offenses. The comparisons for difference in recidivism rates for the two groups revealed no differences for simple recidivism 12 months after

the presenting offense. Similarly, the two groups did not differ with respect to the seriousness of subsequent offenses. The groups did differ, however, on the average number of subsequent offenses. Youths in the diverted group were rearrested more often (averaging 1.7 offenses) than were their counterparts in the comparison group (averaging 1.1 offenses).

Lincoln summarized her findings as follows:

The major conclusion to be drawn here is that the referral program produced recidivists who recidivated more frequently in a standard time period than did recidivists among a group of matched counter-parts to these individuals. It is not likely that this is somehow accounted for by the fact that juveniles were selected for referral who had committed fewer prior offenses but offenses of a more serious nature, because referred offenders were matched with offenders who had similar prior records. The implication in these data is that referral tends to aggravate, rather than to deter, recidivism. (her emphasis, p. 328)

These rather negative findings must be reviewed with caution because of the small sample sizes involved and the single outcome variable used to judge success.

Arnold Binder (undated, but covers 8/1/73-8/31/76 period) directed a police diversion project in Costa Mesa and Huntington Beach, California, that focused upon altering interactional factors between youths and communities for the purpose of ameliorating the friction between behavior and social response. The four counseling categories used for treatment stressed contingency control, coping, communication, and the use of community resources.

A random assignment process was used to assign youths who would normally not have been referred to probation by the police, to either of the diversion projects or to whatever disposition the police normally gave to the class of offenders in question (referral to the probation department was not an option). Two groups were thus created. The Treatment Group consisted of

youths randomly assigned to diversion services, and the Control Group consisted of youths who were either lectured and released or assigned to other community-based youth service programs.

Two additional groups emerged during the research. One was called the Service Group and consisted of diversion project clients who were not subjected to the randomization process for reasons of "rapport or politics." The other, the Refusal Group, consisted of cases assigned to the experimental (treatment) group who failed to appear for an interview after a telephone contact by project personnel.

The success of the Pretrial Intervention-Diversion Projects was assessed in terms of recidivism analyses. Police record searches for recidivism information were conducted for the period from the date of termination of treatment to six and 12 months after referral dates for all experimental youths. The "at risk" periods for control group members were adjusted to parallel those of the experimental groups. Binder then compared the simple recidivism rates of the two groups.

The analysis for recidivism at six months involved 372 experimental youths and 70 control group youths in Costa Mesa and 567 experimental youths and 95 control group youths in Huntington Beach. Chi Square analysis of three-way contingency tables (site by experimental group by recidivism status) indicated that the experimental groups experienced less simple recidivism than did control group members at six months (16% compared with 26% in Costa Mesa and 16% with 23% in Huntington Beach). Similar comparisons at 12 months indicate the same results for Costa Mesa, but no differences for Huntington Beach (31% compared with 46% and 24% with 25%, respectively).

While Binder's data are significant, a word of caution is called for in their interpretation. First, his recidivism comparisons between youths of the

Pretrial Intervention-Diversion Projects (experimentals) and those lectured and released/referred to other youth service agencies (controls) are difficult to interpret because the control groups are confounded by the mix of dispositions within them. We do not know, as a result, if the differences he found are due to attributes or experiences associated with the lectured and released youths in the control group or to those associated with youths referred for services elsewhere. Binder offers little information to help sort out the confusion. More important, these data do nothing to clarify the role that diversion services play vis-a-vis traditional justice service practices. They say nothing, in other words, about the efficacy of diversion vs. penetration into the justice system.

Finally, the effects of an unspecified number of losses due to the failure to appear for services are not addressed. The reader is left wondering how much of the differences in recidivism is due to differences in experimental and control groups at the outset of the study (which are never directly tested), as opposed to treatment effects.

In his evaluation of the Alternate Routes diversion project in Orange County, California, Gilbert (1977) used a variety of outcome criteria to judge success: (1) attainment of short-term performance objectives, (2) adjudged diversion, (3) satisfaction of users, (4) timeliness of treatment, (5) relative cost of treatment, (6) recidivism, and (7) impact on the juvenile justice system. In response to those issues he reports that: the project surpassed its service goals by serving more youths than planned in each of four specified service areas; police and school representatives judged that from 75% to 80% of their referrals to the project would have been referred to the traditional justice system had the project not been in existence; and a

survey of community adults and youths revealed a high degree of satisfaction with the project. In his assessments for the timeliness of treatment and recidivism, Gilbert compared justice experiences and rearrest records of a 1972 sample of youths from the Alternate Routes diversion program with a 1970 sample of youths from the Fountain Valley, California, Police Department. He reported that the average time required from arrest to professional counseling for the 1970 comparison group was 48 days, while the average time required for the Alternative Routes experimental group was 21 days.

Of the seven impact criteria used to judge the effectiveness of Alternative Routes, only three could be considered to be "hard" or objective measures - cost, recidivism, and justice system impact. Although the evaluator could only determine the costs incurred to process youths through the juvenile justice system for 23% of the justice sample, he still concluded that Alternative Routes services were less costly than those of the traditional juvenile justice system group. His comparisons of rearrest data revealed significantly lower recidivism for the Alternative Routes sample for both a six-month and a one-year follow-up period. These very positive findings were discounted, however, by the author:

However, because a true experimental design was not employed in the study, these results were viewed with caution, as the reasons for such difference may have been attributable to some other systemic factors, such as changes which occurred in police practices between 1970 and 1972, the type of youth referred to Alternative Routes by police, i.e., "creaming" the best of Alternative Routes, and/or a variety of other factors. (p. 308)

The specified (creaming) and unspecified (lack of matching experimental and controls) alternative explanations represent, in our estimation, more compelling explanations for the differences in recidivism found between groups than the program itself.

Finally, justice system impact was assessed in terms of annual arrest, probation referral, and court petitions records from 1969 through 1973. The result of a set of time series analyses involving juvenile justice trends for all of Orange County, compared with those of the city of Fountain Valley, revealed mostly positive findings, suggesting that the project may have had a positive impact on the Fountain Valley juvenile justice system in terms of reducing the number of youth referrals to probation and the number of juvenile court petitions.

Of the three objective evaluation measures described above, the only measure free of serious methodological flaw was the system impact assessment. While this study does not add much to our knowledge about the impact that diversion services have on youths compared with experiences associated with alternative justice dispositions, it does provide insight into the use of untraditional outcome measures as additional assessment points.

Bohnstedt (1978) reported on the evaluation of 11 California diversion projects designed to determine how many diversion project clients were diverted from the justice system, how much money was saved as a result of diversion, and if the diversion reduced recidivism among participants. For the purpose of answering the first question, Bohnstedt identified the points in the justice system from which referrals to diversion services were made. He matched his sample of diverted youths with justice referrals from the year before, controlling for the point of referral and using the same eligibility criteria for both groups.

Bohnstedt then used the actual experiences of his comparison group to estimate what would have happened to the diverted group had the diversion projects not existed. He concluded that only 51% of the clients were diverted

from the justice system. Since he did not indicate how the groups were matched and since he assumed that youths from the year before were identical to the experimental group in justice experience, his findings must be regarded as tentative, although methodologically innovative.

Using Office of Youth Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare estimates of justice costs and the flow data generated from the development of the question addressed above, Bohnstedt calculated the costs of diversion and justice system services, compared the cost of diversion services with that saved by the justice system, and concluded that there were no net savings as a result of diversion.

In the process of making assessments for recidivism, Bohnstedt compared 1,362 diversion clients with 1,143 comparison youths who were arrested the year before the diversion project began and who reportedly met the same eligibility criteria that were used for referring actual clients to the project. Subsequent record searches revealed that 23% of the diverted-for-services youths experienced a rearrest within six months following referral, compared with 28% of the comparison group. While this difference was found to be statistically significant, Bohnstedt indicated that the difference was attributable to return rates associated with three of the 11 projects. The follow-up period for recidivism was extended to 12 months for the three "successful" projects, two of which maintained the pattern of lower rearrest for clients.

It is unfortunate that more details on the selection of comparison cases were not given. Aside from the statement that similar eligibility criteria were used for both groups, no information is given about the matching procedures used. Readers are left wondering how much of the differences found in

three of the 11 projects were due to selection and extraneous variables and how much to diversion program characteristics.

Given the ambiguous methodology used and the finding of no differences in return rates in the comparisons of eight program and justice groups, we must conclude that the recidivism analysis produced mixed findings. Overall, however, we would have to conclude that Bohnstedt's findings are not supportive of diversion programs.

Davidson et al. (1977) employed multiple outcome measures to assess the Community Based Adolescent Diversion Project in Champaign and Urbana, Illinois. The project used college-student volunteers as human service deliverers working on a one-to-one basis with youths. The goal of the project was to develop approaches that would identify and build upon client assets and strengths and avoid focusing upon individual deficits. Behavioral contracting, child advocacy, and relationship skills were the strategies used to accomplish these goals.

Project participants consisted of arrested youths for whom court referral was a serious police dispositional consideration. Thirty-seven youths were referred to the project during the first year of operation, 25 of whom were randomly assigned to the project and 12 to a control group. Student volunteers worked with the project youths with whom they had been matched for six to eight hours per week for an average of four and one-half months. Members of the control group were released without further contact by the project until the final evaluation.

Project clients, controls, their parents and friends were administered four impact assessment questionnaires at the outset and again at termination. The first year impact assessment consisted of: (1) the Marlowe-Crowne social

desirability scale, (2) a 16-item version of Rotter's internal-external locus of control scale, (3) a social labeling scale, and (4) a 15 item self reported delinquency checklist.

There were no statistically significant changes on any of the four measures as reported by subjects, members of the control group, parents, or friends. The results of searching police, court, and school records covering the period beginning one year prior to the project through a two year follow-up period revealed consistently lower recidivism among project youths for both the number and seriousness of police contacts for one and two year follow-up periods. Members of the project had fewer police contacts, which were of less severity, and fewer petitions filed than the control subjects for both follow-up periods. No difference between the groups was found in their school grade point average or records of attendance, but the suspension and dropout rates were significantly higher for control group members.

In the second year of operation, the project's treatment strategy was altered and reevaluated. The Grough-Peterson socialization scale was adapted for use as an indicator of socialization. The Nowicki-Strickland locus of control scale for children was added as a measure of internal-external locus of control. Gold's self-report measure of delinquency was adopted, and the social labeling scale described above was maintained.

Thirty-six youths were randomly assigned to one of three groups: behavioral contracting, child advocacy, or control. As in the first year, the survey data failed to yield any differences among the groups. Police and court record comparisons in the second year duplicated first-year findings as well. Project youths had fewer police contacts, less serious contacts, and fewer court petitions filed. Furthermore, there were significant differences between the two experimental conditions of contracting and advocacy.

Although Davidson et al.'s sample sizes were small, the methodology appears to be sound. Inasmuch as the first-year findings were repeated in the second year, there is substantial support for this research. There are, however, two troublesome issues associated with this work. First, the fact that no changes in self-reported delinquency were found is contrary to what would be expected if diversion services had had a positive impact on the behavior of youths. Official responses to delinquent behavior, it is generally held, tend to lag behind actual behavioral changes. There is reason to believe, in other words, that official reaction to behavior does not change immediately after delinquent behavior is reduced. In this instance, we have no change in actual behavior accompanied by a decrease in official response to behavior, a somewhat puzzling outcome. Second, while Davidson et al. consistently found differences in official justice records favoring the experimental group, they were not able to explain why. Their predictor variables did not differentiate between the experimental and control groups. We have, thus, the unhappy circumstance of a project being successful in areas it would not be expected to be successful for reasons that were not predicted and remain unexplained.

III. Summary

The projects reviewed here are fairly representative of the better evaluations of diversion programs appearing in the literature and are sufficiently representative as to draw attention to their flaws - flaws that have delayed judgments concerning the efficacy of diversion as an alternative to traditional justice processes.

First, all too frequently inappropriate comparison groups have been used against which to judge diversion programming. The most obvious difficulty

occurring in these circumstances is that diversion groups are initially different from comparison groups in ways that negate or prohibit reasonable comparisons and subsequent conclusions. Creaming is the most apparent example of this phenomenon. Second, success criterion tends to be limited to a single variable - official rearrests. Inasmuch as official recidivism is clearly not a measure of behavior (but rather a measure of official reaction to observed behavior), it is not an adequate measure of program success. Programs could (and have) been found to reduce client involvement in delinquent behavior while not reducing official recidivism rates at all. Depending upon official return rates as the sole criterion variable is not only inappropriate but also unfair to youth services personnel charged with the responsibility to help acting out and delinquent youths.

Third, evaluations of diversion programs sometimes focus upon issues tangential to the issues raised by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice: that (1) contact with the justice system is inherently stigmatic for youths and fosters increases in delinquent behavior and (2) services rendered in and by the community represent a more effective way of treating youths than are those administered by agencies of the justice system. For example, in place of comparing diversion programs with those of the justice system for the purpose of assessing differential impact (in labeling, social adjustment, delinquent behavior, etc.), we often see assessments of different services options within programs. We do not deny the importance of ascertaining the effects of different diversion service alternatives, but we are of the opinion that the more important question relates to comparisons of such services with those of the justice system or with no services at all. Until we know more about the impact of diversion

services (of all varieties) vis-a-vis justice-based dispositions and services, comparisons of service options within diversion projects are of secondary interest and importance.

Finally, too few evaluations are based upon outcome measures theoretically derived. If youth service programs are to have a positive effect upon clients, there must be some reason behind that effect, some set of linkages based on reason or in logic. Services, therefore, are best when founded on a coherent set of assumptions or propositions about their intended effects. To the extent that a program does not operate upon the foundation of theoretically linked assumptions, our ability to judge their effects is limited - limited in the sense that there are no guides to the development of appropriate outcome measures and no standard against which the program can be judged.

Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of any review of diversion research is the complete lack of systematic evidence upon which to make informed judgments about the efficacy of diversion programming. Conclusions about the impact of diversion on youths not only differ from one study to the next, but every assessment contains within it sufficient methodological ambiguity as to compromise resultant findings. The evaluation described in the following pages was designed to deal with the methodological weaknesses described above. The success of that effort is left to the reader to determine.

Chapter 2

IMPACT OF DIVERSION DISPOSITION

I. Overview of Diversion

Social theorists have traditionally viewed deviance as a unique kind of behavior tied to certain individual characteristics or situational factors. It is only within the last two decades that a process-oriented approach known as "labeling" has come to occupy a central place among theories of deviant behavior. Particular emphasis in labeling theory has been placed on the role of formal social control systems and their impact with regard to contacting and processing individuals. Advocates of the labeling approach have suggested that the actions of agents of social control systems are instrumental in the formation and enlargement of delinquent self-images. Hence, the labeling theorists claim that youths' perceptions of themselves as deviant or delinquent are heightened or even created by the legal processing¹ they encounter when interacting with the juvenile justice system.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) recommended that agents of the juvenile justice system and community seek alternative ways

¹For the purposes of this research, the term legal processing is meant to include any type of interaction with the police, courts, and/or correctional or penal institutions. Thus, the term covers all involvement with the juvenile justice system, however informal.

of treating troubled youths outside of traditional juvenile justice agencies. This recommendation was based on the assumptions that (1) the labeling perspective applies to youths coming in contact with agencies of the juvenile justice system, but not to those receiving services from community-based agencies, and (2) that troubled youth need to be "treated." Thus the weight of the federal government was placed behind the development of "diversion" programs for the purpose of creating alternative treatment agencies to those of the justice system.

The merit of this concept was based, in large part, on the claim that diversion reduces negative socialization processes that lead eventually to the internalization of delinquent self-images, increasingly poor social adjustment, and greater involvement in delinquent activity. The major focus of this chapter is upon these issues as they relate to youth experiences in alternative police dispositions (diversion for services, release without services, or referral for traditional justice handling). Specifically, the following questions are addressed:

1. Are youths diverted out of the justice system for services less stigmatized than those who are released with no services or who penetrate the justice system?
2. Do youths diverted out of the justice system for services experience more positive social adjustment than do those released with no services or who penetrate the justice system?
3. Do youths diverted out of the justice system for services engage in less delinquent activity (official and self-reported) than those released with no services or who penetrate the justice system?

II. Research Design

A. Random Assignment

To determine more fully the effects of diversion programs, it was necessary to establish two control groups - one to receive normal, formal processing from the juvenile justice system and one to be released outright, with no services, at the point of diversion. By comparing the experimental or diversion clients with the first control group, it is possible to determine the treatment effects of diversion services relative to those of the juvenile justice system. The second no services control group is required to evaluate the effects of services rendered by the diversion programs. Without the second control group, it would be impossible to determine if the effects of diversion were the result of services or merely the result of avoiding the stigma of the justice system.

Perhaps the major weakness of evaluations of juvenile diversion programs has been the liability of inadequate control groups. Unless treatment and control groups are similar in all possible respects, there is little reason to assume confidence in subsequent research findings. Too many evaluations of diversion programs involve youths assigned to diversion who are less serious offenders than are those assigned to formal justice processing. Consequently, diversion clients, by comparison, exhibit less delinquent behavior than do members of the control group. While statistical corrections, such as the analysis of covariances, may correct for initial differences between groups, such methods often provide less precision than is desired, particularly if initial differences are large. Groups must be comparable at the outset of a series of measurements if we are to insure meaningful results. The most effective way of promoting the comparability of groups is to randomly assign

cases among them. With this approach, the only differences between groups will be those that arise by chance.

BRI was fortunate to be able to implement random assignment in four different cities for this study. At each site, justice system officials agreed to choose cases for random assignment and to comply with whichever disposition resulted for each case, be it diversion without services, diversion with services, or penetration into the justice system. When justice officials felt strongly that a youth required project services and were unwilling to allow diversion without services, arrangements were made to refer the youth directly to the project. Such youths never entered the eligible pool and did not become part of the impact analysis. This procedure was seldom used but was adopted to insure the comparability of groups in the study and to reduce potential justice antagonism toward the diversion projects and the evaluation.

It should be noted at this point that random assignment to a particular justice disposition did not mean the all youths assigned received that disposition. A referral for diversion services did not guarantee that a youth would receive a minimal amount of services or even become enrolled in the program. Similarly, assignment to penetrate the justice system did not guarantee a service response by the system. All youths assigned to penetrate were referred on to the step in the justice system immediately following the diversion point. Nevertheless, some youths were warned and released at that next point. Furthermore, many youths were arrested for subsequent offenses and received different treatments as a result. Thus, youths originally assigned to diversion without services were sometimes placed on probation before the study was through. In an attempt to deal with these issues,

justice officials at some sites agreed to repeat the original dispositions for recidivists when possible (e.g., up to three rearrests within a year in Kansas City). Nevertheless, there was considerable pressure on justice personnel to assign more serious dispositions when rearrests continued and charges escalated.

Because some youths in the study did not receive the services to which they were assigned, and because some youths received services from dispositions to which they were not assigned, this research design does not represent a pure test of diversion programs. While it might be interesting to study the effects of diversion where all dispositions remain pure and uncontaminated, it is not possible and, more important, not really desirable. Determining the effects of diversion programs operating in normal settings, although messy, provides realistic information upon which to base sound decisions and practical policies relative to diversion programming.

B. Four Impact Study Sites

The four sites included in the impact analysis were Kansas City (Jackson County), Missouri; Memphis (Shelby County), Tennessee; Orange County, Florida; and New York City (John Jay College-Transit Authority Police), New York.² (See Appendix A for detailed descriptions of these sites.) The primary reason for selecting these sites for evaluation was that each of these diversion programs was able to obtain formal agreements with local justice agencies to randomly assign eligible youths to treatment or control groups, to adhere to

²The study was to have included a fifth site, Denver, Colorado. Though officials of the Denver Juvenile Court agreed that cases could be randomly assigned, the probation officers who were to choose individual cases were unwilling to place youths in an eligible pool for assignment. Therefore, the study was never implemented in Denver.

the definition of diversion adopted by NIJJDP and BRI, and to insure an adequate flow of cases into the sample for research purposes.³

1. Kansas City, Missouri

The Urban Affairs Department of the Kansas City Government operated that city's diversion project in cooperation with the Kansas City Police Department. The project included two separate service programs. The first, called Roles for Youth (RFY), was administered by the Urban Affairs Department and employed a case advocacy model. The program's case managers were to have frequent contact with clients, provide informal counseling, advocate on the behalf of youths, and arrange any other services that might be required. The Kansas City Police Department administered the second service program, the Youth Service Unit (YSU). Professional social workers hired by the department provided crisis intervention that was limited to one month. The services were intended to be intensive and broad-ranging.

For both programs, the point of diversion was through the juvenile division of the Kansas City Police Department. Although juvenile division detectives decided which cases would be placed in the pool for assignment, the eligibility criteria were strict and explicit. Furthermore, all arrest records were reviewed daily and detectives had to answer to their superiors if they failed to refer eligible cases. Youths placed in the assignment pool typically had been arrested for several misdemeanors or at least one felony. There were virtually no first time misdemeanants.

³Projects were asked to guarantee a sample of 600 eligible cases within a six-month period. In fact, the sampling period was extended to between nine and 13 months, and some samples were still less than 600.

2. Memphis, Tennessee

A private nonprofit organization, Community Day Care-Comprehensive Social Services Association (CDC-CSSA), housed the Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project (M-MYDP). M-MYDP functioned as a brokering agency, receiving referrals from the Memphis and Shelby County Juvenile Court, interviewing youths to determine service placements, and then monitoring service delivery by the various community agencies. The most prevalent service was counseling, either individual or family. The next most frequent was recreation oriented, and some clients received employment or educational assistance.

The supervisors of court intake selected cases for the eligibility pool prior to assigning them to intake officers. It was also possible for intake officers to refer youths to the project, but these youths were not included in the impact analysis. Most youths placed in the assignment pool had been arrested for a single felony theft or multiple misdemeanors. Again, first-time misdemeanants were uncommon.

3. Orange County, Florida

In Orange County, Florida, the Youth Diversion Project was operated by the Human Services Planning Council. This project also brokered services through community agencies. Unlike the other diversion projects, the Orange County project contracted with each client for a specific amount and type of service. The amount of service depended on the service agency chosen, not on any characteristics of the client. For example, youths went to the Boys Club for 30 visits, attended family therapy for five sessions, or gave 40 hours of volunteer service. The Orange County project placed less emphasis on counseling than the other projects and more emphasis on recreation-oriented services. The program also provided for some education and employment placements.

The assistant state attorney in charge of the juvenile division was totally responsible for determining which cases would be brought to court. He alone decided which cases would be placed in the pool for random assignment. The pool was limited to first-time misdemeanants, though minor felony cases were occasionally included. It should be noted that most first-time misdemeanants were taken to court in this county.

4. New York City (John Jay-Transit Police)

The New York City Transit Authority Police and the John Jay College of Criminal Justice managed the fourth program included in the impact analysis. The project employed counselors who managed cases and arranged for services from student interns and referrals to community agencies. Unlike the Memphis and Orange County projects, the New York project did not reimburse community agencies for services rendered. This project also differed from the others in its policy of allowing case managers to decide whether clients assigned to diversion were in need of services. Diversion cases were frequently terminated without services when they were deemed unnecessary.

Individual arresting officers decided if cases would be placed in the assignment pool. In deciding, they consulted with their desk officers and officers of the Juvenile Crime Prevention Unit who worked at the project. Virtually all of the youths chosen had been arrested for misdemeanors, usually minor thefts, vandalism, or forms of public disorder occurring in the subway. Many had been apprehended for misdemeanors before.

C. Representativeness

Because the four programs varied widely in their client populations and service delivery, the impact analysis cannot be considered an evaluation of a specific model of diversion programs. OJJDP's diversion initiative was

designed to elicit a broad range of programs, not to implement any particular model. For this reason, data from the four sites were not combined but were treated as four separate studies. Sample sizes at each site were sufficient for adequate statistical power, and the variability among projects was viewed as advantageous for a good test of the impact of diversion.

The evaluation of the four programs described above represents a fair test of diversion, in our estimate. The programs adopted a much stricter (and more appropriate) definition of diversion than do most programs, and they also received much greater financial resources than is typical. If these programs could not achieve their intended results, other diversion programs would not likely achieve success either. While our experience evaluating diversion programs across the country suggests that the four projects reviewed here reflect a broad range of diversion programming, these projects are not representative of all diversion programs, and the findings resulting from this study cannot be generalized to all diversion programs.

D. Outcome Variables

The outcome measures used to evaluate the programs' impact on their clients came from personal interviews with youths and justice agency records of arrest. At each site youths were interviewed three times in a one-year period, and arrest records were obtained from whichever agencies were necessary to compile a history of youth arrests. In addition to records of juvenile arrests, adult records were searched for youths who had reached the age of majority before the completion of the study.

The major outcome variable derived from the arrest history was the number of arrests for delinquent acts in the six- and 12-month periods subsequent to referral to the program (or assignment to a control group). This index

included status, misdemeanor, and felony offenses. The two major indices of prior arrest history were the number of arrests for delinquent acts at any time prior to the presenting offense (i.e., the arrest that brought the youth into the study) and whether the presenting offense was a felony or a misdemeanor.

Youths in the eligible pool were interviewed three times to assess labeling, social adjustment, and self-reported delinquency. The first interview took place as soon as possible after assignment to a disposition. The second and third interviews were six and 12 months later. Paid interviewers working for BRI conducted the interviews, which usually took place in respondents' homes. BRI hired full-time field coordinators at each site to supervise interviewers. Informed consent was required from both respondents and parents. Respondents received five dollars for each interview.

Table 2-1 presents the 53 labeling and social adjustment scales assessed in the interviews. (See Appendix A for item level scale detail.) Each of these variables was a composite of answers to three or more items. As is usual with measures of attitudes or personality, scores on a scale were the simple sum of scores on the individual items. For each measure, Table 2-1 also lists the number of items and interval consistency reliabilities (Cronbach's coefficient alpha).

Scoring self-reported delinquency was somewhat more complicated. These items were all in the form of "How many times in the last six months have you . . . (engaged in a given delinquent activity)?" If the answer was 12 or less, the interviewer recorded the number. If the respondent gave an answer greater than 12, he or she was asked to choose among categories of relative frequency (e.g., once a week or once a day). In extensive preliminary

Table 2-1
Psychometric Properties of Impact Scales

Scale	# of Items	Alpha	H.R.
1. Importance of Family Goals	5	.723	.349
2. Importance of School Goals	5	.753	.380
3. Importance of Peer Goals	4	.590	.266
4. Importance of Goals-Total	14	.772	.201
5. Success of Family	5	.783	.420
6. Success in School	5	.772	.404
7. Success with Peers	4	.694	.363
8. Success-Total	14	.830	.260
9. Commitment to Parents	5	.771	.418
10. Normlessness	14	.762	.188
11. Labeling-Parents-Conforming	4	.601	.279
12. Labeling-Parents-Sick	4	.663	.332
13. Labeling-Parents-Bad	4	.772	.460
14. Labeling-Parents-Total	12	.809	.267
15. Labeling-Friends-Conforming	3	.529	.278
16. Labeling-Friends-Sick	4	.656	.329
17. Labeling-Friends-Bad	4	.791	.495
18. Labeling-Friends-Total	11	.775	.246
19. Labeling-Teachers-Conforming	4	.673	.343
20. Labeling-Teachers-Sick	4	.728	.407
21. Labeling-Teachers-Bad	4	.815	.527
22. Labeling-Teachers-Total	12	.838	.306
23. Self Image-Conforming	4	.602	.281
24. Self Image-Sick	4	.712	.397
25. Self Image-Bad	4	.821	.541
26. Self Image-Total	12	.810	.272
27. Negative Attitudes toward Deviance	9	.802	.340
28. Counterlabeling-Mother	4	.723	.397
29. Counterlabeling-Father	4	.782	.473
30. Counterlabeling-Teachers	4	.748	.426
31. Counterlabeling-Friends	4	.748	.426
32. Counterlabeling-Total	12	.749	.427
33. Social Isolation-Peers	5	.670	.292
34. Social Isolation-Family	5	.740	.373
35. Social Isolation-School	6	.730	.312
36. Student-Teacher Relations-Positive	9	.755	.259
37. Social Isolation-Work	5	.701	
38. Social Isolation-Community Groups	5	.733	.408
39. Social Isolation-Total-Family, School, Peers	16	.810	.212
40. Parents Disapproval of Deviance	9	.724	.256
41. Peers Disapproval of Deviance	9	.912	.541
42. Parental Harmony-Conflict	11	.850	.360
43. Parental Rejection	5	.629	.274
44. Delinquency of Peers	10	.853	.377
45. Conformity of Peers	8	.838	.349
46. Commitment to Peers	5	.791	.437
47. Negative Influence of Peers	8	.556	.136
48. Importance of School	4	.668	.345
49. Attenuation at School	5	.618	.299
50. Integration of School	4	.496	.264
51. Religious Involvement	2	.626	.456
52. Blighted Neighborhood	6	.852	.490
53. Fighting in Neighborhood	2	.569	.398

analyses, it was found that scoring responses as absolute frequencies resulted in unacceptably large error of measurement. This was determined to be due to the large weight placed on extreme answers (e.g., once a day for six months equaled 182). More stable scores resulted from recoding answers into 10 categories that shrank the upper range in relation to the lower.⁴

In forming composites of delinquent acts, an attempt was made to balance the weight placed on different forms of delinquency. The first step was to group together very similar items, forming the short scales listed in Table 2-2. Because these scales contained very few items, their reliabilities were rather low. The short scales did not play a major role in the analysis, but were a useful first step in generating three longer and more reliable scales. The longer scales were composites of the short scales, each weighted inversely to its standard deviation to equalize its contributions. The Serious Delinquency scale is comprised of the serious assault, robbery, and serious theft scales; the Minor Delinquency scale is comprised of the minor assault, minor theft, damaging property, and public disorder scales; and the Drug Involvement scale is comprised of the hard drugs, marijuana, and alcohol scales.

Initial analyses indicate that the scales had positively skewed distributions. As a result, groups differing in mean self-reported delinquency tended to have different variances, which violates the assumption of standard

⁴Categories represented frequencies as follows: 0= never; 1= once; 2= twice; 3= 3 or 4 times; 4= 5 through 7 times; 5= 8 through 12 times; 6= 3 or 4 times a month; 7= once a week; 8= 2 through 4 times a week; 9= once or more a day.

Table 2-2
Self-Report Delinquency Scales and Their Reliabilities
from the First Interview

	Number of Items	Alpha
Short Scales		
Serious Assault	3	.370
Minor Assault	3	.528
Robbery	3	.614
Serious Theft	3	.550
Minor Theft	4	.667
Damaging Property	3	.756
Public Disorder	6	.592
Hard Drugs	6	.746
Marijuana	2	--
Alcohol	2	--
Composite Scales		
Serious	9	.676
Minor	16	.825
Drugs	10	.757

statistical models. A logarithm transformation⁵ was applied to the data to remedy this problem.

E. Method of Determining Impact

This section describes the samples used to determine the impact of four diversion programs on clients. Issues that will be considered include the definition of diversion embodied in the study, the selection of the samples, the comparability of the treatment and control groups, and the nature of interview losses. The goal is to give the reader the information needed to make a fair and critical appraisal of the quality of the research design. This presentation is rather lengthy and detailed for the purpose of furnishing all the information required to understand the strengths and shortcomings of the research design.

1. Definition of Diversion

OJJDP's diversion initiative specified that appropriate target populations for the diversion projects were youths who, in the absence of a diversion project, would be formally processed through the system beyond the point of diversion, i.e., referred to the next unit in the system or adjudicated by the court. Thus, diversion projects were to serve as alternatives to formal processing and not as alternatives to informal dispositions such as warning and release.

OJJDP initially proposed that a single definition of diversion be employed at all sites, suggesting a definition similar to that given by Galvin et al. (1975): youths apprehended for misdemeanors with one or more prior arrests

⁵The transformed value equaled the natural logarithm of the original value plus one. The constant was added to avoid taking the logarithm of zero.

(or police contacts, depending on police policies) and youths apprehended for nonviolent felonies (i.e., excluding such offenses as homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, forcible rape, etc.). Nevertheless, defining eligibility and establishing the pool of eligibles ultimately became the responsibility of local projects.

It was discovered that this a priori definition of diversion was incompatible with the practices of juvenile justice systems in some jurisdictions selected for study. For example, in one jurisdiction the practice was to warn and release multiple misdemeanants at court intakes for first offenses, while in another jurisdiction the majority of first time misdemeanants were prosecuted. Any uniform definition of diversion would have met insurmountable resistance from one or more of the justice systems. Furthermore, such a definition would have violated the basic principle of diversion - removing traditionally adjudicable youths from the juvenile justice system.

In designing the study to assess the impact of diversion, BRI adopted a broader definition, limiting divertable youths to offenders who would surely⁶ have been referred to the next point in the juvenile justice chain had a diversion project not been in existence. In practice this meant that, had the project not been operating to accept divertable youths, the police

⁶The word surely is used knowing that decision-making in the juvenile justice system is never consistent enough to be certain that a given case would have been formally processed in the absence of a diversion project. We worked closely with project and justice administrators to develop policies that would reduce the need for individual decisions regarding eligibility, and to foster the routine flow of appropriate youths into the target population.

would have referred such cases to court or the district attorney's office, the district attorney to court intake, court intake to a predispositional hearing, etc.

Offenses included for diversion in some cities were not as serious as those designated for diversion in other cities. Nevertheless, all youths studied in the impact analysis were arrested at least once for a delinquent offense that, ostensibly, would have resulted in further penetration into the justice system had the project not been in operation. The four impact sites represent four applications of the definition limiting divertable youths to offenders who would have been referred to the next point in the juvenile justice chain had a diversion project not been in existence - applied, however, to different stages in the justice decision-making process and to youth populations with substantially different arrest histories.

2. Assignment to Dispositions

Procedures for randomly assigning eligible youths to diversion without services, diversion with services, or further penetration through the justice system were similar at the four sites. The selection of dispositions was random and independent. The probability of each disposition was equal.

The procedure for assignment used in Kansas City was significantly different from that used at the other sites. Assignment in Kansas City took place at the police department and was conducted by the juvenile detectives responsible for the disposition of youths brought to the juvenile division by police field officers. Two computer consoles were housed at the police juvenile division, one on line to the department's own computer and the other on line to the city's computer. Both computers were programmed, based on the set of random dispositions provided by BRI, to produce a dispositional

category after a youthful offender's name, date of birth, etc., were entered into the system. The computer also stored this information and the resulting dispositions. These data were recalled weekly for checks against actual dispositional assignments. Between the two systems, random assignment capability was available 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Each youth had an equal probability of being assigned to diversion without services, diversion to Roles for Youths, diversion to the Youth Services Unit, or penetration into the justice system.

The assignment procedures developed for New York, Memphis, and Orange County were similar. In each case, BRI prepared a log containing the computer generated listings of random dispositions. The dispositions were covered with tape that was removed after entering the name, date of birth, sex, ethnicity, and presenting offense for an eligible case. The exact procedures for entering these data and obtaining the random disposition were slightly different across sites.

In New York, the log was kept by project personnel at their office in the Transit Police Academy. When an officer in the field apprehended a youth and took him or her to a district station, the desk officer at the station and the arresting officer determined if the case was eligible for diversion. If they believed diversion would be appropriate, the desk officer called the project, advised the staff person responsible for the random assignment log and asked for a disposition. The project staff person entered the name of the youth, age, sex, etc., into the log in the slot immediately following the last entry, removed the tape, and advised the desk officer of the disposition. A response team was then dispatched to the district station where the youth and his or her parents were advised of the consequences of the disposition and asked for consent to participate in the BRI research.

In Memphis, the log was managed by project personnel. Assignment was simplified by the fact that the Memphis project only accepted cases from the juvenile court, and there was no need for 24 hour intake and assignment capability. Intake supervisors at the Memphis and Shelby County Juvenile Court reviewed all new cases on a daily basis (except weekends and holidays) and set aside all cases that fell within the eligibility requirements agreed to with the project. A project representative visited the court each day to assign dispositions to these cases. This person placed the cases in alphabetical order, and then entered them into the random assignment log to determine dispositions.

The procedures in Orange County were almost identical to those of Memphis. The Orange County project got referrals from the state attorney's office, which operates as a typical district attorney's office (receiving referrals from police departments and deciding which cases should be prosecuted). The assistant state attorney in charge of the juvenile division for Orange County personally reviewed all cases coming into his office and set aside those he designated as eligible for the diversion project. Approximately once a week, a project representative reviewed the cases for eligibility and processed them in the manner outlined above for Memphis.

At all sites, the individuals responsible for assigning dispositions were required to follow strictly the order of the assignment list. BRI's field coordinators regularly checked the assignment lists to insure that assignment categories were not being skipped or manipulated. At all sites but Kansas City, a single disposition was given to companion cases (two or more youths arrested for a jointly committed offense).

III. Respondent Losses

A. Comparison of Groups at the Time of Assignment

Though procedures were adopted to randomly assign cases to treatment and control groups, it was possible that the resulting groups would not be comparable, either because of unknown failures in procedures that allowed bias to enter assignment or because of chance fluctuations in assignment. It was essential that the groups be compared to establish the success of the assignment procedures. The only variables on which groups could be compared came from information available for all cases assigned, whether or not respondents consented to be interviewed. These variables were age, sex, ethnicity, presenting offense, and prior arrests.

In Kansas City, 433 youths were defined as eligible for random assignment and were subsequently randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups (Services,⁷ No Services, Penetration). A similar process was effected in Memphis involving 975 youths; in Orange County, 686 youths; and in New York City, 533 youths. Table 2-3 shows the distribution of the eligible populations for each site resulting from the assignment procedures.⁸ If the assignment procedures were truly random, youths in different assignment groups would be expected to be similar on any variable chosen for comparison. The results of the tests associated with Table 2-3, containing such comparisons,

⁷In Kansas City, the service group was split into two service groups - the Police Youth Service Unit (YSU) and Roles for Youth (RFY), a community-based program component. Youths were randomly assigned to these two treatment options along with the no services and penetration dispositions.

⁸The table does not include ineligible youths who were inadvertently assigned, such as those living outside the program's catchment area, too young for the study (under 11 years old), or already on the assignment list for a previous offense.

Table 2-3
Random Assignment Outcome of Total Eligible Pool
by Age, Sex, Ethnicity

KANSAS CITY	AGE						SEX				ETHNICITY				PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES					
	11-13		14-15		16-17		Male		Female		White		Black		Mis		Felony		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No Services	23	(24)	53	(27)	24	(17)	78	(21)	22	(33)	32	(24)	65	(23)	53	(22)	44	(25)	34	(24)	40	(30)	24	(16)
Service RFY	22	(23)	50	(26)	31	(22)	86	(23)	17	(26)	31	(24)	70	(24)	53	(22)	49	(27)	34	(24)	29	(22)	39	(27)
Penetration	22	(23)	45	(23)	44	(31)	92	(25)	19	(29)	32	(24)	76	(26)	74	(30)	35	(20)	29	(20)	35	(26)	46	(30)
Service YSU	29	(30)	47	(24)	43	(30)	111	(30)	8	(12)	36	(28)	76	(26)	66	(27)	51	(28)	46	(32)	31	(23)	42	(28)
Not Significant						X ² = 10.650 p<.05				Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant						

MEMPHIS	AGE						SEX				ETHNICITY				PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES					
	11-13		14-15		16-17		Male		Female		White		Black		Mis		Felony		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No Services	80	(37)	125	(34)	140	(35)	293	(34)	52	(45)	115	(35)	230	(35)	92	(43)	250	(33)	171	(34)	112	(38)	61	(33)
Services	68	(32)	104	(29)	127	(32)	265	(31)	34	(29)	81	(25)	217	(34)	59	(28)	240	(32)	158	(32)	90	(31)	51	(28)
Penetration	67	(31)	135	(37)	129	(33)	301	(35)	30	(26)	130	(40)	199	(31)	63	(29)	268	(35)	169	(34)	89	(31)	73	(40)
Not Significant						Not Significant				X ² = 10.68 p < .005				X ² =7.38 p<.05				Not Significant						

ORANGE COUNTY	AGE						SEX				ETHNICITY				PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES					
	11-13		14-15		16-17		Male		Female		White		Black		Mis		Felony		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No Services	38	(32)	108	(36)	74	(28)	139	(31)	81	(33)	163	(33)	53	(30)	208	(33)	12	(26)	194	(34)	20	(24)	6	(20)
Services	41	(34)	94	(32)	107	(40)	168	(38)	76	(31)	163	(33)	75	(42)	223	(35)	20	(43)	200	(35)	31	(37)	13	(43)
Penetration	40	(34)	94	(32)	88	(33)	135	(30)	87	(36)	166	(34)	51	(28)	206	(32)	15	(32)	177	(31)	33	(39)	11	(37)
Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant						

NEW YORK CITY	AGE						SEX				ETHNICITY				PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES					
	11-13		14-15		Male		Female		White		Black		Hispanic		Mis		Felony		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
John-Jay Transit	61	(35)	133	(37)	184	(37)	10	(26)	38	(38)	91	(35)	64	(39)	192	(37)	2	(22)	104	(45)	52	(35)	38	(26)
No Services	62	(35)	119	(33)	165	(33)	16	(42)	34	(34)	88	(34)	59	(36)	176	(34)	3	(33)	86	(37)	49	(33)	45	(30)
Services	53	(30)	105	(29)	146	(30)	12	(32)	29	(29)	83	(32)	43	(26)	151	(29)	4	(44)	42	(18)	47	(32)	66	(44)
Penetration	Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant				X ² = 32.34 p<.001					

are mixed in this regard; for the most part, however, the results support the conclusion that the assignment processes were unbiased. In Kansas City, one of the service groups (YSU) was assigned a smaller proportion of females than the other dispositions. In Memphis, proportionately fewer blacks and more whites were assigned to the Penetration group and a greater proportion of misdemeanants were assigned to the No Services group. No statistically significant differences were found in the comparisons for Orange County. In New York City, the No Services group had a greater proportion of youths without prior justice histories, while the Penetration group had a greater proportion with two or more prior offenses.

The empirical evidence suggests that the random assignment procedures produced relatively equal dispositional groups at the outset. Differences were found for selected comparisons on three of the four sites, but only one instance was clearly in the direction that would be expected if assignment procedures had been manipulated.

The low proportion of females for one disposition would not seem to indicate any manipulation of the assignment procedures. This disposition does not differ from the others in a way that would suggest an attempt to place more or less serious cases in it. The pattern at Memphis is somewhat more ambiguous. Again, the greater proportion of blacks assigned to the diversion project is not associated with other differences and seems likely to be idiosyncratic. The lower rate of felony presenting offenses for the No Services group is more troublesome. This difference is not large: 73% felonies for the No Services groups as opposed to 80% for the other two groups. Nevertheless, it is in the direction that would be expected if justice authorities had manipulated assignment. The significant difference in

New York is not ambiguous. A difference of this magnitude is unlikely to arise by chance. Further, higher rates of prior arrests among cases penetrating the justice system would be the expected result of a biased assignment process. We must be suspicious of the random assignment procedure used in New York City.

B. Pre-Interview Losses

Personal interviews constituted a major source of data for the impact analysis. Interviews were of course voluntary, so we were not able to obtain interviews for all youths in the eligible samples. Because losses to the samples could lead to biased comparisons between groups, it was necessary to examine these losses very carefully. These losses did not affect analyses involving rearrest, however, because arrest records were obtained for all youths, whether or not they were interviewed.

Several aspects of interview losses should be considered. First, the lower the overall percentage of interview losses the more completely the interview group represents the total sample. Second, the proportion of cases lost from each group for various reasons indicates possible sources of bias. Differences in personal characteristics between those interviewed and those not interviewed indicate ways in which the interviewed respondents fail to represent the complete sample. Finally, it is necessary to compare those interviewed and not interviewed by disposition to determine if the losses in one disposition were of a different sort from those in another. Such differences could have serious consequences for comparisons among groups.

A decision was made during the developmental stage of the research to define the population eligible for random assignment independent of respondents' willingness to participate in the study. In other words, youths

were chosen for random assignment before, rather than after, seeking their consent for interviews. Requesting consent before a disposition was issued might have led families to believe that participating in the study would influence the disposition. The BRI research team as well as justice and project representatives felt it would have been unethical to use a procedure by which families might feel coerced to participate. While this decision automatically led to a higher initial loss rate, a detailed tabulation of selection bias was made possible (i.e., relations could be assessed between losses and dispositions as well as selected arrest history and demographic characteristics).

The pre-interview loss rates ranged from highs in Memphis (46%) and Orange County (31%) to lows in New York City (22%) and Kansas City (15%). The sources of loss are presented in Table 2-4. The major reason for loss across sites was parent or youth refusal to participate in the study (38%). In Kansas City and New York City, police officers requested consent to participate after explaining the disposition to parents and youths. They were instructed to make it clear that the study was conducted by an independent organization and that families were under no obligation to participate. At these two sites refusals were evenly distributed across dispositions. Additionally, 20% of the samples in Memphis and Orange County either refused to participate in services or were never contacted by the projects and thus had to be dropped from the study.

In Memphis, youths assigned to either Services or No Services were notified by the court through the mail that the project had been assigned their cases and that they were to report to the project at a specified time and date. When those so referred reported to the project, they were advised

Table 2-4
Respondent Pre-Interview Loss Source by Disposition

	KANSAS CITY						MEMPHIS						ORANGE COUNTY						NEW YORK CITY (John Jay-Transit)					
	No		Svs		Pen		No		Svs		Pen		No		Svs		Pen		No		Svs		Pen	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Refused Study	9	(60)	19	(63)	16	(76)	4	(4)	10	(8)	63	(29)	48	(64)	18	(30)	47	(62)	28	(78)	34	(72)	27	(82)
Time Limit	3	(20)	8	(27)	4	(19)	9	(8)	10	(8)	76	(35)	26	(35)	3	(5)	27	(36)	8	(22)	10	(21)	6	(18)
Refused Program	-	-	-	-	-	-	65	(61)	79	(63)	0	-	0	-	27	(45)	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Victim Refusal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	4	(7)	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Returned to Court	1	(7)	0	-	0	-	20	(19)	19	(15)	6	(3)	0	-	7	(12)	0	-	0	-	1	(2)	0	-
Handicapped	2	(13)	2	(7)	1	(5)	0	-	7	(6)	7	(3)	0	-	1	(2)	1	(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lost via Handling	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	(1)	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	(4)	0	-
Disposition Not Followed	0	-	1	(3)	0	-	2	(2)	0	-	57	(26)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unsatisfactory Interview	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	(4)	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Interview Falsified	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	(3)	1	(1)	7	(3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	15	(23)	30	(45)	21	(32)	107	(24)	126	(28)	216	(48)	75	(36)	60	(29)	75	(36)	36	(31)	47	(40)	33	(28)

of their disposition (Services or No Services) and enrolled in or excused as per assignment option. At the termination of the initial visit, the project representative explained the study and requested consent for participation. Large numbers of youths failed to appear as ordered by the court and, although the project made attempts at contacting those not appearing, many never came. Parental consent to participate was not sought from youths who did not appear or who declined to participate in the study. BRI's field coordinator contacted families of youths assigned to Penetration to seek their participation. A similar process operated in Orange County, except that project personnel obtained consent only from youths assigned to Services, and BRI's field coordinator contacted youths assigned to either No Services or Penetration.

The consent procedures affected refusal rates. In Orange County, the No Service and Penetration groups had higher rates of refusals by parents and youths and the Service group had a much lower rate. In Memphis, the No Services and Services groups had similar loss rates, with the Penetration group having a significantly higher loss rate.

Another source of loss related to time limits imposed upon interviewers. If an interview was not completed within three weeks of random assignment, the case was dropped from the study. Overall, 23% of the losses were for this reason. The rationale behind the policy was that as youths moved away from the presenting offense in time, some in fact into treatment, their attitudes about themselves and their circumstances might change. A related issue is that a longitudinal design requires a reasonable cutoff date for securing interviews in order to insure comparable interview periods for all respondents. The "time-limit" category also includes youths who could not be

located in the time period, but may well have been located given an unlimited interview period.

Two unanticipated processes affected the loss rates in Memphis. First and foremost, our field coordinator experienced personal problems that seriously affected data collection. As near as we can determine, the field coordinator all but stopped interviewing procedures involving Penetration youths for a period of approximately six weeks. This period of semi-inactivity was temporarily concealed from BRI.

The nature of the interviewing procedures in Memphis was such, as explained above, that the only cases that the field coordinator contacted away from the office were those randomly assigned to penetrate the justice system. This procedure facilitated the acquisition of consent and the interviewing of Services and No Services youth referrals, but required that youths assigned to penetrate the justice system had to be contacted at their homes for these purposes. When the field coordinator's lapse occurred, youths randomly assigned to Services and No Services were interviewed as intended, while the number of interviews from the Penetration category of youths declined dramatically. Our weekly checking system did not turn up the decline immediately, as the field coordinator indicated that the individuals in question were assigned to be interviewed, or moved, or were avoiding the interviewers, all of which were plausible explanations for missing interviews.

After a period of several weeks, the field coordinator reported that the completed Penetration interviews were in the mail. The completed interviews never arrived. After waiting, talking to postal officials, putting tracers on the mail, we called the field coordinator and requested the telephone numbers of the missing Penetration youth interviews. Within hours of this request we

The next analysis involved tests designed to determine if youths lost to the study were different from those kept, in terms of a set of demographic variables available on all youth approached for consent: age, sex, ethnicity, presenting offense, and total number of official prior arrests. These results appear in Table 2-6. These analyses revealed no statistical differences between youths lost and kept for any of the comparisons in Kansas City and New York City. Significant differences were found in Memphis for comparisons involving presenting offense and total number of prior offenses: youths lost to the study were characterized as having more felony presenting offenses (81% vs. 75%) and more multiple prior offenses (22% vs. 17%) than those kept. Thus, the interviewed sample underrepresented youths with more serious arrest histories. In Orange County, more whites than blacks were lost prior to the first interviews (34% vs. 22%).

To this point, our consideration of random assignment and loss rates has been limited to two-dimensional tables such as disposition by ethnicity, interview status (interviewed vs. not interviewed) by disposition, and interview status by ethnicity. For these tables, the common Pearson chi-square test for independence provides an adequate statistical model. We were also interested, however, in hypotheses concerning three-way classifications such as disposition by ethnicity by interview status. For example, we wanted to test for the possibility that the relation between ethnicity and interview status varied among dispositions. In other words, we wished to determine if interview losses were biased by disposition, independent from any differences resulting from the assignment process. Log linear analysis, a more recently developed statistical method (Reynolds, 1977; Haberman, 1978), was used to test this possible source of bias because it

Table 2-6
Comparisons of Youths Retained and Lost Prior to First Interviews
by Selected Demographic Variables by Site

	AGE						SEX				ETHNICITY				PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES					
	11-13		14-15		16		Male		Female		White		Black		Mis		Felony		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
KANSAS CITY																								
Interviewed	80	(22)	165	(45)	122	(33)	311	(85)	56	(15)	105	(30)	247	(70)	206	(57)	153	(43)	125	(34)	113	(31)	125	(34)
Not Interv'd	16	(24)	30	(46)	20	(30)	56	(85)	10	(15)	26	(39)	40	(60)	40	(61)	26	(39)	18	(27)	22	(33)	26	(39)
	Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant					
MEMPHIS																								
Interviewed	116	(22)	202	(38)	212	(40)	462	(87)	68	(13)	169	(32)	359	(68)	130	(25)	397	(75)	267	(50)	173	(33)	89	(17)
Not Interv'd	99	(22)	162	(36)	184	(41)	397	(89)	48	(11)	157	(35)	287	(65)	84	(19)	361	(81)	231	(52)	118	(26)	96	(22)
	Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant				X ² = 4.71 p < .05				X ² = 6.06 p < .05					
ORANGE COUNTY																								
Interviewed	79	(17)	219	(46)	179	(38)	302	(63)	175	(37)	325	(70)	140	(30)	444	(94)	31	(6)	398	(84)	53	(11)	25	(5)
Not Interv'd	38	(19)	77	(38)	90	(44)	140	(67)	69	(33)	167	(81)	39	(19)	193	(92)	16	(8)	173	(83)	31	(15)	5	(1)
	Not Significant						Not Significant				X ² = 9.12 p < .01				Not Significant				Not Significant					
NEW YORK CITY																								
John Jay-Transit	N	%	N	%			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	141	(34)	276	(66)	388	(93)	29	(7)	71	(17)	211	(51)	134	(32)	408	(99)	5	(1)	172	(42)	119	(29)	123	(30)
Not Interv'd	35	(30)	81	(70)	107	(92)	9	(8)	30	(27)	51	(45)	32	(28)	111	(96)	4	(4)	60	(52)	29	(25)	26	(23)
	Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant				Not Significant					

offers a means of testing complex hypotheses about multidimensional contingency tables.

The application of log-linear analysis focused on the three-way interaction from a three-dimensional table. To test the significance of this interaction, expected values for the cell frequencies are generated from a model that includes all two-way interactions. Any lack of fit for this model can only be due to the three-way interaction. The fit of the model is tested by either the Pearson chi square or the likelihood ratio chi square. If the chi square value reaches the nominal level of significance, ($p .05$), then the two-way model is ruled inadequate, and there is evidence that a three-way interaction is present. If significance is not achieved, three-way interactions are assumed to be absent, and findings associated with the two-dimensional comparative tests are accepted as adequate to explain relations among the variables.

The results of the log-linear analysis for the three-way relationship among status, disposition, and selected demographic variables are illustrated in Table 2-7. These data indicate that, with only one exception in Memphis, there were no three-way interaction effects. This finding insures that the nature of the losses did not depend on dispositions. The one significant effect indicates that, in Memphis, whites were more prevalent among those lost from the Penetration group than among those lost from the other groups.

In summarizing the analyses for pre-interview losses, it would appear that in three of the sites such losses did not have a biasing effect upon the distribution of cases across dispositional categories. Memphis was the exception. It does appear that pre-interview losses in Memphis were disproportionately representative of more serious and frequent offenders, and

Table 2-7
Comparisons of Youths Interviewed with Those Not Interviewed
by Disposition on Selected Demographic and Background Variables
Log-Linear Analysis

KANSAS CITY

	NO SERVICES				SERVICES (RFY)				PENETRATION				SERVICES (YSU)					
SEX	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Interviewed	67	(78)	19	(22)	70	(81)	16	(19)	77	(86)	13	(14)	97	(92)	8	(8)		
Not Interviewed	11	(79)	3	(21)	16	(94)	1	(6)	15	(71)	6	(29)	14	(100)	0	---		
Not Significant																		
ETHNICITY	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Interviewed	25	(30)	58	(70)	25	(30)	59	(70)	24	(28)	63	(72)	31	(32)	67	(68)		
Not Interviewed	7	(50)	7	(50)	6	(35)	11	(65)	8	(38)	13	(62)	5	(36)	9	(64)		
Not Significant																		
AGE	11-13		14-15		16		11-13		14-15		16		11-13		14-15		16	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	17	(20)	46	(53)	23	(27)	18	(21)	41	(48)	27	(31)	18	(20)	37	(41)	35	(39)
Not Interviewed	6	(43)	7	(50)	1	(7)	4	(23)	9	(53)	4	(24)	4	(19)	8	(38)	9	(43)
Not Significant																		
PRESENTING OFFENSE	Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Interviewed	45	(54)	38	(46)	46	(54)	39	(46)	58	(66)	30	(34)	57	(55)	46	(45)		
Not Interviewed	8	(57)	6	(43)	7	(41)	10	(59)	16	(76)	5	(24)	9	(64)	5	(36)		
Not Significant																		
PRIORS MIS & FEL.	0		1		2+		0		1		2+		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	28	(33)	34	(40)	22	(26)	29	(34)	23	(27)	33	(39)	27	(30)	29	(33)	33	(37)
Not Interviewed	6	(43)	6	(43)	2	(14)	5	(29)	6	(35)	6	(35)	2	(9)	6	(29)	13	(62)
Not Significant																		

ORANGE COUNTY

	NO SERVICES				SERVICES				PENETRATION			
SEX	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	87	(59)	60	(41)	122	(67)	60	(33)	93	(63)	55	(37)
Not Interviewed	52	(71)	21	(29)	46	(74)	16	(26)	42	(57)	32	(43)
Not Significant												
ETHNICITY	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	106	(74)	37	(26)	112	(63)	66	(37)	107	(74)	37	(26)
Not Interviewed	57	(78)	16	(22)	51	(85)	9	(15)	59	(81)	14	(19)
Not Significant												
AGE	11-13		14-15		16-17		11-13		14-15		16-17	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	21	(14)	77	(53)	49	(33)	33	(18)	74	(41)	75	(41)
Not Interviewed	17	(45)	31	(29)	25	(34)	8	(20)	20	(21)	32	(30)
Not Significant												
PRESENTING OFFENSE	Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	141	(96)	6	(4)	168	(93)	13	(7)	135	(92)	12	(8)
Not Interviewed	67	(92)	6	(8)	55	(89)	7	(11)	71	(96)	3	(4)
Not Significant												
TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSE	0		1+		0		1+		0		1+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	130	(88)	17	(12)	150	(82)	32	(18)	118	(80)	29	(20)
Not Interviewed	64	(88)	9	(12)	50	(81)	12	(19)	59	(80)	15	(20)
Not Significant												

NEW YORK CITY (John Jay-Transit)

NO SERVICES						SERVICES						PENETRATION						
SEX	Male		Female			Male		Female			Male		Female					
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%				
Interviewed	139	(94)	8	(6)		133	(92)	12	(9)		116	(93)	9	(7)				
Not Interviewed	45	(96)	2	(4)		32	(89)	4	(11)		30	(91)	3	(9)				
Not Significant																		
ETHNICITY	White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic		White		Black		Hispanic	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	27	(18)	74	(50)	46	(31)	24	(17)	71	(44)	50	(34)	20	(16)	66	(53)	38	(31)
Not Interviewed	11	(24)	17	(37)	18	(39)	10	(28)	17	(47)	9	(25)	9	(29)	17	(55)	5	(16)
Not Significant																		
AGE	11-13		14-16			11-13		14-16			11-13		14-16					
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%				
Interviewed	50	(34)	97	(66)		50	(34)	95	(66)		41	(33)	84	(67)				
Not Interviewed	11	(23)	36	(77)		12	(33)	24	(67)		12	(36)	21	(64)				
Not Significant																		
PRESENTING	Mis		Fel			Mis		Fel			Mis		Fel					
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%				
Interviewed	147	(100)	0	(-)		141	(98)	3	(2)		120	(98)	2	(2)				
Not Interviewed	45	(96)	2	(4)		35	(100)	0	(0)		31	(94)	2	(6)				
Not Significant																		
TOTAL PRIOR	0		1		2+		0		1		2+		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	76	(52)	41	(28)	30	(20)	65	(45)	40	(28)	40	(28)	31	(25)	38	(31)	53	(43)
Not Interviewed	28	(60)	11	(23)	8	(17)	21	(60)	9	(26)	5	(14)	11	(33)	9	(27)	13	(39)
Not Significant																		

that many more youths were lost from the group assigned to Penetration than from those assigned to the other dispositions. The data to be presented in the following section should further clarify the effects of the early losses on the comparability of the assignment groups.

C. Post-Initial Interview Losses

This section deals with the effects that the loss of participants later in the study may have had on the comparability of groups. The concern here is with losses after the first interview, and whether or not those losses were of a nature that would bias the comparability of the dispositional groups. The combined loss rate (mortality) for second and third interviews was 11.6% of those who completed the initial interview. Post-initial loss rates at the individual sites were Kansas City, 10.9%; Memphis, 10.6%; Orange County, 13.2%; and New York City, 11.5%. Most losses were due to two factors: (1) respondent or parent refusal to continue in the study, and (2) inability to locate respondents.

Inasmuch as at least one interview was obtained from each of the 1,791 respondents from whom we sought second and third interviews, it was possible to add the variables assessed in the interviews to our analysis of the effects of losses.

Because many analyses of impact were limited to youths interviewed all three times, the analysis of losses after the initial interview compares respondents interviewed once or twice with those interviewed three times. Table 2-8 presents the relation between losses and disposition. These comparisons indicate that losses were evenly distributed among the justice dispositions at all four sites.

Table 2-9 shows interview status in relation to age, sex, ethnicity, presenting offense, and total number of prior offenses. These data indicate

Table 2-8
Comparison of Youths Interviewed Three Times with Those Interviewed Once or Twice
by Random Assignment Disposition
Contingency Analysis

KANSAS CITY								
	No Services		Services RFY		Penetration		Services YSU	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	76	(88)	77	(90)	81	(90)	93	(89)
1 or 2 Interviews	10	(12)	9	(10)	9	(10)	12	(11)
Not Significant								
MEMPHIS								
	No Services		Services Roles		Penetration			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	211	(89)	162	(92)	101	(87)		
1 or 2 Interviews	26	(11)	15	(8)	15	(13)		
Not Significant								
ORANGE COUNTY								
	No Services		Services Roles		Penetration			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	131	(89)	162	(89)	121	(82)		
1 or 2 Interviews	16	(11)	20	(11)	27	(18)		
Not Significant								
NEW YORK CITY (John Jay-Transit)								
	No Services		Services Roles		Penetration			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	126	(86)	130	(90)	113	(90)		
1 or 2 Interviews	21	(14)	15	(10)	12	(10)		
Not Significant								

Table 2-9
Comparison of Youths Interviewed Three Times with Those Interviewed Once or Twice
on Age, Sex, Ethnicity, Presenting Offense, and Total Number of Prior Offenses

	AGE						ETHNICITY				SEX		PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES							
	11-13		14-15		16-17		White		Black		Male		Female		Misdem.		Felony		0		1		2+	
KANSAS CITY	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	75	(23)	142	(43)	110	(34)	92	(30)	220	(70)	276	(84)	51	(16)	181	(57)	139	(43)	116	(36)	100	(31)	108	(33)
1 or 2 Interviews	5	(12)	23	(56)	12	(30)	13	(32)	27	(68)	35	(88)	5	(12)	25	(64)	14	(36)	9	(23)	13	(33)	17	(44)
	Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant		Not Significant				Not Significant							
	AGE						ETHNICITY				SEX		PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES							
	11-13		14-15		16-17		White		Black		Male		Female		Misdem.		Felony		0		1		2+	
MEMPHIS	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	116	(22)	202	(38)	212	(40)	169	(32)	359	(68)	462	(87)	68	(13)	130	(25)	397	(75)	267	(50)	173	(33)	89	(17)
1 or 2 Interviews	99	(22)	162	(36)	184	(41)	157	(35)	287	(65)	397	(89)	48	(11)	84	(19)	361	(81)	231	(52)	118	(26)	96	(22)
	Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant		x ² =4.71 p .05				x ² =6.06 p .05							
	AGE						ETHNICITY				SEX		PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES							
	11-13		14-15		16-17		White		Black		Male		Female		Misdem.		Felony		0		1		2+	
ORANGE COUNTY	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	79	(17)	219	(46)	179	(38)	325	(70)	140	(30)	302	(63)	175	(37)	444	(94)	31	(6)	398	(84)	53	(11)	25	(5)
1 or 2 Interviews	40	(19)	77	(37)	90	(44)	167	(81)	39	(19)	140	(67)	69	(33)	193	(92)	16	(8)	173	(83)	31	(15)	5	(2)
	Not Significant						x ² =9.12 p .005				Not Significant		Not Significant				Not Significant							
	AGE						ETHNICITY				SEX		PRESENTING OFFENSE				TOTAL PRIOR OFFENSES							
	11-13		14-15		16-17		White		Black		Male		Female		Misdem.		Felony		0		1		2+	
NEW YORK CITY (John Jay-Transit)	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	141	(34)	276	(66)	71	(17)	211	(51)	134	(32)	388	(93)	29	(7)	408	(99)	5	(1)	172	(42)	119	(29)	123	(30)
1 or 2 Interviews	35	(30)	81	(70)	30	(26)	51	(45)	32	(28)	107	(92)	9	(8)	111	(96)	4	(4)	60	(52)	29	(25)	26	(23)
	Not Significant						Not Significant				Not Significant		Not Significant				Not Significant							

no demographic differences in Kansas City or New York City between respondents interviewed three times and respondents interviewed once or twice. In Memphis, however, more youths having felony presenting offenses and high numbers of prior offenses failed to complete three interviews, suggesting that the youths lost were more serious or frequent offenders.

Neither of the two-dimensional tests revealed the effect that losses may have had on disposition within demographic and background variable categories. That is, the interaction between interview status, disposition, and demographic characteristics remains unknown. Log-linear analyses were completed for the three-way interactions between losses, disposition, and demographic factors. These results appear in Table 2-10. The findings indicate one three-way interaction in Memphis which appears to be the result of more losses occurring in the Penetration group among respondents having two or more prior offenses and in the No Services group among respondents having no prior offenses.

To this point, the analyses of the effect of the losses (after the initial interview) on the composition of groups suggests that, except for the Penetration group in Memphis, the youths lost were not disproportionately drawn from one particular age, sex, ethnic, offense, or multiple offender group. The tests have been limited to five variables on hand for all youths assigned to groups. Additional information is available, however, for youths interviewed at least once, and this information provides more data by which to assess the effect of losses upon disposition characteristics. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used for this purpose.

Throughout this section we are using the multivariate analysis of variance for significance tests involving the major set of variables assessed in the

Table 2-10

KANSAS CITY

NO SERVICES				SERVICES (RFY)				PENETRATION				SERVICES (YSU)						
SEX	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
3 Interviews	59	(78)	17	(22)	63	(82)	14	(18)	69	(85)	12	(15)	85	(91)	8	(9)		
1 or 2 Interviews	8	(80)	2	(20)	7	(78)	2	(22)	8	(89)	1	(11)	12	(100)	0	(0)		
Not Significant																		
ETHNICITY	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
3 Interviews	21	(29)	52	(71)	24	(32)	51	(68)	20	(26)	58	(74)	27	(31)	59	(69)		
1 or 2 Interviews	4	(40)	6	(60)	1	(11)	8	(89)	4	(44)	5	(56)	4	(33)	8	(67)		
Not Significant																		
AGE	11-13		14-15		16		11-13		14-15		16		11-13		14-15		16	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	15	(20)	42	(55)	19	(25)	17	(22)	35	(46)	25	(32)	17	(21)	32	(40)	32	(40)
1 or 2 Interviews	2	(20)	4	(40)	4	(40)	1	(11)	6	(67)	2	(22)	1	(11)	5	(56)	3	(33)
Not Significant																		
PRESENTING OFFENSE	Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
3 Interviews	40	(54)	34	(46)	40	(53)	36	(47)	51	(64)	28	(35)	50	(55)	41	(45)		
1 or 2 Interviews	5	(56)	4	(44)	6	(67)	3	(33)	7	(78)	2	(22)	7	(58)	55	(42)		
Not Significant																		
PRIORS MIS & FEL.	0		1		2+		0		1		2+		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	25	(33)	31	(41)	19	(25)	26	(34)	20	(26)	30	(39)	26	(32)	25	(31)	29	(36)
1 or 2 Interviews	3	(33)	3	(33)	3	(33)	3	(33)	3	(33)	3	(33)	1	(11)	4	(44)	4	(44)
Not Significant																		

Table 2-10 Continued

MEMPHIS

SEX	NO SERVICES				SERVICES				PENETRATION			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	180	(85)	31	(15)	143	(88)	19	(12)	90	(89)	11	(11)
1 or 2 Interviews	21	(81)	5	(19)	13	(87)	2	(13)	15	(100)	0	(0)
Not Significant												
ETHNICITY	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	70	(33)	141	(67)	46	(28)	116	(72)	31	(31)	68	(69)
1 or 2 Interviews	10	(38)	16	(62)	7	(47)	8	(53)	5	(33)	10	(67)
Not Significant												
AGE	11-13		14-15		16-17		11-13		14-15		16-17	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	52	(25)	80	(38)	79	(37)	39	(24)	58	(36)	65	(40)
1 or 2 Interviews	2	(8)	8	(31)	16	(62)	0	(0)	4	(27)	11	(73)
Not Significant												
PRESENTING OFFENSE	Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	61	(29)	149	(71)	35	(22)	127	(78)	20	(20)	81	(80)
1 or 2 Interviews	10	(42)	14	(58)	2	(13)	13	(87)	2	(13)	13	(87)
Not Significant												
TOTAL PRIOR	0		1		2+		0		1		2+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 Interviews	104	(49)	67	(32)	40	(19)	83	(51)	54	(33)	25	(15)
1 or 2 Interviews	8	(32)	15	(60)	2	(8)	10	(67)	5	(33)	0	(0)

 $X^2 = 9.85$ $Df = 4$ $p < .05$

CONTINUED

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NEW YORK CITY (John Jay-Transit)

NO SERVICES						SERVICES						PENETRATION							
SEX	Male		Female			Male		Female			Male		Female						
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%					
3 Interviews	120	(95)	6	(5)		119	(92)	11	(8)		104	(92)	9	(8)					
1 or 2 Interviews	19	(90)	2	(10)		14	(93)	1	(7)		12	(100)	0	(0)					
Not Significant																			
ETHNICITY	White		Black		Hispanic			White		Black		Hispanic							
	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%			
3 Interviews	23	(18)	66	(52)	37	(29)		22	(17)	66	(51)	42	(32)	18	(16)	57	(51)	37	(33)
1 or 2 Interviews	4	(19)	8	(38)	9	(43)		2	(13)	5	(33)	8	(53)	2	(17)	9	(75)	1	(8)
Not Significant																			
AGE	11-13		14-16			11-13		14-16			11-13		14-16						
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%					
3 Interviews	44	(35)	82	(65)		46	(35)	84	(64)		39	(35)	74	(65)					
1 or 2 Interviews	6	(29)	15	(71)		4	(27)	11	(73)		2	(17)	10	(83)					
Not Significant																			
PRESENTING	Mis		Fel			Mis		Fel			Mis		Fel						
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%					
3 Interviews	126	(100)	0	(0)		126	(98)	3	(2)		108	(98)	2	(2)					
1 or 2 Interviews	21	(100)	0	(0)		15	(100)	0	(0)		12	(100)	0	(0)					
Not Significant																			
TOTAL PRIOR	0		1		2+			0		1		2+							
	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%			
3 Interviews	69	(55)	33	(26)	24	(19)		60	(46)	35	(27)	35	(27)	30	(27)	35	(32)	45	(41)
1 or 2 Interviews	7	(33)	8	(38)	6	(29)		5	(33)	5	(33)	5	(33)	1	(8)	3	(25)	8	(67)
Not Significant																			

ORANGE COUNTY

NO SERVICES						SERVICES				PENETRATION			
SEX	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
3 Interviews	80	(61)	57	(39)	111	(69)	51	(31)	74	(61)	47	(39)	
1 or 2 Interviews	7	(44)	9	(56)	11	(55)	9	(45)	19	(70)	8	(30)	
Not Significant													
ETHNICITY	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
3 Interviews	96	(75)	32	(25)	98	(62)	60	(38)	87	(74)	31	(26)	
1 or 2 Interviews	10	(67)	5	(33)	14	(70)	6	(30)	20	(77)	6	(23)	
Not Significant													
AGE	11-13		14-15		16-17		11-13		14-15		16-17		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
3 Interviews	20	(15)	69	(53)	42	(32)	31	(19)	67	(41)	64	(40)	
1 or 2 Interviews	1	(6)	8	(50)	7	(44)	2	(10)	7	(35)	11	(55)	
Not Significant													
PRESENTING OFFENSE	Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		Mis		Fel		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
3 Interviews	125	(95)	6	(5)	149	(92)	13	(8)	110	(92)	10	(8)	
1 or 2 Interviews	16	(100)	0	(0)	19	(100)	0	(0)	25	(93)	2	(7)	
Not Significant													
TOTAL PRIOR	0		1		2+		0		1		2+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
3 Interviews	116	(89)	11	(8)	4	(3)	134	(83)	19	(12)	9	(5)	
1 or 2 Interviews	14	(88)	0	(0)	2	(12)	16	(80)	4	(20)	0	(0)	
Not Significant													

interviews. Though ordinary univariate analysis of variance is more common, its multivariate extension is an essential adjunct when a problem involves several intercorrelated dependent variables. When univariate tests are applied to a series of dependent variables, it is not possible to determine how many of the tests would appear significant due to chance, because the tests are redundant in varying degrees. The multivariate significance test reflects the probability that mean differences obtained for a set of dependent variables would occur by chance. In our analyses we used the multivariate significance test as our criterion. If the multivariate test did not indicate significant differences, we considered groups equal, regardless of univariate results. If a significant multivariate result was obtained, then groups were compared on those variables for which the largest differences existed, as reflected in the accompanying univariate tests.

The independent variables for this first multivariate analysis of variance were interview status (interviewed three times vs. interviewed one or two times) and disposition. The dependent variables were 19 measures selected from those assessed in the interviews (see Table 2-11). This limited set of dependent variables was chosen because it represents all the major constructs from the larger set and because there were few cases for which data were missing.

The MANOVA yielded statistical tests for three effects: disposition (differences among dispositions due to the assignment process), interview status (differences between youths interviewed three times and youths interviewed once or twice), and disposition by interview status (differential losses across dispositions). The results of the analyses are summarized in Table 2-12. The p values indicate that effects for disposition and interview

Table 2-11
19 Selected Impact Measures

Variables	
1.	Importance of Conventional Goals
2.	Commitment to Parents
3.	Normlessness
4.	Labeled Conforming
5.	Labeled "Sick"
6.	Labeled Bad
7.	Self Image Conforming
8.	Self Image "Sick"
9.	Self Image Bad
10.	Negative Attitudes Toward Deviance
11.	Counterlabeling
12.	Social Isolation
13.	Parents Disapproval of Deviance
14.	Delinquency of Peers
15.	Commitment to Peers
16.	Self Report of Serious Delinquency
17.	Self Report of Minor Delinquency
18.	Self Report of Drug Involvement
19.	Peers Disapproval of Deviance

Table 2-12
Analysis of Interviewing Losses in Relation
to Disposition - Testing for Differences on
the Interview Variables at Time One

Multivariate Significance Tests (p values for Wilks Lamda)

Site	Disposition	Interview Status	Disposition by Interview Status
Kansas City	.310	.155	.005
Memphis	.129	.114	.379
Orange County	.332	.367	.462
New York City (John Jay-Transit)	.323	.122	.297

Cell Sample Sizes

	Disposition			
	No Services	Services RFY	Penetration	Services YSU
Kansas City				
Interviewed 3 Times	73	71	75	89
Interviewed Once or Twice	9	9	9	12
Memphis				
Interviewed 3 Times	207	161	101	
Interviewed Once or Twice	26	15	15	
Orange County				
Interviewed 3 Times	130	162	121	
Interviewed Once or Twice	14	20	26	
New York City (John Jay-Transit)				
Interviewed 3 Times	124	127	110	
Interviewed Once or Twice	21	14	12	

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status were not significant for any of the four samples. Thus, we can conclude that the groups were comparable before Time 2 and Time 3 losses, and that respondents lost after the initial interview were comparable to those kept. The interaction of disposition and interview status was significant only for Kansas City. The finding of differential loss by disposition in Kansas City must be interpreted by examining differences among cell means for individual dependent variables. Univariate significance tests did not reach $p < .05$ for this effect for any of the dependent variables, so the variables examined in interpreting this effect were those having the strongest correlations to the significant canonical variable⁹.

Mean cell deviations appear in Table 2-13 for dependent variables that had a correlation to the canonical variable with an absolute value greater than .25. From an examination of these deviations, it is clear that the significant result is due to extreme scores for the cases lost from the sample assigned to the Youth Service Unit. This group felt labeled as less conforming, as more "sick," and more "bad"; their self-image was more "bad"; they reported their peers to be more delinquent; and they indicated that they had engaged in more serious delinquency.

D. Comparability of Groups in Final Samples

Though there appears to have been differential loss in one sample, it is not necessarily the case that those youths interviewed three times differed from one disposition to another. Comparisons between the dispositions for youths interviewed all three time periods (the sample upon which most

⁹The canonical variable is a composite of the dependent variables defined to maximize group differences. The multivariate significance test refers directly to the canonical variable.

Table 2-13
Cell Deviations for Variables Associated with Loss
by Disposition Interaction in Kansas City
(Correlation to Canonical Variate Greater Than .25)

	No Services	Services RFY	Disposition Penetration	Services YSU
1. Labeling-Conforming				
Interviewed 3 Times	.70	.08	.16	.21
Interviewed Once or Twice	-.76	2.28	.12	-2.79
within cell standard deviation = 4.98				
2. Labeling-Sick				
Interviewed 3 Times	-1.10	-.32	.36	-.54
Interviewed Once or Twice	.34	-3.02	.36	3.92
within cell standard deviation = 6.30				
3. Labeling-Bad				
Interviewed 3 Times	-1.68	-.52	-.36	-.95
Interviewed Once or Twice	-1.88	-2.04	2.42	5.01
within cell standard deviation = 7.82				
4. Self Image Bad				
Interviewed 3 Times	-.76	-.57	-.33	-.63
Interviewed Once or Twice	.10	-1.01	.99	2.19
within cell standard deviation = 3.10				
5. Delinquency of Peers				
Interviewed 3 Times	-.61	-.44	-2.23	-1.69
Interviewed Once or Twice	.95	-.38	-1.01	5.39
within cell standard deviation = 7.67				
6. Self Report of Serious Delinquency				
Interviewed 3 Times	-.36	.002	-.210	-.104
Interviewed Once or Twice	.240	.104	-.398	.604
within cell standard deviation = .908				

Loss by Disposition

	r to canonical variate	Univariate F	P
1	-.256	1.763	.154
2	.313	2.057	.106
3	.323	1.653	.177
4	.293	1.732	.160
5	.342	1.625	.183
6	.273	1.709	.165
		df = 3.339	

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assessments of impact were made) by all of the demographic, background, and impact variables available for such comparisons were thus completed to determine how the losses ultimately affected the comparability of the dispositional groups. These analyses are presented in Table 2-14.

Of the 58 comparisons for Kansas City, two were found to differentiate among dispositions at a level of statistical significance ($p < .05$). Penetration youths reported living in more blighted neighborhoods and having more negative attitudes toward deviance than did youths in the other dispositions. A review of the data associated with all 58 of the comparisons indicates a remarkable level of similarity across dispositional scores. These data clearly indicate that the dispositional groups for Kansas City were evenly matched at the first interview.

Four of the 58 comparisons in Memphis were found to statistically differentiate the dispositional groups at the time of the first interview. Youths in the Penetration group reported achieving higher levels of success for peer-related goals, lower levels of parental labeling as sick, higher levels of counterlabeling, and less involvement in minor delinquency. While the overall number of dispositional differences were few, a review of differences on all variables revealed a tendency for the Penetration group to consistently show slightly more positive scores when compared with the No Service and Service groups. This finding fits the pattern of losses described earlier. The large number of youths lost from the Penetration group in Memphis may have consisted of slightly more serious cases and may have had an effect (although statistically not significant) upon the makeup of the Penetration group vis-a-vis the other groups. These differences were, however, minor and manifest themselves only as a trend across comparisons of

Table 2-14
Comparisons among Dispositions at t₁ for Youths Interviewed at All Four Impact Sites
for All Three Interview Periods on Selected Demographic, Impact, and Background Variables

Variable	Kansas City N = 327			Memphis N = 474			Orange County N = 386			New York City (John Jay-Transit) N = 369		
	X ²	DF	Sig	X ²	DF	Sig	X ²	DF	Sig	X ²	DF	Sig
Age	8.465	6	N.S.	3.401	4	N.S.	4.248	4	N.S.	.020	2	N.S.
Ethnicity	.952	3	N.S.	.978	2	N.S.	6.993	2	p .05	.502	4	N.S.
Sex	6.532	3	N.S.	1.166	2	N.S.	2.349	2	N.S.	1.547	2	N.S.
Presenting Offense (misdemeanor, vs. felony)	2.819	3	N.S.	4.284	2	N.S.	1.762	2	N.S.	Not Applicable		
Total # Prior Mis. & Fel. Off.	7.886	6	N.S.	1.071	4	N.S.	4.266	4	N.S.	21.360	4	p .0005
School Enrollment	3.453	3	N.S.	5.148	2	N.S.	6.336	2	p .05	4.415	2	N.S.
Grade Point Average	3.284	6	N.S.	1.723	4	N.S.	3.606	4	N.S.	5.262	4	N.S.
Family Welfare Assistance	2.775	3	N.S.	2.868	2	N.S.	1.328	2	N.S.	6.189	2	p .05
Job in the Last 6 months	3.352	3	N.S.	1.169	2	N.S.	2.992	2	N.S.	.639	2	N.S.

Variable	Kansas City N = 327			Memphis N = 474			Orange County N = 386			New York City (John Jay-Transit) N = 369		
	F	DF	Sig	F	DF	Sig	F	DF	Sig	F	DF	Sig
Importance of School	1.189	3,300	N.S.	1.662	2,456	N.S.	1.786	2,393	N.S.	.907	2,360	N.S.
Attenuation at School	2.395	3,300	N.S.	.310	2,458	N.S.	.697	2,393	N.S.	1.201	2,360	N.S.
Integration at School	2.496	3,300	N.S.	.246	2,458	N.S.	.620	2,393	N.S.	1.334	2,360	N.S.
Parental Disorganization	2.121	3,322	N.S.	.176	2,462	N.S.	.362	2,406	N.S.	.753	2,361	N.S.
Religious Involvement	1.299	3,323	N.S.	1.153	2,471	N.S.	.333	2,411	N.S.	.595	2,366	N.S.
Blighted Neighborhood	2.999	3,323	p .05	2.701	2,471	N.S.	.053	2,411	N.S.	.346	2,366	N.S.
Fighting in Neighborhood	1.357	3,323	N.S.	.954	2,471	N.S.	.602	2,411	N.S.	.061	2,366	N.S.
Importance of Family Goals	2.124	3,314	N.S.	.076	2,458	N.S.	.212	2,402	N.S.	.937	2,364	N.S.
Importance of School Goals	.412	3,251	N.S.	1.358	2,393	N.S.	2.543	2,326	N.S.	1.508	2,345	N.S.
Importance of Peer Goals	.358	3,323	N.S.	.178	2,471	N.S.	1.654	2,411	N.S.	.415	2,366	N.S.
Importance of Goals-Total	1.083	3,323	N.S.	1.148	2,471	N.S.	.465	2,411	N.S.	.239	2,366	N.S.
Success of Family	.152	3,314	N.S.	.500	2,458	N.S.	.544	2,402	N.S.	.542	2,364	N.S.
Success in School	.053	3,251	N.S.	.257	2,393	N.S.	.680	2,326	N.S.	.421	2,345	N.S.
Success with Peers	2.435	3,323	N.S.	4.557	2,471	p .01	.612	2,411	N.S.	.356	2,366	N.S.
Success-Total	.192	3,323	N.S.	1.392	2,471	N.S.	.716	2,411	N.S.	.927	2,366	N.S.
Commitment to Parents	1.281	3,314	N.S.	.284	2,458	N.S.	.325	2,402	N.S.	.005	2,364	N.S.

Table 2-14 Continued

Variable	Kansas City N = 327			Memphis N = 474			Orange County N = 386			New York City (John-Jay Transit) N = 369		
	F	DF	Sig	F	DF	Sig	F	DF	Sig	F	DF	Sig
Normlessness	.709	3,323	N.S.	.426	2,471	N.S.	.347	2,411	N.S.	2.035	2,366	N.S.
Labeling-Parents-Conforming	.275	3,314	N.S.	.106	2,458	N.S.	.105	2,402	N.S.	.091	2,364	N.S.
Labeling-Parents-Sick	.564	3,314	N.S.	3.364	2,458	p .05	1.307	2,402	N.S.	1.773	2,364	N.S.
Labeling-Parents-Bad	.425	3,314	N.S.	.004	2,458	N.S.	1.103	2,402	N.S.	2.303	2,364	N.S.
Labeling-Parents-Total	.299	3,314	N.S.	1.014	2,458	N.S.	.680	2,402	N.S.	1.951	2,364	N.S.
Labeling-Friends-Conforming	.044	3,323	N.S.	.211	2,471	N.S.	.570	2,411	N.S.	.296	2,366	N.S.
Labeling-Friends-Sick	.608	3,323	N.S.	.542	2,471	N.S.	3.247	2,411	p .05	.396	2,366	N.S.
Labeling-Friends-Bad	.091	3,323	N.S.	.282	2,471	N.S.	.467	2,411	N.S.	1.397	2,366	N.S.
Labeling-Friends-Total	.350	3,323	N.S.	.517	2,471	N.S.	1.643	2,411	N.S.	.721	2,366	N.S.
Labeling-Teachers-Conforming	1.254	3,251	N.S.	1.292	2,393	N.S.	1.782	2,326	N.S.	.298	2,345	N.S.
Labeling-Teachers-Sick	1.361	3,251	N.S.	1.826	2,393	N.S.	.079	2,326	N.S.	.564	2,345	N.S.
Labeling-Teachers-Bad	.781	3,251	N.S.	1.700	2,393	N.S.	.798	2,326	N.S.	1.197	2,345	N.S.
Labeling-Teachers-Total	1.690	3,251	N.S.	2.167	2,393	N.S.	.828	2,326	N.S.	.633	2,345	N.S.
Self Image-Conforming	.283	3,323	N.S.	.699	2,471	N.S.	.325	2,411	N.S.	.830	2,366	N.S.
Self Image-Sick	.042	3,323	N.S.	2.210	2,471	N.S.	1.388	2,411	N.S.	.202	2,366	N.S.
Self Image-Bad	.305	3,323	N.S.	1.624	2,471	N.S.	.020	2,411	N.S.	.520	2,366	N.S.
Self Image-Total	.020	3,323	N.S.	2.113	2,471	N.S.	.348	2,411	N.S.	.030	2,366	N.S.
Negative Attitudes Toward												
Deviance	3.298	3,323	p .05	1.394	2,471	N.S.	.456	2,411	N.S.	1.770	2,366	N.S.
Counterlabeling	.212	3,323	N.S.	3.107	2,471	p .05	.194	2,411	N.S.	4.357	2,366	p .05
Social Isolation-Peers	.611	3,323	N.S.	1.515	2,471	N.S.	2.166	2,411	N.S.	.050	2,366	N.S.
Social Isolation-Family	.652	3,314	N.S.	.219	2,458	N.S.	.417	2,402	N.S.	.133	2,364	N.S.
Social Isolation-School	.732	3,251	N.S.	1.555	2,393	N.S.	1.807	2,326	N.S.	1.520	2,345	N.S.
Positive Student-Teacher												
Relations	1.345	3,251	N.S.	2.726	2,393	N.S.	1.712	2,326	N.S.	.716	2,345	N.S.
Social Isolation-Total-												
Family, School, Peers	1.158	3,323	N.S.	.167	2,471	N.S.	1.032	2,411	N.S.	.400	2,366	N.S.
Parents Disapproval of Deviance	.286	3,314	N.S.	.352	2,458	N.S.	.364	2,402	N.S.	.375	2,364	N.S.
Peers Disapproval of Deviance	1.057	3,323	N.S.	1.105	2,471	N.S.	.182	2,411	N.S.	.298	2,366	N.S.
Delinquency of Peers	.874	3,323	N.S.	1.673	2,471	N.S.	2.820	2,411	N.S.	1.080	2,366	N.S.
Conformity of Peers	1.164	3,323	N.S.	.365	2,471	N.S.	1.098	2,411	N.S.	.833	2,366	N.S.
Commitment to Peers	1.565	3,323	N.S.	.668	2,471	N.S.	1.405	2,411	N.S.	.299	2,366	N.S.
Negative Influence of Peers	.962	3,323	N.S.	.216	2,471	N.S.	.099	2,411	N.S.	.722	2,366	N.S.
Serious Delinquency	.774	3,297	N.S.	2.962	2,467	N.S.	.218	2,411	N.S.	.872	2,335	N.S.
Minor Delinquency	1.973	3,297	N.S.	3.778	2,467	p .05	.920	2,411	N.S.	.762	2,335	N.S.
Alcohol & Drug Use	1.315	3,297	N.S.	1.446	2,467	N.S.	.596	2,411	N.S.	1.961	2,335	N.S.

numerous variables. It appears that the effects of the loss of large numbers of cases in Memphis were minor, minimally affecting the comparability of dispositional groups at the first interview period. Where there were effects, however, they were almost always in a more positive direction for Penetration youths.

In Orange County, three of the 58 comparisons proved to be statistically significant. Blacks were overrepresented in the Services category, proportionately more Penetration youths were not enrolled in school, and Services youths reported significantly less labelling as sick by their peers. A review of the scores for each variable indicates no overall trend of dissimilarity between groups at the first interview. In fact, the groups appear to be about as evenly matched at the first interview as would seem possible.

In New York City, three of the 58 comparisons were found to statistically differentiate between dispositional groups. Youths assigned to the Penetration group had more prior offenses, fewer of them reported that their families had received welfare assistance in the preceding six months, and as a group they reported less counterlabeling vis-a-vis the other groups. A review of all of the comparisons reveals no consistent trends in the differences among dispositional groups at the first interview period except for the self-reported delinquency measures. The self-reported delinquency data are consistent with the official measures of delinquency in terms of the directions of differences for Penetration youths, although no statistical differences between groups were found. Given the magnitude of the differences between groups in prior offenses, we must again suspect that the Penetration group may not be comparable to the others at the time of assignment.

IV. Impact Findings

A. Method of Analyses

To assess the impact of diversion as an alternative to traditional justice dispositions, comparisons were made between three groups of respondents. The three groups were formed by the random assignment of respondents to one of three treatment modalities - no services, diversion for services, and penetration into the justice system. Comparisons were made in terms of three contexts - negative labeling, social adjustment, and juvenile delinquency. Each context was treated independently. That is, the effect of the disposition on one context was assessed separately from the other two.

A particular strategy guided the tests of differences between the groups. First, to determine if there were changes in the dependent variables for different dispositions at different time periods, a two way analysis of variance - disposition by time period - was completed for each of the three contexts. Since dispositional groups were, by in large, similar on the dependent variables at the first measurement period, youths diverted for services were hypothesized to experience greater improvement on the dependent variables at subsequent measurement periods vis-a-vis the other two justice dispositions.

The two-way analysis of variance was followed by an analysis of variance on Time 3 data, including respondent characteristics (age, sex, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status) and disposition as the independent variables and the impact measures associated with each dimension as the dependent variables. Since the dispositional groups were comparable at the first measurement period on the dependent measures, differences among dispositions found at the third measurement period should be attributable to the experiences associated with the different dispositions.

An additional analysis of variance included the same independent variables, but compared changes in the dependent variables from the first to the third measurement periods. This analyses focused on raw change scores and attempted to determine if change occurred differentially for alternative dispositions controlling for age, sex, ethnicity, and SES.

These latter two analyses of variance permit tests for interaction between subject characteristics and the effects of treatment. That is, they address the question, "Is the impact of treatment related to age, sex, ethnicity, and SES?"

Finally, to assess the total differential impact of disposition, a summary multivariate analysis of variance was used to test differences on all three contexts simultaneously. These analyses thus represent the major techniques used to assess dispositional impact. Although there is redundancy among them, each is based on a slightly different set of independent variables, and the accumulative effect should offer a good test of this issue.

The methodology described above was conducted to examine the differential impact of diversion vs. traditional justice dispositions on (1) negative labeling, (2) social adjustment, and (3) delinquent behavior. These three areas of impact will be discussed in the following sections.

B. Negative Labeling

The first set of analyses was designed to answer the question, "Are youths diverted out of the justice system for services less stigmatized than those who are released with no services or who penetrate the justice system?" Two-way analyses of variance (disposition x time) were conducted for each of 19 labeling measures. These analyses assessed main effects of disposition and time as well as the interaction between them. The interaction effect was the major point of interest for the question posed here.

A review of the interaction effects illustrated in Table 2-15 indicates that disposition had very little differential effect upon the labeling experiences of the youths of the three justice dispositions at any of the sites. Careful consideration of the instances in which differences did occur (see Table 2-16) revealed no patterns or trends that support the concept behind diversion. On the basis of these data, the null hypothesis of no differences in labeling impact across different justice dispositions is accepted at each of the four impact sites.

The latter two analyses of variance (t_3 and t_3-t_1) were conducted on eight labeling measures (labeling "sick" and "bad" by parents, teachers, friends, and self) and one counterlabeling measure (counterlabeling - total). The findings of both tests were consistent with the interaction effects found for the two-way analyses of variance. Two main effects for disposition on Time 3 scores were found, one in Orange County and one in New York City. The effects were associated with different measures on different sites and were the result of different dispositions. The total number of statistically significant interaction effects between disposition and subject characteristics on Time 3 scores were no greater than would be expected by chance (eight out of 180 comparisons), and no patterns emerged to favor any particular disposition at any site. Three main effects were found for disposition in the comparison of change scores. In New York City youths receiving the Diversion for Services disposition reported large decreases in counterlabeling, while in Memphis the youths of the same disposition reported large increases in counterlabeling. Also in Memphis, Penetration youths had significant decreases in teacher labeling as "bad." Similar findings resulted from the analyses of variance for change scores when respondent characteristics

Table 2-15
Two-way Analysis of Variance: Disposition by Time Interactions for 19 Labeling Measures

	Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		New York City (John Jay-Transit)	
	F	DF	F	DF	F	DF	F	DF
Labeling Parents-Conforming	1.780	6,606	.611	4,908	.351	4,790	.094	4,726
Labeling Parents-Sick	.840	6,606	.448	4,908	1.857	4,790	.715	4,726
Labeling Parents-Bad	.353	6,606	.257	4,908	2.242	4,790	.627	4,726
Labeling Parents-Total	.871	6,606	.415	4,908	1.112	4,790	.702	4,726
Labeling Friends-Conforming	.675	6,592	1.662	4,884	.374	4,774	1.205	4,692
Labeling Friends-Sick	1.388	6,592	1.710	4,884	2.408*	4,774	.855	4,692
Labeling Friends-Bad	1.372	6,592	.716	4,884	1.642	4,774	.976	4,692
Labeling Friends-Total	1.945	6,592	1.588	4,884	2.570*	4,774	.953	4,692
Labeling Teachers-Conforming	.843	6,480	.500	4,766	1.175	4,642	.234	4,674
Labeling Teachers-Sick	.704	6,480	1.403	4,766	1.024	4,642	1.010	4,674
Labeling Teachers-Bad	1.136	6,480	2.614*	4,766	.146	4,642	.232	4,674
Labeling Teachers-Total	1.150	6,480	2.491*	4,766	.590	4,642	.428	4,674
Self Image-Conforming	1.302	6,634	.365	4,940	.206	4,822	.889	4,732
Self Image-Sick	1.233	6,634	.498	4,940	1.022	4,822	.708	4,732
Self Image-Bad	1.680	6,634	2.107	4,940	.121	4,822	1.298	4,732
Self Image-Total	1.227	6,634	1.844	4,940	.309	4,822	.564	4,732
Counterlabeling-Teachers	.561	6,480	2.349	4,766	.484	4,642	1.485	4,674
Counterlabeling-Friends	1.576	6,592	.861	4,884	2.237	4,774	2.269	4,692
Counterlabeling-Total	.590	6,634	4.209***	4,940	.493	4,822	3.673**	4,732

* p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.005

Table 2-16
Scale Means for Labeling Variables
with Statistically Significant Interaction Effects (d x t)

	No Services	Service	Penetration
Memphis - Negative Labeling Teachers - Bad			
First Interview	10.71	10.16	10.58
Second Interview	9.48	9.91	9.89
Third Interview	9.49	9.78	9.39
Memphis - Negative Labeling Teachers - Total			
First Interview	19.92	28.87	28.60
Second Interview	27.76	28.52	27.90
Third Interview	27.20	27.67	27.28
Memphis - Counterlabeling - Total			
First Interview	45.45	44.16	47.00
Second Interview	47.58	46.51	46.48
Third Interview	47.67	49.34	48.99
Orange County - Negative Labeling Friends - Sick			
First Interview	8.97	8.29	9.00
Second Interview	8.48	8.40	8.17
Third Interview	8.30	7.81	8.09
Orange County - Negative Labeling Friends - Total			
First Interview	24.71	23.92	25.03
Second Interview	23.63	23.93	22.99
Third Interview	22.67	22.45	22.66
New York City (John Jay-Transit) Counterlabeling - Total			
First Interview	47.33	48.66	45.14
Second Interview	49.67	48.34	48.11
Third Interview	50.06	47.18	47.00

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were controlled. Nine out of 180 interaction effects were found for disposition and demographic variables on the labeling measures, with no patterned effects supportive of the diversion for services hypothesis.

It would appear, on the basis of these analyses, that justice disposition did not differentially affect the subsequent labeling experiences of the youths of this study.

C. Social Adjustment

The first test completed to assess the effects of disposition on social adjustment measures began with the same two-way analysis of variance techniques described above, testing the interaction of time (three measurement periods) with disposition (lecture and release, diversion, penetration) for each of 22 social adjustment measures. The outcome of the tests associated with the hypothesis, "Youths diverted out of the justice system for services will experience more positive social adjustment than will youths lectured and released or referred for penetration," are illustrated in Table 2-17.

Twelve of the 88 tests produced statistically significant interaction effects (see Table 2-18). Three of the effects in Kansas City were the result of at least one of the Diverted for Services groups reporting more negative scores on social adjustment than their counterparts in the other dispositions, and two of the effects appear to be due to extreme positive scores by Lectured and Released youths. The significant effects in Memphis appear to result from decreasing scores in the Lectured and Released and Penetration groups and increasing scores for the Diverted youths. In New York City the differences were due to the relatively stable or improved scores by Lectured and Released youths compared with deteriorating scores for Diverted for Services and, in one case, Penetration youths. Overall, no trends or patterns emerged supportive of the diversion hypothesis.

Table 2-17
Two-Way Analysis of Variance, Disposition Time Interaction
for 22 Social Adjustment Measures

	Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		New York City (John Jay-Transit)	
	F	DF	F	DF	F	DF	F	DF
Importance of Family Goals	.696	6,606	.684	4,908	.646	4,790	.606	4,726
Importance of School Goals	1.320	6,480	3.589**	4,766	1.015	4,642	1.091	4,674
Importance of Peer Goals	2.318*	6,592	.279	4,884	.390	4,774	1.117	4,692
Importance of Goals - Total	2.598*	6,634	2.492*	4,940	.649	4,822	.564	4,732
Success of Family	.324	6,606	.277	4,908	.886	4,790	3.902	4,726
Success in School	.299	6,480	.636	4,766	.991	4,642	2.164	4,674
Success with Peers	1.818	6,592	1.948	4,884	1.441	4,744	1.261	4,692
Success - Total	.727	6,634	.906	4,940	1.857	4,822	4.553	4,732
Commitment to Parents	.902	6,606	.102	4,908	.215	4,790	1.269	4,726
Normlessness	.666	6,634	.765	4,940	.301	4,822	1.669	4,732
Neg. Attitude toward Deviance	1.411	6,634	1.103	4,940	1.119	4,822	1.268	4,732
Social Isolation - Peers	.278	6,592	.379	4,884	2.063	4,774	1.182	4,692
Social Isolation - Family	1.403	6,606	1.242	4,908	2.089	4,790	.232	4,726
Social Isolation - School	.512	6,480	1.352	4,766	1.074	4,642		
Student-Teacher Relations	3.302***	6,480	1.037	4,766	.313	4,642		
Social Isolation - Total	1.248	6,634	.341	4,940	1.360	4,822	.820	4,732
Parent Disapproval of Deviance	.830	6,606	1.424	4,908	1.040	4,790	.848	4,726
Peers Disapproval of Deviance	2.425*	6,592	2.023	4,884	.262	4,774	1.794	4,692
Delinquency of Peers	2.809*	6,592	1.784	4,884	.762	4,774	.790	4,692
Conformity of Peers	1.374	6,592	1.804	4,884	1.255	4,774	.840	4,692
Commitment to Peers	.986	6,592	.127	4,884	.735	4,774	3.051*	4,692
Neg. Influence of Peers	2.231*	6,592	.528	4,884	1.173	4,774	3.192*	4,692

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .005$

Table 2-18
Social Adjustment Scale Means for Variables
with Statistically Significant Interaction Effects (d x t)

	No Services	Service (RFY)	Penetration	Services (YSU)
Kansas City - Importance of Peer Goals				
First Interview	13.91	13.39	13.47	13.29
Second Interview	13.29	13.22	13.03	13.79
Third Interview	13.39	12.08	13.62	13.45
Kansas City - Importance of Goals - Total				
First Interview	56.31	54.34	56.72	54.83
Second Interview	56.98	55.04	56.59	55.03
Third Interview	56.44	51.05	56.76	54.85
Kansas City - Positive Student- Teacher Relations				
First Interview	30.73	31.40	30.63	29.37
Second Interview	32.02	31.76	31.87	30.77
Third Interview	33.02	30.34	31.74	31.66
Kansas City - Peer Disapproval of Deviance				
First Interview	29.81	28.38	31.36	30.45
Second Interview	31.84	31.17	29.48	30.34
Third Interview	31.86	29.82	29.33	29.95
Kansas City - Delinquency of Peers				
First Interview	21.69	24.07	22.50	23.50
Second Interview	21.27	22.54	22.34	23.04
Third Interview	20.96	22.85	22.66	23.27
Kansas City - Negative Influence of Peers				
First Interview	22.17	22.18	21.08	22.05
Second Interview	19.27	21.33	20.34	21.30
Third Interview	18.96	20.74	19.74	21.24

Table 2-18 Continued

	No Service	Services	Penetration
Memphis - Importance of School Goals			
First Interview	20.96	20.40	21.51
Second Interview	21.02	20.87	20.52
Third Interview	20.63	21.39	20.95
Memphis - Importance of Goals - Total			
First Interview	57.95	56.83	58.29
Second Interview	56.27	56.89	56.08
Third Interview	56.04	57.62	56.62
New York City (John Jay-Transit) Commitment to Peers			
First Interview	18.41	18.86	18.64
Second Interview	18.59	18.46	18.64
Third Interview	18.77	17.77	17.97
New York City (John Jay-Transit) Negative Influence of Peers			
First Interview	21.01	21.26	21.61
Second Interview	20.14	21.48	21.47
Third Interview	20.63	21.80	20.23

Additional analyses focusing upon tests for differences among dispositions at the third measurement period and for change scores from the first to the third interviews were conducted for 11 social adjustment measures. These measures were selected from the original set of social adjustment variables on the basis of their completeness and representativeness: Importance of Goals - Total, Success in Achieving Goals - Total, Commitment to Parents, Normlessness, Negative Attitudes toward Deviance, Social Isolation - Total, Student-Teacher Relations, Parental Disapproval of Deviance, Peer Disapproval of Deviance, Delinquency of Peers, and Commitment to Peers (see Appendix B).

Analyses were completed at each site to test for differences between dispositions at the last measurement period. Two main effects for disposition were found in Kansas City, none in Memphis or Orange County, and five in New York City. Both instances in which main effects were encountered in Kansas City resulted from a lack of improvement in scores in the Diversion for Services groups. In New York City, all five of the effects for disposition were primarily due to improvement in scores for the Lectured and Released group and the decline in scores of those in the Diverted for Services group. In spite of the numerous differences found in Time 3 scores by disposition, positive support for the diversion hypothesis was not obtained. The analyses directed at assessing the interaction between disposition and respondent characteristics at the third measurement period revealed, again, no patterned results. Eight out of 176 tests for interaction effects proved to be statistically significant across 11 measures. No interaction effect was found for any single measure in more than one site.

The tests associated with the analyses of change scores were consistent with earlier findings. Three main disposition effects were found that were

consistent with the interaction effects associated with the two-way analysis of variance at all three time periods. That is, the main effect for disposition always showed improving scores for Lectured and Released youths and declining scores for the Diversion for Service youths. The tests for the effects of respondent characteristics confirmed earlier findings. Only seven out of the 176 tests for interaction were significant, and no patterns emerged in the data.

Comparisons of single item social adjustment measures (e.g., respondent GPA, enrollment in school, job status) by disposition were also completed, using chi square contingency analysis for youths interviewed at all three time periods. These data were consistent with the two-way analyses of variance and supported the findings that alternative justice dispositions did not have a significant differential impact on the social adjustment experiences of the youths surveyed.

All of the analyses associated with assessing the differential impact of disposition on a variety of social adjustment variables point to one conclusion - youths diverted for services at the four impact sites studied did not experience more positive social adjustment on the variables measured than did youths in the other dispositions.

D. Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency was assessed two ways. First, youths were asked at each interview period to report how often they had engaged in a specified array of delinquent acts during the preceding six months. A self-reported measure of delinquency was thus acquired. Second, justice records were searched to ascertain not only the number of police contacts participants experienced after entering the study (recidivism), but also the number of

police contacts participants had experienced before entering the study (prior offense history).

1. Self-Reported Delinquency

Self-reported delinquency was assessed by a set of 35 items. Each item referred to a specific delinquent activity. The respondents were asked how many times in the past six months they had done each of these things. The number of times was recorded, unless it exceeded 12; in that case respondents chose from among six response categories.

In forming indices of self-reported delinquency, our need was to reliably order individuals for the degree of their involvement in delinquent activities. The first step in forming indices was to choose a method of scoring individual items. An obvious possibility is to use the simple frequency of each act as a score. Preliminary analyses indicated that such an approach has severe drawbacks. Correlations among individual items were much lower than with other scoring approaches, and the pattern of correlations had no conceptual coherence.

These problems arise because frequency scoring heavily weights the very few highest scores. For example, consider youths who committed thefts every day, every other day, once a month, or never. For a six month period, these rates of activity would correspond to frequencies of 163, 81, 6 and 0, respectively. The difference between once a day and once every other day is more than 13 times as large as the difference between once a month and never. Distinctions among individuals with low and moderate rates of involvement are masked by the emphasis on high rates.

Instead of frequency scoring, responses were recorded into 10 categories as shown in Table 2-19. This scoring system results in a more balanced

Table 2-19
Category Scoring of Self Reports of Delinquency

Response to "How many times in the last six months have you...?"	Category Value
None	0
One	1
Two	2
Three or Four	3
Five through Seven	4
Eight through Twelve	5
Three or Four Times a Month	6
Once a week	7
Two to Three Times a Week and Four to Five Times a Week	8
Once a Day and Two to Three Times a Day	9

representation of high and low rates of delinquency by making finer distinctions among lower rates of delinquency while still including several categories at the high end of the scale. This scoring system resulted in a more coherent pattern of correlations among the items.

We proceeded through two stages in grouping the items into indices. First, items were clustered into the small groups shown in Table 2-20 on the basis of their conceptual similarity. These groupings were primarily used as a basis for forming more comprehensive indices. Scores for each small grouping were calculated by summing across items. The comprehensive indices are composites of the small groupings. By weighting scores for each small grouping inversely to their standard deviation, it was possible to equalize the contribution of each grouping to the variances of the final measures. By using the two-stage approach, we were able to see that several aspects of delinquency were well-represented in our indices, despite differing numbers of items on various subjects and differing rates of occurrence.

We used three comprehensive indices of self-reported delinquency. The Serious Delinquency scale was comprised of serious assault, robbery, and serious theft; the Minor Delinquency scale was comprised of minor assault, minor theft, damaging property, and public disorder; and the Drug Involvement scale was comprised of involvement with hard drugs, marijuana, and alcohol (see Table 2-21 for scale properties).

Finally, it was discovered that skewness in these indices presented some problems in the use of the standard least-squares statistics because groups with differing means tended to have different variances. A logarithmic transformation (the natural log of the scale value plus one) greatly reduced this problem while increasing test-retest correlations and correlations to theoretically related variables.

Table 2-20
Conceptual Clusters of Self-Reported Delinquency Items

Felony Assault

1. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her
2. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will
3. been involved in gang fights

Minor Assault

1. hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school
2. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents
3. hit (or threatened to hit) other students

Robbery

1. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other students
2. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school
3. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other people (not students or teachers)

Felony Theft

1. stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle
2. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than \$50
3. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around

Minor Theft

1. knowingly bought, sold or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)
2. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth \$5 or less
3. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food
4. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between \$5 and ^ 0

Damaging Property

1. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members
2. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school
3. purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property)

Public Disorder

1. thrown objects (other than snowballs), such as rocks or bottles, at cars or people
2. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife
3. been loud, rowdy or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)
4. been drunk in a public place
5. begged for money or things from strangers
6. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things

Hard Drugs

1. used hallucinogens
2. used amphetamines
3. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD
4. used barbiturates
5. used heroin
6. used cocaine

Marijuana

1. used marijuana
2. sold marijuana or hashish

Alcohol

1. used alcoholic beverages
 2. bought or provided liquor for a minor
-

Table 2-21
Self-Report Delinquency Scales and Their Reliabilities
for First Interview Period

Subscale	Number of Items	Reliability
Small Scales		
Serious Assault	3	.370
Minor Assault	3	.528
Robbery	3	.614
Serious Theft	3	.550
Minor Theft	4	.667
Damaging Property	3	.756
Public Disorder	6	.592
Hard Drugs	6	.746
Marijuana	2	----
Alcohol	2	----
Composite Scales		
Serious	9	.676
Minor	16	.825
Drugs	10	.757

The first assessments for the effect of disposition on the delinquent activity of youths involved two-way analyses of variance tests with disposition and time as the independent variables and self-reported delinquency as the dependent variable. The focus was upon the interaction of disposition and self-reported delinquency scores. The results of the tests are shown in Table 2-22.

The data in Table 2-22 indicate that in three of the four sites no significant interaction effects were found. In Memphis, where Penetration youths were less delinquent to begin with, two differences were found and, in both instances, Penetration youths began with much less self-reported delinquency and then moved toward the levels of the other two groups for second and third measurements (see Table 2-23). The results of this analysis of self-reported delinquency provide no real support for the hypothesis that youths diverted for services experience greater decreases in delinquent behavior than do lectured and released or penetrating youths.

The analyses of variance testing for the direct effects of disposition as well as the interaction between respondent characteristics and disposition at the third data wave resulted in one significant interaction out of 48 tests and no main effects for disposition. The same tests on change scores resulted in three significant interactions out of 48 tests - one for sex and disposition, one for age and disposition, and one for ethnicity and disposition - each at a different site. One main effect for disposition was found in Memphis indicating that youths in the Penetration group experienced less reduction in serious self-reported delinquency than did youths in the Lectured and Released or Diversion for Services groups.

The overall findings from the analyses of justice disposition and self-reported delinquency were consistent and relatively unambiguous.

Table 2-22
Disposition by Time Interactions
for 10 Self-Reported Delinquency Measures

	Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		New York City	
	F	DF	F	DF	F	DF	F	DF
Serious Assault	.169	6,592	.306	4,934	.596	4,822	1.094	4,670
Minor Assault	1.927	6,528	1.655	4,772	1.324	4,668	.688	4,550
Robbery	.578	6,528	2.426*	4,772	1.097	4,668	.991	4,550
Serious Theft	.770	6,592	.626	4,934	1.320	4,822	1.484	4,670
Minor Theft	.352	6,592	2.506*	4,934	.256	4,822	.767	4,670
Damaging Property	.877	6,592	1.475	4,934	.550	4,822	1.102	4,670
Public Disorder	.495	6,592	.816	4,934	1.169	4,822	.777	4,670
Hard Drugs	1.173	6,592	.205	4,934	.491	4,822	1.132	4,670
Marijuana	1.282	6,592	1.139	4,934	.118	4,822	.902	4,670
Alcohol	1.721	6,592	.582	4,934	.240	4,822	.258	4,670

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 2-23
Self-Reported Delinquency Subscale Means Variable
with Statistically Significant Interaction Effects (d x t)

	No Services	Services	Penetration
Memphis - Robbery			
First Interview	.895	.996	.234
Second Interview	.356	.500	.207
Third Interview	.250	.460	.509
Memphis - Minor Theft			
First Interview	6.43	5.27	4.72
Second Interview	2.75	2.88	2.52
Third Interview	1.85	1.99	1.90

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Diversion from the juvenile justice system to services did not appear to result in less involvement in delinquent activities for Diverted for Services youths than Lectured and Released or Penetration youths in any of the sites. The self-reported delinquency data suggest, rather, that diverting youths for community-based services in the systems surveyed had no more impact on reducing subsequent involvement in delinquent activity than did referring youths on to the next step in the justice system or letting them go without liability. Additionally, age, sex, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status did not appear to systematically interact with disposition for the self-reported delinquency measures used. On the basis of these measures it must be concluded that diversion for services on the four impact sites reviewed were no more effective in reducing delinquent behavior than were traditional justice dispositions.

2. Official Recidivism

In an effort to assess official reaction to delinquent behavior, searches of official records for police apprehensions of youths were obtained for all youths defined as eligible for the study regardless of whether they agreed to participate. Recidivism analyses were completed on the total population of youths randomly assigned to justice disposition as well as on youths for whom all three interviews were obtained. Analysis with the total youth population was deemed to be the more powerful test, as it involved a larger sample of youths and was free of possible biases resulting from both the initial and across time losses of youths.

Official recidivism was divided into two measures - simple and multiple. The former represents a dichotomy of repeat and nonrepeat offenders while the latter is a trichotomy of offenders, with participants divided into groups on

the basis of the frequency with which they were apprehended for law violations (0, 1, and 2 or more apprehensions) occurring after the offense that introduced youths to the study. Offenses were also divided into status, misdemeanor, and felony categories. Categorization was completed on the basis of the individual definitions and practices of the communities involved.

Chi-square tests for differences between dispositions for simple recidivism for the total target population on each impact site resulted in two significant effects for six-month comparisons and none for 12-month comparisons (see Tables 2-24 to 2-27). In New York City more Penetration youths were rearrested for status-misdemeanor-felony offenses than were youths in the other dispositions. In Memphis more repeat felony offenders were from the Lectured and Released group compared with the Penetration group, which had the fewest repeat offenders. In all instances the differences disappeared within one year of random assignment to disposition. Chi-square analyses for multiple recidivism¹⁰ indicate a similar pattern (see Tables 2-28 to 2-30). A significant main effect for disposition was found in Memphis and New York City at six-month comparisons for misdemeanor-felony, and status-misdemeanor-felony offenses respectively, both of which disappeared by the 12-month comparisons for recidivism.

It will be recalled that comparisons among dispositions for official prior offenses (pre-study) reported in the loss section indicated that in New York City, Penetration youths were found to have had greater pre-study involvement

¹⁰Multiple recidivism was not calculated for Orange County due to the limited numbers of youths in all dispositions having more than one repeated offense.

Table 2-24
Simple Recidivism - 6 and 12 Months Following Presenting Offense
Kansas City Total Sample

		No Services		Svc. (RFY)		Penetration		Svc. (YSU)	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
STATUS - MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES									
6 Months	No Arrests	52	(55)	65	(65)	63	(59)	70	(62)
	Arrests	43	(45)	35	(35)	44	(41)	52	(46)
		X ² = 2.335		df = 3		N.S.			
12 Months	No Arrests	41	(43)	55	(55)	51	(48)	60	(54)
	Arrests	54	(57)	45	(45)	56	(52)	52	(46)
		X ² = 3.584		df = 3		N.S.			
MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES									
6 Months	No Arrests	61	(64)	65	(65)	67	(63)	75	(67)
	Arrests	34	(36)	35	(35)	40	(37)	37	(33)
		X ² = .469		df = 3		N.S.			
12 Months	No Arrests	50	(53)	55	(55)	58	(54)	65	(58)
	Arrests	45	(47)	45	(45)	49	(46)	47	(42)
		X ² = .659		df = 3		N.S.			
FELONIES									
6 Months	No Arrests	74	(78)	79	(79)	84	(78)	93	(83)
	Arrests	21	(22)	21	(21)	23	(22)	19	(17)
		X ² = 1.087		df		N.S.			
12 Months	No Arrests	72	(76)	68	(68)	79	(74)	86	(77)
	Arrests	23	(24)	32	(32)	28	(26)	26	(23)
		X ² = .659		df = 3		N.S.			

Table 2-25
Simple Recidivism - 6 and 12 Months Following Presenting Offense
Memphis Total Sample

		No Services		Services		Penetration	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
STATUS - MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	259	(75)	232	(78)	257	(78)
	Arrests	85	(25)	66	(22)	72	(22)
		$X^2 = .921$		df = 2		N.S.	
12 Months	No Arrests	229	(67)	201	(67)	221	(67)
	Arrests	115	(33)	97	(33)	108	(33)
		$X^2 = .06$		df = 2		N.S.	
MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	267	(78)	236	(79)	266	(81)
	Arrests	77	(22)	62	(21)	63	(19)
		$X^2 = 1.068$		df = 2		N.S.	
12 Months	No Arrests	239	(70)	209	(70)	229	(70)
	Arrests	105	(30)	89	(30)	100	(30)
		$X^2 = .036$		df = 2		N.S.	
FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	295	(86)	265	(89)	303	(92)
	Arrests	49	(14)	33	(11)	26	(8)
		$X^2 = 6.842$		df = 2		p<.05	
12 Months	No Arrests	276	(80)	241	(81)	275	(84)
	Arrests	68	(20)	57	(19)	54	(16)
		$X^2 = 1.395$		df = 2		N.S.	

Table 2-26
Simple Recidivism - 6 and 12 Months Following Presenting Offense
Orange County Total Sample

		No Services		Services		Penetration	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
STATUS - MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	188	(87)	213	(90)	192	(89)
	Arrests	28	(13)	23	(10)	24	(11)
		$X^2 = 1.176$		df = 2		N.S.	
12 Months	No Arrests	178	(82)	190	(80)	178	(82)
	Arrests	38	(18)	46	(20)	38	(18)
		$X^2 = .369$		df = 2		N.S.	
MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	189	(88)	216	(92)	193	(89)
	Arrests	27	(12)	20	(8)	23	(11)
		$X^2 = 1.958$		df = 2		N.S.	
12 Months	No Arrests	180	(83)	194	(82)	179	(83)
	Arrests	36	(17)	42	(18)	37	(17)
		$X^2 = .103$		df = 2		N.S.	
FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	205	(95)	233	(99)	208	(96)
	Arrests	11	(5)	3	(1)	8	(4)
		$X^2 = 5.340$		df = 2		N.S.	
12 Months	No Arrests	200	(93)	222	(94)	199	(92)
	Arrests	16	(7)	14	(6)	17	(8)
		$X^2 = .715$		df = 2		N.S.	

Table 2-27
Simple Recidivism - 6 and 12 Months Following Presenting Offense
New York City (John Jay-Transit) Total Sample*

		No Services		Services		Penetration	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
STATUS - MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	161	(83)	153	(85)	112	(74)
	Arrests	32	(17)	27	(15)	40	(26)
$\chi^2 = 7.930$ df = 2 p < .05							
12 Months	No Arrests	148	(77)	135	(75)	100	(66)
	Arrests	45	(23)	45	(25)	52	(34)
$\chi^2 = 5.697$ df = 2 N.S.							
MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	161	(83)	153	(85)	112	(74)
	Arrests	32	(17)	27	(15)	40	(26)
$\chi^2 = 7.930$ df = 2 p < .05							
12 Months	No Arrests	148	(77)	135	(75)	100	(66)
	Arrests	45	(23)	45	(25)	52	(34)
$\chi^2 = 5.697$ df = 2 N.S.							
FELONIES							
6 Months	No Arrests	174	(90)	164	(91)	129	(85)
	Arrests	19	(10)	16	(9)	23	(15)
$\chi^2 = 3.718$ df = 2 N.S.							
12 Months	No Arrests	163	(84)	149	(83)	120	(79)
	Arrests	30	(16)	31	(17)	32	(21)
$\chi^2 = 1.816$ df = 2 N.S.							

Table 2-28
Multiple Recidivism - 6 and 12 Months Following Presenting Offense
Kansas City Total Sample

Months	Number of Arrests	No Services		Services (RFY)		Penetration		Services (YSU)	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
STATUS - MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES									
6 Months	0	52	(55)	65	(65)	63	(59)	70	(62)
	1	26	(27)	25	(25)	26	(24)	23	(20)
	2+	17	(18)	10	(10)	18	(17)	19	(17)
$\chi^2 = 4.607$ df = 6 N.S.									
12 Months	0	41	(43)	55	(55)	51	(48)	60	(54)
	1	27	(28)	22	(22)	27	(25)	22	(20)
	2+	27	(28)	23	(23)	29	(27)	30	(27)
$\chi^2 = 4.306$ df = 6 N.S.									
MISDEMEANORS - FELONIES									
6 Months	0	61	(64)	65	(65)	67	(63)	75	(67)
	1	22	(23)	27	(27)	27	(25)	22	(20)
	2+	12	(13)	8	(8)	13	(12)	15	(13)
$\chi^2 = 3.065$ df = 6 N.S.									
12 Months	0	50	(53)	55	(55)	58	(54)	65	(58)
	1	23	(24)	25	(25)	28	(26)	22	(20)
	2+	22	(23)	20	(20)	21	(20)	25	(22)
$\chi^2 = 1.861$ df = 6 N.S.									
FELONIES									
6 Months	0	74	(78)	79	(79)	84	(78)	93	(83)
	1	14	(15)	18	(18)	19	(18)	11	(10)
	2+	7	(7)	3	(3)	4	(4)	8	(7)
$\chi^2 = 6.341$ df = 6 N.S.									
12 Months	0	72	(76)	68	(68)	79	(74)	86	(77)
	1	11	(12)	22	(22)	22	(21)	14	(12)
	2+	12	(13)	10	(10)	6	(6)	12	(11)
$\chi^2 = 8.792$ df = 6 N.S.									

*No Status offenders where included in the sample in New York City

Table 2-29
Multiple Recidivism - 6 and 12 Months Following Presenting Offense
Memphis Total Sample

Table 2-30
Multiple Recidivism - 6 and 12 months Following Presenting Offense
New York City (John Jay-Transit) Total Sample

with the police than their counterparts in the other dispositions. The integrity of the random assignment process was thus questioned, as it appeared that the more serious offenders (at least in terms of prior police history) may have been disproportionately assigned to the Penetration group. Given this possibility, the analysis of covariance technique was used to control for prior offenses.

Inasmuch as we were aware of initial differences between groups in New York City on prior offenses, a control for offense history was required to determine if post-test differences were merely the result of differences in prior offense histories. This is of obvious concern, given the high correlation between prior police history and the commission of new offenses. An analysis of covariance with prior offense as a covariate was thus initiated. Age, sex, and ethnicity were also included as covariates.

The comparison of justice disposition for recidivism outcome at six and 12 months after presenting offense (adjusting for age, sex, ethnicity, and total number of prior offenses) was completed for all youth initially assigned to the three experimental groups. A similar analysis was completed for youth remaining for all three interviews. The results of tests using the former data set indicate that the differences found among dispositions in New York City for simple and multiple recidivism at six months disappeared when age, sex, ethnicity, and prior offenses were controlled. It appears that the earlier differences found in New York City were due to differences between the groups at the outset of the study rather than to any experiences youths may have had as a result of their justice dispositions. The early differences and patterns found in Memphis for felony offenders at six months were maintained, but the misdemeanor-felony distinction at six months disappeared.

In Orange County a main effect for disposition appeared for the six-month measure of felony recidivism. Released youths had the highest number of repeat offenses while the Penetration and Service youths had the least. No other main effects for disposition were found for any of the other recidivism comparisons controlling for age, sex, ethnicity, and prior offenses at six and 12 months after the presenting offense. The same analysis for youths interviewed at all three time periods produced almost identical findings. The test for the main effect of dispositions on felony recidivism in Memphis was statistically significant and thus consistent with all prior analyses for this variable. The main effect for felony offenders at six months in Orange County, however, disappeared.

The collective results of the official recidivism analyses do not support the hypothesis that diversion services foster a decrease in delinquent behavior. The evidence suggests that in Memphis youths in the Penetration group engaged in fewer felonies six months after entering the study than did their counterparts in the other dispositions. This finding held after controlling for age, sex, ethnicity, and prior offenses. Even this finding, consistent across all six-month comparisons for recidivism, disappeared within 12 months after the presenting offense, as did the few other differences found earlier. By 12 months after the presenting offense, not one main effect for disposition was found across all offense categories. The results of the tests for the effects of disposition on recidivism using official return rates are rather compelling, suggesting that justice disposition appears to have had no effect in reducing recidivism on the four impact sites in which comparisons were made.

The findings associated with the tests for the dispositional effects of self-reported delinquency and official recidivism were consistent and mutually

supportive in affirming that diverting youths out of the justice system for services did not, for the four sites reviewed, result in either less involvement in delinquent activity (self-reported) or reduce the extent to which youths were apprehended for illegal acts (official recidivism). For the youths in these four sites, the disposition of diversion for services was no more effective in reducing delinquency and further contact with the juvenile justice system than was penetration into the system or release and no services.

E. Summary Measure

The answers to the questions posed at the outset of this section relative to the role that justice disposition plays in reducing negative labeling, promoting social adjustment, and lessening involvement in delinquent activities and official recidivism, were detailed above and were found to be consistent. The results of a variety of analyses all indicated that diversion services were no more effective in producing positive attitudes, conforming behavior, and constructive environments than were dispositions that have traditionally been available to justice personnel. The evidence was relatively uniform across analyses and constant across topics. Before these rather negative findings were accepted, however, one final attempt to reject the null hypothesis of no differences was initiated.

The multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used as a summary to test for the effects of disposition, controlling for age, sex, ethnicity, and SES on a composite of impact variables including labeling, social adjustment, and self-reported delinquency. The MANOVA was selected as a summary analytical technique because it allows for the treatment of more than one dependent variable at a time. The MANOVA is a powerful method for summarizing effects on multiple dependent variables since the relationships among

variables are often complex. A better assessment of effect may therefore be obtained through a multivariate test as opposed to a series of univariate analyses.

In preparation for the use of the MANOVA, all of the original measures used to assess labeling, social adjustment, and self-reported delinquency were considered in the selection of the measures to be included in the analyses. Of the original measures, 19 were selected for the MANOVA composite. This was done for a variety of reasons. First, the MANOVA program is limited in the number of variables that can be simultaneously treated depending upon the design configuration associated with particular analyses.

Second, many of the measures used in the two-way analysis of variance were redundant both in terms of face validity and shared variance. A number of measures were therefore combined to form more comprehensive measures and to reduce redundancy. For example, the summary measure, The Importance of Conventional Goals - Total, was used in place of three individual subscales: Importance of Goals - Family, Importance of Goals - School, and Importance of Goals - Peers. Negative labeling by parents, friends, and teachers as Conforming, Sick, and Bad were collapsed into three measures focusing upon labeling content as opposed to the source of the labeling, providing summary negative labeling scales for Conforming, Sick, and Bad labeling contexts. The variations in Counterlabeling (mother, father, teachers, friends) were dropped in favor of a summary counterlabeling measure. Social Isolation was similarly dealt with. The self-reported delinquency subscales were collapsed into three scales indicative of involvement in three levels of illegal activity: Serious Delinquency, Minor Delinquency, and Drug Use.

Third, inasmuch as many of the youths participating in the research were

from single parent families or were often not enrolled in school, many questions involving family and school were not answered. In instances of excessive missing data, scales were dropped (e.g., parental harmony and conflict) and in others, summary scales were substituted (e.g., counterlabeling). Finally, measures with poor psychometric scale properties (e.g., negative influence of peers) were dropped from the pool of scales. The final 19 measures were thought to fairly represent the original measures and also constitute a more parsimonious set of measures upon which to conduct a final assessment for the impact of disposition on the social adjustment experiences of youths. (See Table 2-11 for the list of 19 variables.)

The multivariate significance test used as a summary assessment reflects the probability of mean differences in dispositional groups that were obtained across an entire set of dependent variables. In this analysis, the multivariate significance test was used as the criterion test to signify the presence or absence of dispositional differences. If the multivariate test did not indicate significant differences, dispositional groups were considered equal, regardless of univariate results. If a significant multivariate result was obtained, groups were then compared on those variables for which the largest differences existed.

Age, sex, ethnicity, and Time 1 interview data were used as covariates as a hedge against the integrity of random assignment outcomes and to increase the precision of the comparative tests. Second period impact measures (six months after assignment) were assessed for dispositional differences, controlling for initial scores as well as age, sex, and ethnicity on all four impact sites. These analyses were repeated for Time 3 scores (12 months after arrest), controlling for Time 1 scores.

Of the eight assessments for multiple variate effects, the only differences found were for Kansas City. In order to determine which variables in the composite were contributing the most in differentiating between dispositions for the multivariate tests in Kansas City, the univariate tests accompanying the MANOVA were studied. The adjusted cell means (adjusted for Time 1 data as well as age, sex, and ethnicity) for those univariate tests which proved to be marginally significant ($p < .10$) were analyzed to determine if youths diverted for services were characterized by more positive outcomes than were youths in other dispositions (see Table 2-31). The adjusted cell means were provided for both measurement periods when measures in one period were found to be statistically significant.

The review of the univariate tests associated with the MANOVAs at the second and third measurement periods covarying out first wave data provide no support for the hypothesis supportive of diversion. While there is a slight trend favoring Lectured and Released youths and disfavoring Services (YSU) youths, the actual magnitude of the difference are often small. Given the large samples used in this study and the power involved in the MANOVA to identify differences among groups even when such differences are small, these data suggest that there is little reason to suppose that alternative justice dispositions have differential impact upon the subsequent behavior of youths and little evidence upon which to accept diversion for services as being more productive in this regard than is releasing or referring youths on into the justice system. The conclusion that must be drawn from all of these particular impact data is that the process of assigning youths to a diversion for services disposition, as opposed to releasing or referring them to the

Table 2-31
Multivariate and Univariate Tests for the Effects of Disposition on Selected Variables
Kansas City

Scale	t ₂ cov t ₁						t ₃ cov t ₁					
	Univariate		Adjusted Cell Means				Univariate		Adjusted Cell Means			
	F	Sig	No Services	Services (RFY)	Pen	Services (YSU)	F	Sig	No Services	Services (RFY)	Pen	Services (YSU)
Commitment to Parents	2.801	p .05	21.59	21.76	22.48	21.32	1.837	p .10	21.98	21.28	21.92	21.30
Importance of Conventional Goals	.831	p .45	56.92	55.91	56.20	55.05	5.922	p .005	55.79	50.77	55.94	54.45
Self Image - Bad	2.588	p .10	10.03	10.14	9.22	10.46	2.362	p .10	8.60	9.32	9.32	9.85
Parental Disapproval of Deviance	2.334	p .10	41.71	40.48	41.02	41.82	.554	p .60	41.56	41.14	41.90	41.55
Peer Disapproval of Deviance	5.577	p .001	30.37	31.65	27.52	28.91	3.399	p .05	32.44	30.71	28.17	28.93
Drug and Alcohol Involvement	2.783	p .05	1.20	1.13	1.48	1.27	2.866	p .05	1.23	1.16	1.49	1.40
Delinquency of Peers	1.749	p .15	21.28	22.57	23.35	23.52	3.851	p .05	20.61	22.32	23.46	24.02

Multivariate Tests for 19 Dependent Variables:

	t ₂ cov t ₁	t ₃ cov t ₁
Wilk's Lambda	.72719	.70280
Approximate F	1.49985	1.63730
d.f.	57,758	57,743
Significance	p<.05	p<.005

next stage in the judicial process, had relatively no differential impact for subsequent labeling, social adjustment, self-reported delinquency, and official recidivism at the four sites reviewed.

Chapter 3

THE IMPACT OF SERVICES

I. Introduction

The preceding chapter considered the question of whether outcomes - changes in social adjustment, labeling, and delinquent behavior - differed for youths assigned to different dispositions: diversion without services, diversion with services, and penetration into the juvenile justice system. The present chapter asks whether outcomes differ for youths who receive services (through either diversion projects or community-based agencies in general) as compared with those who do not. Although kindred, the two inquiries are not identical, since assignment to a disposition is only imperfectly related to the "treatment" that a youth ultimately receives. That is, assignment to diversion with services is no guarantee that services will be delivered, assignment to diversion without services does not preclude obtaining services on one's own, etc. By setting dispositional assignment aside, the analysis in the present chapter more directly addresses the fundamental question of whether services per se have an impact on client outcomes.

The data collected in the National Evaluation offer two approaches to the problem. First, information about client services was culled from project records for all interviewed youths assigned to diversion with services. This made it possible to compare groups of clients that differ in the amount and kind of project service they have received. Second, youths assigned to all three dispositions were asked to describe their service experiences in the

second and third wave questionnaires. Similar comparisons were made based on these respondent self-reports.

The two approaches make use of two different sources of information about services, each with its own biases and imprecision. The accuracy of project records suffers from the contradictions inherent in having a service agency collect research data; the accuracy of clients' self-reports suffers from imperfect memory and confusion about the kind of agency providing the service. Although they deal with different samples, describe somewhat different kinds of services, and cover somewhat different time periods, the two sources offer the opportunity to corroborate findings of services impact obtained from either. We hoped that, for a given site, the project records of services and client reports of services would be similarly related to youth outcomes.

II. Method of Analysis

The basic analyses to assess the impact of services are comparisons of outcome between a group of respondents that has received services and a group that has not, or between a group that has received a particular kind of services and a group that has not. Unlike the impact of diversion analysis in which the initial comparability of groups was reasonably assured by the random assignment procedure, the present analyses involve groups that we would expect to differ initially. For this reason, it is necessary to retreat from the analysis of an experimental design to a post hoc analysis of nonequivalent groups. The results of such an analysis are frequently interpretable (Cook and Campbell, 1979), though it must be acknowledged that we are on less firm ground than in the preceding chapter in drawing conclusions about treatment effects.

All of the analyses in the present chapter follow the same basic pattern regardless of the independent variable in question. First, a three part analysis was conducted using the variables assessed in the interviews - labeling, social adjustment variables, and self-reported delinquency - as measures of outcome. As before, our approach was multivariate. That is, dependent variables and covariates were considered simultaneously, and age, sex, ethnicity, and arrests prior to referral were controlled for before comparisons were made. Because we did not expect treatment groups to be initially equivalent, the first part of the analysis compared groups on Time 1 scores for all dependent variables. Knowledge of initial differences is important in interpreting the results of the rest of the analysis.

The remaining two parts represent different attempts to take initial differences into account in assessing treatment effects. One is a multivariate extension of gain score analyses in which differences between Time 3 and Time 1 scores are used as the multiple dependent variables. The other is a multivariate analysis of covariance in which Time 3 scores are compared after the effects of Time 1 scores have been covaried out. In this context, multivariate covariance analysis is particularly useful. Not only does it provide for a more precise test of treatment effects, which is its primary function in the analysis of the experimental design, but also the use of multiple covariates provides a more comprehensive basis for adjusting for initial group differences. When groups are initially equivalent, the two methods - comparison of differences scores and covariance analysis - yield similar estimates of treatment effects.

After the impact of services on the interview variables was assessed for a given independent variable, a second analysis was performed using rearrest information. Following the logic just described, treatment groups were

compared after covarying out the effects of age, sex, ethnicity, and total arrests prior to referral. The logarithm of number of rearrests for misdemeanors and felonies (plus one) in the year following referral was the dependent variable.

Table 3-1 provides an outline of the analysis plan and specifies which variables are used as dependent variables and covariates.

III. Impact of Diversion Project Services

A. Diversion Project Records of Services

One of the more ambitious tasks of the National Evaluation was to collect detailed descriptions of services provided to clients from project records. Despite our recommendations about what kinds of information might prove useful in an analysis of services, we had little control over the form or the content of the information that was collected, since case recordkeeping was the responsibility of the project. The result was widely varying formats, sizable amounts of missing data and, at some sites, confusion over whether records for some cases were kept at all.

It was possible, however, after a careful review of recordkeeping procedures across projects, to devise a coding form that represented the common denominator of extant service information. By imposing our own coding standards, by having trained coders code directly from project files, and by making a few necessary extrapolations and simplifying assumptions, we achieved a degree of comparability and completeness that would have been impossible in a less intensive effort.

Total Number of Service Hours and Total Number of Service Contacts were recorded in 24 categories (see "long" project service record form, Appendix C) for all cases randomly assigned to a project during its first 18 months of

Table 3-1
Analysis Plan for Assessing
Impact of Services

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables	Covariates
A. Interview Data		
1. Time 1 scores for 19 selected outcome measures (representing social adjustment, labeling, and self-reported delinquency)	Kind or Amount of Services	Age, Sex, Ethnicity, and Prior Arrests
2. Differences between Time 3 and Time 1 scores for 19 selected outcome variables	Kind or Amount of Services	Age, Sex, Ethnicity, and Prior Arrests
3. Time 3 scores for 19 selected outcome measures	Kind or Amount of Services	Age, Sex, Ethnicity, Prior Arrests, and Time 1 scores for 19 selected outcome measures
B. Rearrest Data		
1. Number of official arrests for felonies and misdemeanors in the year following assignment to groups	Kind or Amount of Services	Age, Sex, Ethnicity, and Prior Arrests

operations. For the subsample of interest in this chapter - interviewed youths - data were collected for services delivered up to at least 12 months from the date of referral. Since very few clients remained in services for longer than a year, the data set includes virtually the entire history of service delivery to youths in the study.

Although the data set offers a rich store of descriptive data for a comparative analysis of project services (a task addressed in a later chapter), it was necessary to reduce the data greatly for the purpose of the present analysis. In particular, four composite indices were developed for use as independent variables:

- (1) Number of Counseling Contacts (included diagnostic services; individual, family, and group counseling; residential placement (each day of placement was counted as one contact); and Big Brothers/Sisters).
- (2) Number of Job/Education Contacts (included job placement, job training, tutoring, educational placement, employment/career counseling, volunteer placement, and youth advocacy).
- (3) Number of Recreation Contacts (included athletics/games, arts/crafts, cultural enrichment, camping/wilderness, and drop-in activities).
- (4) Total Number of Service Contacts (all of the above plus medical services, emergency assistance, and an "other" category).

The advantages that accrue to diversion project personnel for diligent case recordkeeping should be obvious: Accurate and complete case records enable managers to document their agency's achievements, make informed management decisions, monitor client progress, etc. Yet anyone who has had even casual contact with social service programs knows of the inevitable (and often understandable) conflicts that arise over recordkeeping.

In monitoring the progress of project data collection, we observed systematic exclusion of some kinds of information at some sites, the possibility of exaggerated records of services at others and, overall, considerable variation across sites in the degree to which service records

reflect service activity. Despite these variations, the data presented in Tables 3-2, 3-4, 3-5, and 3-6 are in keeping with our impressions of the total amounts and kinds of services that the four projects provided to their clients. For example, the Kansas City programs (Roles for Youths and Youth Service Unit) were service-intensive projects that emphasized counseling and "roles" training. In contrast, the New York City program had an expressed policy of providing services to only those youths who were determined by project personnel to need them.

Until recently, issues related to treatment integrity were generally ignored in the evaluation of service programs (Sechrest and Redner, 1979; Quay, 1977). Interpretation of findings, particularly findings of no treatment effect, like those described in the preceding chapter, were often clouded by the questions of whether services were sufficient in duration and intensity to have an effect or whether services were delivered at all. Despite its deficiencies, the data presented in Table 3-2 gives us some basis for determining the extent to which "diversion with services" actually resulted in services. Although consideration of service data obtained through self-reports may cause us to later revise our judgement, it appears that at three sites the great majority of project clients received some kind of services. The exception is New York City, where 61% of clients who had records had three service contacts or fewer (the percentage of clients with minimal services could be higher, as records were missing for nearly 20% of those who were interviewed). Substantial numbers of clients received at least 15 service contacts, ranging from a third of the New York City respondents who had service records to nearly four-fifths of the Kansas City clients.

Table 3-2
Number of Youths Randomly Assigned for Diversion Project Services
(Based on Project Records)

	Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		New York City (John Jay-Transit)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low (0-6 contacts)	19	(13.8)	43	(28.3)	44	(28.9)	70	(61.4)
Medium (7-14 contacts)	11	(8.0)	43	(28.3)	43	(28.3)	6	(5.3)
High (15 contacts and up)	108	(78.3)	66	(43.4)	65	(42.8)	38	(33.3)
Total	138	(100.0)	152	(100.0)	152	(100.0)	114	(100.0)

NOTE: Figures exclude inappropriate referrals. Numbers in parentheses are column percentages.

Table 3-3
Log of Rearrests (Felonies And Misdemeanors) for Youths
Receiving Low, Medium, and High Amounts of Services

	Low	Medium	High	F	df	Significance
Kansas City						
Unadjusted Means	.35	.32	.43			
Adjusted Means*	.29	.35	.44	0.913	2,139	N.S.
Memphis						
Unadjusted Means	.35	.25	.18			
Adjusted Means	.36	.25	.17	2.753	2,151	p < .10
Orange County						
Unadjusted Means	.16	.15	.13			
Adjusted Means	.17	.16	.09	1.051	2,141	N.S.
New York City (John Jay-Transit)						
Unadjusted Means	.29	.79	.31			
Adjusted Means	.30	.69	.31	1.678	2,118	N.S.

*Adjusted for covariates: age, sex, ethnicity, and the log of the number of misdemeanor and felony arrests prior to referral.

Table 3-4
Number of Youths Receiving Counseling Services
(Based on Project Records)

	Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		New York City (John Jay-Transit)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 - 1 Contact	16	(11.6)	67	(44.1)	130	(85.5)	35	(30.7)
2 or More Contacts	122	(88.4)	85	(55.9)	22	(14.5)	79	(69.3)

Table 3-5
Number of Youths Receiving Job/Education Services
(Based on Project Records)

	Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		New York City (John Jay Transit)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 Contacts	26	(18.8)	124	(81.6)	137	(90.1)	74	(64.9)
1 or More Contacts	112	(81.2)	28	(18.4)	15	(9.9)	40	(35.1)

Table 3-6
Number of Youths Receiving Recreation Services
(Based on Project Records)

	Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		New York City (John Jay-Transit)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 Contacts	49	(35.5)	91	(59.9)	70	(46.1)	97	(85.1)
1 or More Contacts	89	(64.5)	61	(40.1)	82	(53.9)	17	(14.9)

B. Results

1. Amount of Services. In order to determine whether the amount of diversion services they received affected outcomes for project clients, youths were sorted into three groups based on the Total Number of Contacts recorded for them in project records. The problems associated with variations across sites in how case records were kept are far less serious in making comparisons within projects than in making comparisons among projects. Presumably, case records in the same project were subjected to the same biases in record-keeping. Table 3-2 presents the number of youths receiving low (0-6 contacts), medium (7-14 contacts), and high amounts of services (15 contacts and up) at the four sites. In this analysis, the medium and high groups were collapsed in New York City because of the small number of clients receiving services. (Inappropriate referrals and youths who moved or died in the course of the study were excluded.)

(a) Interview Data. Examination of the results of the three-part analysis indicates no consistent differences in the treatment outcomes of clients receiving low, medium, or high amounts of project service at any of the four sites. None of the multivariate tests of differences between change scores or between Time 3 scores adjusted for initial group differences were significant at the .05 level.

(b) Rearrest Data. No statistically reliable differences were found for Kansas City, Orange County, or New York City (Table 3-3). However, interpretable differences approached statistical significance ($p < .10$) for Memphis, where number of rearrests was inversely related to the amount of services received. Taking the antilogs of the means that differed gives .4 rearrests for the low services group, .3 rearrests for the middle group, and .2 rearrests for the high group. Data presented elsewhere in this report

indicate that service groups were comparable at Time 1 on both the interview variables and number of prior arrest, suggesting that differences in rearrest can be attributed to the impact of services. Ordinarily, not much would be made of so marginal a result, but the analysis of covariance is a weak test of differences when the distribution of the dependent variable is so skewed.

2. Kind of Services. A similar analysis was conducted to assess the impact of particular kinds of services on client outcomes. Three independent variables were constructed by dichotomizing Number of Counseling Contacts (none or one¹ vs. some), Number of Job/Education Contacts (none vs. some), and Number of Recreation Contacts (none vs. some). Note that receiving one kind of service did not preclude receiving the others. Tables 3-4, 3-5, and 3-6 show the number of project clients receiving each kind of service at each site.

(a) Interview Data. Although changes in outcome measures were unrelated to the overall amount of services that clients received, significant effects were found for one type of service - recreational activities - in Kansas City and New York City. Tables 3-7 and 3-8 (bottom) show the MANOVA comparisons for difference scores (Time 3 minus Time 1) and for Time 3 scores adjusted for initial differences. The multivariate tests indicate that in Kansas City the two groups (those who received recreation services and those who did not) changed differentially over the year in which the study was conducted. In both Kansas City and New York, groups had different Time 3 scores when initial differences were adjusted for.

¹Since an initial contact with diversion project personnel at court intake or a police stationhouse was often counted as a Counseling Contact, clients with only one such contact were not considered as being enrolled in a service program.

Table 3-7
 Selected Variables for Describing Impact of Recreation Services
 (Based on Project Records)
 Kansas City

Dependent Variable	Unadjusted Time 1 Means		Unadjusted Time 3 Means		Adjusted Mean Differences (T ₃ -T ₁)		Adjusted Time 3 Means (T ₃ covT ₁)	
	No Recreation	Some Recreation	No Recreation	Some Recreation	No Recreation	Some Recreation	No Recreation	Some Recreation
Commitment to Parents	20.67	21.30	21.20	20.96	.93***	-.75	21.70**	20.46
Negative Attitudes toward Deviance	37.18	39.54	37.16	37.82	-1.57**	-3.70	38.43*	36.55
Counterlabeling - Total	42.17	43.14	46.82	45.87	6.16**	1.22	47.79	44.90
Parents Disapproval of Deviance	41.58	41.46	41.14	41.38	-.12	-.40	41.90*	40.62
Commitment to Peers	17.96	18.46	17.22	18.66	-.04	.98	17.34*	18.54

* p < .10
 ** p < .05
 *** p < .01

MANOVA	T ₃ -T ₁	T ₃ covT ₁
Wilks Lambda	.728	.676
Approx. F	1.942	2.015
df	19,99	19,80
significance	p < .05	p < .05

Table 3-8
Selected Variables for Describing Impact of Recreation Services
(Based on Project Records)
New York City (John Jay-Transit)

Dependent Variable	Unadjusted Time 1 Means		Unadjusted Time 3 Means		Adjusted Mean Differences (T ₃ -T ₁)		Adjusted Time 3 Means (T ₃ covT ₁)	
	No Service	Service	No Service	Service	No Service	Service	No Service	Service
Labeling - Bad	31.08	34.43	28.87	35.18	-2.48	1.02	30.02**	34.02
Self Image - Sick	9.06	10.29	8.70	10.59	-.15	.09	8.86**	10.42
Social Isolation	35.17	38.69	34.39	37.34	-.99	-1.15	34.32*	37.42
Peer Disapproval of Deviance	34.59	30.86	33.33	28.18	-1.19	-2.75	32.48*	29.02
Commitment to Peers	18.87	18.24	17.88	17.00	-.53	-1.71	18.18*	16.70

* p<.15

** p<.05

MANOVA	T ₃ -T ₁	T ₃ covT ₁
Wilks Lambda	.861	.657
Approx. F	.701	1.760
df	19,83	19,64
significance	N.S.	p<.05

When a statistically significant multivariate effect was found, the following procedure was used in interpreting it. First, a list of individual dependent variables was compiled that included any variable for which the univariate test of group differences was significant at a specified level (usually $p < .10$) for either the differential change comparisons or the covariance analysis comparisons. Then, unadjusted Time 1 and Time 3 group means were graphed to determine the direction of change for each group and to assess the plausibility of hypotheses other than the efficacy of treatment that might explain the effects (regression effects, selection-maturation, etc.). Finally, graphs and univariate tests for all the selected variables were considered simultaneously, and a conclusion about the impact of services was drawn.

Table 3-7 describes the five outcome variables that were used in interpreting the effect of services in Kansas City. Youths receiving recreation services changed in the direction of feeling less committed to their parents and more committed to their peers, having more positive attitudes toward deviance, experiencing less counterlabeling, and perceiving their parents as more disapproving of deviance relative to youths who did not receive services. Overall, recreational activities seem to have had a deleterious effect on clients. The effect was consistent across variables, but it was not large, as can be seen by comparing the magnitude of the differences with the average group variability (pooled within cell standard deviation). Nor was the absolute difference of means substantial. For example, the difference between the two groups on Commitment to Parents represents less than 2 points on a scale that ranges from 5 to 25, i.e., the difference of changing from "agree" to "strongly agree" on two items out of five.

For New York City, five variables were selected via the procedure just described. Their unadjusted group means and MANOVA test of effects are reported in Table 3-8. Though none of the univariate tests on difference scores were significant, the direction of the group differences was the same as in the covariance analysis. Again, receiving recreation services seems to have had a negative effect on client outcomes. Those receiving them felt more labeled as "bad" by others, labeled themselves as more "sick," felt more socially isolated, and perceived their peers as more approving of deviance relative to youths who did not receive services.

(b) Rearrest Data. No differences were found for any of the three service variables for Kansas City, Orange County, and New York City (Table 3-9). The present analysis does shed some light on the marginal group differences in number of rearrests reported earlier for Memphis. Apparently these differences are largely the result of services related to jobs and education, though again the result only approaches statistical significance ($p < .10$). Youths who had job/education contacts recorded in project records had a mean of .1 arrests; those who had none had a mean of .3 arrests. The qualifications made earlier about the interpretation of such findings apply here as well.

IV. Impact of Services from Community-Based Agencies

A. Youth Reports of Services

Information about services was also solicited from the youths themselves, a far simpler task than surveying project records. All youths who were interviewed at Time 3 were asked a series of questions designed to elicit descriptions of the services they had received in the preceding year. (Similar data were collected at Time 2 with reference to the preceding six

Table 3-9
Log of Rearrests (Felonies and Misdemeanors) for Youths
Receiving Three Kinds of Services

	Counseling		Jobs/Education		Recreation	
	No Service	Service	No Service	Service	No Service	Service
Kansas City						
Unadjusted Means	.33	.42	.37	.42	.43	.40
Adjusted Means*	.33	.42	.40	.42	.46	.39
F ratio	.339		.016		.441	
df	1,138		1,138		1,138	
significance	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.	
Memphis						
Unadjusted Means	.24	.26	.27	.15	.26	.28
Adjusted Means	.25	.25	.28	.11	.23	.21
F ratio	.002		3.269		.455	
df	1,150		1,150		1,150	
significance	N.S.		p < .10		N.S.	
Orange County						
Unadjusted Means	.13	.13	.13	.09	.11	.15
Adjusted Means	.13	.15	.13	.10	.12	.14
F ratio	.076		.157		.116	
df	1,140		1,140		1,146	
significance	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.	
New York City (John Jay-Transit)						
Unadjusted Means	.28	.35	.32	.35	.33	.30
Adjusted Means	.32	.34	.31	.35	.35	.22
F ratio	.027		.072		.579	
df	1,117		1,117		1,117	
significance	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.	

*Adjusted for covariates: age, sex, ethnicity, and the log of the number of felony and misdemeanor arrests prior to referral.

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months, but these were not used for this analysis.) These data allowed us to extend the analysis of the impact of services to include respondents in the other two dispositions (No Services and Penetration) for whom, of course, no diversion project service records were available.

Information was collected about services provided in three different settings: probation agencies, community-based agencies, and institutions (detention centers, training schools, group homes). Simple descriptive language was used to make the questions about the type of agency and the kind of services received as unambiguous as possible. Whenever possible, the name of the agency and the service deliverer were obtained, so that inevitable respondent mistakes about the source of services could be corrected. For each type of agency, nearly identical questions were asked to ascertain the number of contacts in each of eight service categories. Cases reporting only a single probation contact or institutionalization of one week or less were eliminated on the premise that these were part of justice processing prior to disposition assignment rather than services resulting from a disposition. For the present analyses, two sets of indices were completed, one for community-based services and one for probation and institutional services combined (justice services). These parallel the set formed for the services described in diversion project records:

- (1) Number of Counseling Contacts (talking to someone about personal or family problems; items 329, 353, or 380).
- (2) Number of Job/Education Contacts (talking about careers, how to get or prepare for a job, help in finding a job, tutoring or help in changing schools; items 330, 354, or 381; 331, 355, or 382; 332, 356, or 384. Note that items concerning job placement (331) and educational placement (332) did not include a frequency response. Therefore, the median number of contacts for these services in diversion project records was substituted whenever a youth reported receiving the service. For job placement these values were 10 for Kansas City, 13 for Memphis, 30 for Orange County, and 25 for New York City. The median value for educational placement was 20 for all sites.)

(3) Number of Recreation Contacts (participation in sports and games, arts and crafts classes, cultural activities or field trips; items 334, 358, or 385; 335, 359, or 386).

(4) Total Number of Service Contacts (contacts for any of the above plus an "other" category).

Using youths' reports of the services they received allows us to broaden our assessment of the integrity of treatments to the other two treatment groups. As in any field study, investigators had only limited control over what happened to youths after they were assigned to treatment conditions. Not surprisingly, the integrity of the treatments eroded somewhat over the year in which outcomes were assessed.

It is not unusual that youths in the Penetration and No Service groups occasionally sought services from community-based agencies similar to the diversion project. In some cases, particularly where projects operated as service brokers, they obtained services from the same agencies that provided them to youths in the Diversion for Services group. As Table 3-10 indicates, between 5% and 12% of youths assigned to the No Service and Penetration groups reported receiving services from a community-based agency. In fact, a youth assigned to Diversion for Services in New York City had only a slightly better chance of obtaining services in the community than one assigned to Penetration (16.9% vs. 11.4%).

Similarly, some youths in the Diversion for Services and No Services groups ultimately received services from justice system agencies during the year in which data were collected. The overlap was greatest in Kansas City where 17.8% of the Diversion for Services group and 32.5% of the No Services group reported such services, despite agreements with police personnel to reassign rearrested youths to their original dispositions.

Table 3-10
Number of Youths Reporting Any Community
or Justice-Based Services by Disposition*

	No Services	Services (RFY)	Penetration	Services (YSU)
Kansas City	(N = 80)	(N = 80)	(N = 83)	(N = 94)
Community-Based	8 (10.0)	52 (65.0)	9 (10.8)	57 (60.6)
Justice-Based	26 (32.5)	14 (17.5)	39 (47.0)	17 (18.1)
Any Services	32 (40.0)	56 (70.0)	44 (53.0)	67 (71.3)
	No Services	Services	Penetration	
Memphis	(N = 216)	(N = 163)	(N = 102)	
Community-Based	12 (5.5)	51 (31.1)	6 (5.8)	
Justice-Based	27 (12.3)	20 (12.2)	27 (26.2)	
Any Services	37 (16.8)	67 (40.9)	32 (31.1)	
Orange County	(N = 134)	(N = 165)	(N = 125)	
Community-Based	10 (6.3)	138 (83.6)	12 (9.6)	
Justice-Based	14 (10.4)	13 (7.9)	32 (25.4)	
Any Services	22 (16.4)	141 (85.5)	39 (31.0)	
New York City (John Jay-Transit)	(N = 129)	(N = 130)	(N = 114)	
Community-Based	10 (7.8)	22 (16.9)	13 (11.4)	
Justice-Based	15 (11.6)	11 (8.5)	13 (11.4)	
Any Services	25 (19.4)	28 (21.5)	25 (21.9)	

*Percentage of the total for a given disposition is in parenthesis.

NOTE: Sum of percentages for Community- and Justice-Based Services often exceed percentages for Any Services because some respondents received both kinds of services.

Finally, substantial numbers of youths reported having little or no contact with the agencies to which they were referred. For example, some youths referred for penetration were lectured and released at the next stage of justice processing, and others referred to diversion with services failed to report to the diversion project for an initial interview. As we expected, not many clients received probation or court services as the result of the initial referral to court. One way to estimate the number of youths who received justice-based services through assignment to the Penetration group is to subtract the percentage receiving such services in the No Service group (or the Diversion for Services group) from the percentage in the Penetration group receiving them. Presumably, youths in the No Services group found their way into justice-based services sometime during the year after random assignment to groups through some means other than their dispositional assignment. Thus, only about 15% of the youths assigned to penetrate the system in Kansas City received court services as the result of their referral (47% of the Penetration group reported services vs. 32% of the No Service group). Similar percentages were obtained for Memphis and Orange County; and in New York, youths in the Penetration and No Services groups had virtually identical chances of receiving services from a justice agency.

We had hoped that our description of community-based agencies ("any program that helps kids like yourself through activities like counseling, recreation, jobs, tutoring, or crafts class," not counting "programs run by the police and courts") would be construed by respondents as including diversion projects. If we assume for a moment that the self-reports are accurate, then the number reporting services from community-based agencies should exceed the number receiving diversion project services since some could

be expected to have obtained services on their own. Yet the number of youths in the Diversion for Services group who could not remember receiving community-based services was 16.4% in Orange County, 35.0% in Kansas City, 68.9% in Memphis, and 83.1% in New York City. Even if we include the youths reporting justice agency services - on the assumption that they were confused about who delivered the services - the percentages are still quite high: 14.5, 30.0, 59.1, and 78.5, respectively.

In sum, no matter how different the treatments were in the short run (and they were different at least insofar as one group proceeded to the next stage of justice processing and the other two did not), the consequences of assignment to groups became more similar over the period in which outcomes were assessed. However, this disparity between original disposition and the service experiences that youths reported having should not be interpreted as a criticism of the analysis presented in Chapter 2. It should be obvious that these features are not peculiar to the four sites under study and, consequently, the comparison of random assignment groups in the previous chapter represents a reasonable test of diversion to community-based programs as it is actually implemented. That is, we believe that youths in the three groups had experiences that typically follow referral to a diversion project, referral to court, or lecture and release.

Furthermore, distinctions can be made among projects as to the "purity" of the dispositional groups. Based on self-reported services, comparisons at the Orange County site are as pure as can be hoped for since 83.6% of the Diversion for Services group versus 6.3% and 9.6% of the other two groups reported receiving services from a community-based agency; 25.4% of the Penetration group versus 10.4% and 7.9% of the other two groups said they

received justice agency services. The Kansas City site does less well, and the Memphis site less well still. In New York City, so few youths received services of any kind that the comparison of groups cannot be considered an adequate test of the impact of diversion with services.

B. Results

1. Amount of Services. Table 3-11 shows the amount of community agency services reported by interviewed youths in all three dispositions.

(Discussion of self-report of justice agency services will be taken up later.) The independent variable for this analysis was formed by dividing youths into three groups based on Total Number of Contacts: none, some (1-15 contacts), and many (16 contacts and up). In order to determine whether the amount of community agency services affected outcomes for the total interviewed sample, a set of analyses identical to those based on project data was conducted.

(a) Interview Data. Changes in outcome measures varied with the amount of services received from community-based agencies in Orange County, but not in Kansas City, Memphis, or New York City. As indicated in Table 3-12, statistically significant effects were found with both the MANOVA for difference scores and the multivariate analysis of covariance for Time 3 scores. Inspection of univariate tests on selected variables suggests a fairly consistent pattern of results for both analyses. With the exception of Parents Disapproval of Deviance, groups reporting no service contacts and many service contacts were quite similar. Both groups differed from the group reporting an intermediate amount of services. The extreme groups had better outcomes than the intermediate group in that they perceived their peers as less delinquent and reported engaging in less minor delinquency and drug use.

Table 3-11
Number of Youths Receiving Services from Community-Based Agencies
(Based On Self-Reports)

	Kansas City	Memphis	Orange County	New York City (John Jay-Transit)
No Contacts	203 (62.7)	408 (86.1)	257 (62.2)	322 (88.0)
Some (1-15 Contacts)	72 (22.2)	34 (16.9)	81 (19.6)	14 (3.8)
Many (16 or more Contacts)	49 (15.1)	32 (6.8)	75 (18.2)	30 (8.2)
Total	324 (100.0)	474 (100.0)	413 (100.0)	366 (100.0)

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses are column percentages.

Table 3-12
Selected Variables for Describing Impact of Community-Based Services
(Based on Self-Reports)
Orange County

Dependent Variable	Unadjusted Time 1 Means			Unadjusted Time 3 Means			Adjusted Mean Differences (T ₃ -T ₁)			Adjusted Time 3 Means (T ₃ covT ₁)		
	No Contacts	Some Contacts	Many Contacts	No Contacts	Some Contacts	Many Contacts	No Contacts	Some Contacts	Many Contacts	No Contacts	Some Contacts	Many Contacts
Self Image - Sick	9.25	9.06	9.24	8.58	7.61	8.44	-.76	-1.41	-.74	8.45**	7.68	8.48
Parents Disapproval of Deviance	42.21	41.86	42.80	41.83	42.32	43.14	-.24	.42	1.19	41.92*	42.61	42.74
Delinquency of Peers	20.48	19.62	20.39	19.55	20.45	19.27	-1.06**	1.05	-1.23	19.37	20.78	19.11
Self-Reported Minor Delinquency	1.13	1.06	1.26	.83	.89	.75	-.31**	-.14	-.53	.79*	.96	.71
Self-Reported Drug/ Alcohol Use	.92	.83	.67	1.14	1.34	.87	.20**	2.39	.21	1.04*	1.27	1.03

* p<.10

** p<.05

MANOVA	T ₃ -T ₁	T ₃ covT ₁
Wilks Lambda	.864	.848
Approx. F	1.472	1.580
df	38,740	38,702
significance	p<.05	p<.05

On the other hand, the groups with no contacts or many contacts were more likely to describe themselves as "sick" relative to the intermediate group.

The curvilinear relationship between amount of services and outcomes is consistent with the notion that providing minimal services does more harm than good, that either intensive interventions should be applied or none at all. Furthermore, it is conceivable that some treatment, for example counseling services, might reduce delinquency and at the same time undermine self-concept. At this point, however, this is merely conjecture, given the magnitude of the effects in question and the absence of significant findings for the other sites.

(b) Rearrest Data. No significant ($p < .05$) or borderline ($p < .10$) effects of services on rearrests were found for any of the four sites.

2. Kind of Services. Based on youths self-reports, one last set of independent variables was formed by dichotomizing Number of Counseling Contacts (none vs. some), Number of Job/Education Contacts (none vs. some), and Number of Recreation Contacts (none vs. some). Tables 3-13, 3-14, and 3-15 show the number of respondents reporting each kind of service at each site.

(a) Interview Data. Out of 24 possible multivariate comparisons (two analyses, three kinds of services, four sites), only one was statistically significant at the .05 level: the covariance analysis of Time 3 scores indicated that counseling services had an impact on outcome measures in Orange County (Table 3-16). Unfortunately, using a dichotomous independent variable precludes finding the curvilinear relationship between services and outcome described above. Table 3-16 presents the variables selected to describe the effect of counseling services; perhaps because of the complexity of the

Table 3-13
Number of Youths Receiving Counseling Services
(Based on Self-Reports)

	Kansas City	Memphis	Orange County	New York City (John Jay-Transit)
0 Contacts	252 (77.8)	437 (92.2)	354 (85.7)	343 (93.7)
1 or More Contacts	72 (22.2)	37 (7.8)	59 (14.3)	23 (6.3)

Table 3-14
Number of Youths Receiving Job/Education Services
(Based on Self-Reports)

	Kansas City	Memphis	Orange County	New York City (John Jay-Transit)
0 Contacts	220 (67.9)	425 (89.7)	336 (81.4)	331 (90.4)
1 or More Contacts	104 (32.1)	49 (10.3)	77 (18.6)	35 (9.6)

Table 3-15
Number of Youths Receiving Recreation Services
(Based on Self-Reports)

	Kansas City	Memphis	Orange County	New York City
0 Contacts	240 (74.1)	429 (90.5)	317 (76.8)	334 (91.3)
1 or More Contacts	84 (25.9)	45 (9.5)	96 (23.2)	32 (9.7)

Table 3-16
Selected Variables for Describing Impact of Counseling Services
(Based on Self-Reports)
Orange County

Dependent Variable	Unadjusted Time 1 Means		Unadjusted Time 3 Means		Adjusted Mean Differences (T ₃ -T ₁)		Adjusted Time 3 Means (T ₃ covT ₁)	
	No Service	Service	No Service	Service	No Service	Service	No Service	Service
Important of Goals	56.93	55.35	55.15	55.97	-1.88**	.72	54.45*	56.67
Lack of Normlessness	51.09	53.07	52.73	55.13	1.59	2.11	53.07*	54.79
Parents Disapproval of Deviance	42.16	42.75	42.03	42.96	-.17	.25	42.10	42.88
Self-Reported Minor Delinquency	1.16	1.02	.82	.89	-.35*	-.13	.75*	.96
Self-Reported Drug/ Alcohol Use	.88	.70	1.12	1.16	.24*	.46	1.06	1.22

* p < .10

** p < .05

MANOVA	T ₃ -T ₁	T ₃ covT ₁
Wilks Lambda	.936	.912
Approx. F	1.311	1.736
df	19,362	19,343
significance	N.S.	p < .05

relationship, the results are ambiguous. Youths who reported receiving counseling services felt less normless, attached more importance to conventional goals, and perceived their parents as less approving of delinquency than their counterparts who did not receive services. At the same time, they reported engaging in more minor delinquency and more alcohol and drug use.

(b) Rearrest Data. No significant ($p < .05$) or borderline ($p < .10$) differences in rearrests were found for any of the three kinds of services at any site.

V. Summary of Findings

It is difficult, based on these results, to draw any definitive conclusions about the impact of services on youth outcomes, and it is impossible to make any generalizations. Some statistically reliable effects were found, but they were scattered throughout analyses that differed in source of service information (records and self-report), kinds of service (counseling, job/education, recreation, and total), and types of outcome variables (interview data and rearrests). To summarize:

1. There was some indication that services (based on project records), particularly jobs and education, lead to a reduction in recidivism in Memphis.
2. Recreation services (based on project records) in New York City (John Jay-Transit Police) and Kansas City adversely affected clients' social adjustment and perceptions of being labeled.
3. Services in Orange County (self-report) were related to outcomes in a complex way. The no services or intensive services groups reported

less minor delinquency and drug use, but described themselves as "sicker" than the group receiving an intermediate amount of services. Results for counseling services showed that clients receiving them reported more delinquency and drug use, but appeared better adjusted.

We would have more confidence in these results if there was some consistency across sites or kinds of service or types of outcome variables. Analyses based on project records of services were not corroborated by analyses based on self-report of services. Analyses using outcome measures obtained through interviews suggest some small deleterious effect of services, but analyses using rearrest data showed trends in the opposite direction. Results found for Kansas City and New York City were not replicated in Orange County. Similarly, we could be more certain about the impact of services if the effects for any single analysis were larger. But after initial group differences were taken into account, independent variables often added no more than a few percentage points to the explained variance of the dependent variable. Comparisons of mean scores for different service groups suggest that many statistically significant differences may not be substantively significant.

It may be, as the Orange County data suggest, that the effects of services on youth outcomes is too complex to be detected by the group comparisons we have made. Further work could be directed toward searching for curvilinear relations in the data, where sample sizes permit. Yet, given the statistical power of tests we have employed and the magnitude of the effects we have found so far, the chances of finding major impacts as yet undiscovered in these data seem small.

Chapter 4

CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS AND SERVICE DELIVERY

I. Introduction

In the preceding chapters, our attention focused on four intensively studied sites, those at which random assignment of treatment conditions was possible. Now interest broadens to include all 11 diversion projects funded through the OJJDP initiative. (See Appendix A for detailed descriptions of all program sites.) The present chapter provides a description of the projects in terms of the clients they served and the services they provided. It also attempts to answer two questions: were certain kinds of clients selected into particular kinds of services, and did services have an impact on client rearrests in the period following referral to the project?

Data were collected for two samples of youths referred to the diversion projects. The first and larger sample consisted of a complete census of all youths referred to the projects in their first two years of operation. After locating the most inclusive listings of referrals to each project, the research staff searched project records for client information including dates of arrest, referral, services, and termination, offense type, referral source, and service information. (See Appendix D, the "short" project record form.)

The smaller sample consisted of up to 350 cases at each site that constitute a systematic sample of all cases referred to the projects in their first 18 months of operation. A more comprehensive search of project records was performed for these youths (using the "long" project record form, see Appendix C) in the manner described in Chapter 3. The longer form required

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all of the information of the shorter form plus data on specific instances of service delivery in different categories over time. (Boston had to be excluded because service records were too incomplete to be useful.) Justice records for the smaller sample were also searched in the manner described in Chapter 3, providing the data necessary to test hypotheses about the relation of services and recidivism.

II. Description of Cases Referred to Projects

A. Demographic Characteristics

As Table 4-1 shows, in their first 24 months of operation, the diversion projects received far more boys as referrals than girls. For eight of the 11 projects the number of boys exceeded 80% of the total number of referrals. The John Jay-Transit Police and Puerto Rico projects had the highest percentages of boys, 94.5% and 92.2%, respectively. Rosebud and Orange County had the lowest percentages, 61.7% and 68.2%.

Referrals to the projects as a group showed considerable ethnic diversity. Some projects, reflecting the communities they served, received referrals primarily of a single ethnic background: Rosebud (100% Native American), Puerto Rico (100% Hispanic), YES-MFY (86.2% Hispanic), Harlem (92.7% black), and Orange County (71.9% white). Referrals to the others represented two or more ethnic groups: Kansas City, Memphis, Boston, and Milwaukee had substantial numbers of both blacks and whites, while Denver (not shown in Table 4-1) and John Jay-Transit Police had a mixture of blacks, whites, and Hispanics.

Projects differed, too, in the ages of their prospective clients. In Denver, Memphis, and Puerto Rico, over 40% of the cases referred were 16 years and older. In contrast, the New York projects, where the age of majority is

Table 4-1
Demographic Description of Diversion Project Referrals
Two-Year Sample of Referrals to Projects (N = 7,089)

	Denver (N = 563)		Kansas City (N = 407)		Memphis (N = 1,240)		Orange County (N = 1,023)		John Jay- Transit (N = 1,043)		Rosebud (N = 390)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Sex</u>												
Male	479	(86.2) ^a	352	(86.9)	1,077	(87.1)	695	(68.2)	982	(94.5)	238	(61.7)
Female	77	(13.8)	53	(13.1)	159	(12.9)	324	(31.8)	57	(5.5)	148	(38.3)
Missing Data	7		2		4		4		4		4	
<u>Ethnicity</u>												
White	-	^b	121	(30.1)	424	(34.4)	727	(71.9)	205	(19.7)	0	(0.0)
Black	-		276	(68.7)	804	(65.3)	274	(23.1)	495	(47.6)	0	(0.0)
Hispanic ^c	-		2	(0.5)	0	(0.0)	1	(0.1)	337	(32.4)	0	(0.0)
Other	-		3	(0.7)	3	(0.3)	9	(0.9)	2	(0.2)	390	(100.0)
Missing Data			5		9		12		4		0	
<u>Age at Time of Referral</u>												
11 years & under	0	(0.0)	39	(9.7)	48	(3.9)	97	(9.7)	68	(6.6)	16	(4.2)
12-13 years	21	(3.8)	72	(17.9)	190	(15.5)	187	(18.7)	303	(29.2)	55	(14.4)
14-15 years	242	(43.8)	180	(44.8)	437	(35.7)	350	(35.0)	651	(62.7)	134	(35.2)
16-17 years	283	(51.2)	111	(27.6)	531	(43.4)	357	(35.7)	17	(1.6)	167	(43.9)
18 years & over	7	(1.3)	0	(0.0)	17	(1.4)	8	(0.8)	0	(0.0)	9	(2.4)
Missing Data	10		5		17		24		4		9	

Table 4-1 Continued

	Boston (N = 411)		Milwaukee (N = 571)		Puerto Rico (N = 960)		YES-MFY (N = 185)		Harlem (N = 296)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Sex</u>										
Male	367	(83.9)	499	(87.4)	838	(92.2)	144	(77.8)	244	(82.7)
Female	44	(10.7)	72	(12.6)	71	(7.8)	41	(22.2)	51	(17.3)
Missing Data	0		0		51		0		1	
<u>Ethnicity</u>										
White	223	(54.4)	140	(24.6)	0	(0.0)	6	(3.3)	2	(0.7)
Black	127	(31.0)	395	(69.5)	0	(0.0)	19	(10.4)	267	(92.7)
Hispanic ^c	55	(13.4)	25	(4.4)	960	(100.0)	157	(86.2)	19	(6.6)
Other	5	(1.2)	8	(1.4)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Missing Data	1		3		0		3		8	
<u>Age at Time of Referral</u>										
11 years & under	30	(7.3)	2	(0.4)	51	(5.6)	6	(3.7)	20	(7.2)
12-13 years	82	(20.0)	92	(16.1)	98	(11.0)	25	(15.6)	71	(25.4)
14-15 years	192	(46.8)	259	(45.4)	270	(30.2)	107	(66.9)	161	(57.5)
16-17 years	107	(26.0)	216	(37.9)	426	(47.5)	22	(13.7)	28	(10.0)
18 years & over	0	(0.0)	1	(0.2)	51	(5.7)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Missing Data	0		1		64		25		16	

^aPercentages are calculated excluding cases for which information was unavailable, i.e., cases with missing data.

^bEthnicity was recorded unsystematically in Central Denver service records for those referrals who were never enrolled in services. The large amount of missing data makes the breakdown by ethnicity misleading.

^cHispanic includes Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Spanish-American.

16, received far fewer of the older youths (less than 15% of the total for John Jay-Transit Police, Harlem, and YES-MFY). The modal age group for referrals was 16-17 years in Denver (51.2%), Memphis (43.5%), Orange County (35.7%), Rosebud (43.9%), and Puerto Rico (47.5%); and 14-15 years in Kansas City (44.8%), John Jay-Transit Police (62.7%), Boston (46.8%), Milwaukee (45.4%), YES-MFY (66.9%), and Harlem (57.5%).

B. Referral Characteristics

Project clients were heterogeneous with respect to certain referral characteristics; that is, projects differed in the sources from which they received referrals and in the kinds of cases they accepted (or were offered) for referral (see Table 4-2). With respect to the seriousness of the offense that resulted in diversion, two projects - Memphis and YES-MFY - received primarily cases charged with felonies (71.7% and 62.0%, respectively). Three others - Orange County, John Jay-Transit Police, and Boston - received for the most part cases charged with misdemeanors (85.5%, 89.2%, and 71.1%). Arrest for a status offense was generally unacceptable as a reason for referral in accordance with the guidelines established by OJJDP. Nonetheless, two projects - Rosebud and Harlem - received a substantial number of cases charged with status offenses (36.1% and 33.7%). The remaining projects - Denver, Puerto Rico, Kansas City, and Milwaukee - had a fairly even mix of youths arrested for misdemeanors and youths arrested for felonies in their referral populations.

With the exception of John Jay-Transit Police, Rosebud, YES-MFY, and Harlem, theft was the modal type of presenting offense for referral to the diversion projects. At two projects, Kansas City and Memphis, over three-quarters of the referral population was charged with theft. Public disorder was the modal category of presenting offense at John Jay-Transit

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Table 4-2
Referral Characteristics of Diversion Project Referrals
Two-Year Sample of Referrals to Projects (N = 7,089)

	Denver (N = 563)		Kansas City (N = 407)		Memphis (N = 1,240)		Orange County (N = 1,023)		John Jay- Transit (N = 1,043)		Puerto Rico (N = 960)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Seriousness of</u>												
<u>Presenting Offense</u>												
Status Offense	28	(9.4)	10	(3.0)	51	(4.2)	6	(0.6)	0	(0.0)	5	(1.1)
Misdemeanor	135	(45.5)	176	(52.9)	297	(24.2)	864	(85.5)	880	(89.2)	238	(54.3)
Felony	134	(45.1)	147	(44.1)	880	(71.7)	130	(12.9)	106	(10.8)	176	(40.2)
Missing Data	266 ^a		74		12		12		57		522 ^a	
<u>Presenting</u>												
<u>Offense Type</u>												
Assaults	34	(11.4)	24	(7.2)	43	(3.5)	132	(13.1)	12	(1.2)	54	(12.3)
Robbery	10	(3.4)	2	(0.6)	12	(1.0)	2	(0.2)	0	(0.0)	16	(3.7)
Theft	160	(53.9)	253	(76.0)	965	(78.5)	588	(58.2)	303	(29.6)	183	(41.8)
Damaging Property	6	(2.0)	1	(0.3)	17	(1.4)	10	(1.0)	228	(22.3)	4	(0.9)
Public Disorder	51	(17.2)	34	(10.2)	91	(7.4)	207	(20.5)	442	(43.2)	95	(21.7)
Drug Offenses	3	(1.0)	6	(1.8)	46	(3.7)	48	(4.8)	33	(3.2)	53	(12.1)
Victimless Crimes	1	(0.3)	3	(0.9)	2	(0.2)	3	(0.3)	0	(0.0)	7	(1.6)
Status Offenses	28	(9.4)	10	(3.0)	51	(4.1)	6	(0.6)	0	(0.0)	5	(1.1)
Other	4	(1.3)	0	(0.0)	2	(0.2)	14	(1.4)	6	(0.6)	21	(4.8)
Missing Data	266 ^a		74		11		13		19		522 ^a	
<u>Referral Source</u>												
Police	23	(5.4)	404	(100.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	1,035	(100.0)	401	(46.8)
Court Intake	72	(16.9)	0	(0.0)	689	(56.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	455	(53.1)
Prosecutor	42	(9.8)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	1,004	(100.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Probation Officer	282	(66.0)	0	(0.0)	523	(42.5)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Judge or Referee	8	(1.9)	0	(0.0)	19	(1.5)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Other ^b	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Missing Data	136 ^a		3		9		19		8		103 ^a	

Table 4-2 Continued

	Rosebud (N = 390)		Boston (N = 411)		Milwaukee (N = 571)		YES-MFY (N = 185)		Harlem (N = 296)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Seriousness of</u>										
<u>Presenting Offense</u>										
Status Offense	132	(36.1)	1	(0.2)	3	(0.5)	13	(13.0)	92	(33.7)
Misdemeanor	232	(63.4)	290	(71.1)	269	(47.1)	25	(25.0)	104	(38.1)
Felony	0	(0.0)	108	(26.5)	299	(52.4)	52	(62.0)	76	(27.8)
Missing Data	24		3		0		85		23	
<u>Presenting</u>										
<u>Offense Type</u>										
Assaults	2	(0.5)	24	(5.9)	30	(5.3)	14	(14.0)	11	(3.9)
Robbery	0	(0.0)	3	(0.7)	13	(2.3)	30	(30.0)	39	(13.9)
Theft	23	(6.3)	271	(66.4)	397	(69.5)	28	(28.0)	80	(28.6)
Damaging Property	0	(0.0)	31	(7.6)	25	(4.4)	5	(5.0)	0	(0.0)
Public Disorder	187	(51.1)	54	(13.2)	59	(10.3)	8	(8.0)	33	(11.8)
Drug Offenses	18	(4.8)	15	(3.7)	27	(4.7)	1	(1.0)	24	(8.6)
Victimless Crimes	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	9	(1.6)	1	(1.0)	0	(0.0)
Status Offenses	132	(36.1)	1	(0.2)	3	(0.5)	13	(13.0)	92	(32.9)
Other	4	(1.1)	9	(2.2)	8	(1.4)	0	(0.0)	1	(0.4)
Missing Data	24		3		0		85		16	
<u>Referral Source</u>										
Police	147	(37.9)	148	(36.2)	16	(2.8)	15	(8.2)	64	(21.7)
Court Intake	0	(0.0)	234	(57.2)	549	(96.1)	105	(57.7)	138	(46.8)
Prosecutor	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	6	(1.1)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Probation Officer	233	(60.1)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	10	(5.5)	47	(15.9)
Judge or Referee	6	(1.5)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Other ^b	2	(0.6)	27	(6.6)	0	(0.0)	52	(28.5)	46	(15.6)
Missing Data	2		2		0		3		1	

^aReferral characteristics of project clients were recorded unsystematically in Central Denver and in SYDMA (Puerto Rico) project records. However, the proportions reported here approximate those computed for the subsample of clients for whom justice information was collected.

^b"Other" includes self, family, school, or other service agency.

Police and Rosebud, in part because of the special populations they served. John Jay-Transit Police received youths arrested for delinquent acts committed in the New York subways, e.g., grafitti or tampering with transit authority property. The charges against the majority of Rosebud youths were for acts committed under the influence of alcohol. The greatest number of referrals to YES-MFY were charged with robbery, while the Harlem project received the largest proportion of youths charged with status offenses.

Four projects received referrals from a single point in juvenile justice system processing: Kansas City and John Jay-Transit Police from police agencies, Orange County from the state attorney's office, and Milwaukee from court intake. Four other projects received referral primarily from two sources within the system: Memphis from court intake and probation, Puerto Rico from court intake and police agencies, Rosebud from police agencies and probation, and Boston from police agencies and court intake. Of the remaining projects, Denver had cases referred from all four system points; Harlem and YES-MFY, although court intake projects in large part, received cases from outside the justice system.

C. Service Characteristics

Not all cases referred to diversion projects were enrolled in a service program, and not all of those enrolled received services beyond an initial intake interview. Substantial differences among projects in the proportion of youths who received services on a continuing basis should not be surprising, given project differences in treatment philosophy. On one extreme, the John Jay-Transit Police project staff had a stated goal of using the intake interview as a screening device to select cases in need of services; on the

other, Puerto Rico exercised a policy of providing services to all cases referred to them.

These differences are reflected in Table 4-3, which presents data on the two kinds of client losses: losses at the point of enrollment and losses occurring after an initial intake interview. Although the exact procedure differed among projects, most had some formal agreement, usually signed by the prospective client, which indicated that the client was "officially enrolled." Enrollment rates ranged from 76% in Orange County to 97.5% in Milwaukee and Puerto Rico. Reasons for failure to enroll varied across sites and included client's refusal of services, client's desire to have his case heard in court, and cases inappropriately referred by the justice system.

Some sites, for example Milwaukee, that enrolled nearly all referrals in services did not keep a high proportion in services after the intake interview. Our working definition for whether clients received services beyond intake counted any client who had two or more contacts with a service provider. (Since the initial contact was usually counted as counseling in our coding scheme, clients who received only one counseling contact were combined with those who received no contacts in the analyses that follow.) Retention rates measured in this way ranged from 57.8% in Milwaukee to 96.4% in Puerto Rico.

Obviously, clients left services for a variety of reasons. We tried to ascertain the major ones in our investigation of project records; these are listed in Table 4-3 also. For our purposes, "services completed" meant that a client who received services beyond intake left the program by mutual agreement with project staff. We distinguished between "refused program"

Table 4-3
Selected Service Characteristics of Diversion Project Referrals
Two-Year Sample of Referrals to Projects (N = 7,089)

	Denver		Kansas City		Memphis		Orange County		John Jay- Transit		Rosebud	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Was Client Enrolled?</u>												
No	119	(22.4)	33	(8.1)	260	(21.1)	243	(24.0)	198	(19.1)	74	(19.0)
Yes	413	(77.6)	372	(91.9)	971	(78.3)	796	(76.0)	838	(80.9)	315	(81.0)
Missing Data	13		2		9		11		7		1	
<u>Did Client Receive Services</u>												
<u>Beyond Intake?</u>												
No	148	(27.9)	59	(14.5)	322	(26.2)	297	(29.5)	398	(38.4)	103	(26.5)
Yes	383	(72.1)	346	(85.0)	909	(73.8)	710	(70.5)	638	(61.6)	286	(73.5)
Missing Data	32		2		9		16		7		1	
<u>Reason for</u>												
<u>Termination^a</u>												
Service Completed	209	(48.4)	182	(56.2)	493	(45.2)	626	(66.0)	277	(28.8)	113	(33.4)
Refused Program	41	(9.5)	24	(7.4)	202	(18.5)	144	(15.2)	188	(19.6)	21	(6.2)
Failure to Cooperate	31	(7.2)	47	(14.5)	179	(16.4)	54	(5.7)	354	(36.8)	47	(13.9)
Moved or Died	30	(6.9)	12	(3.7)	57	(5.2)	23	(2.4)	24	(2.5)	58	(17.2)
Client Rearrest	13	(3.0)	29	(9.0)	114	(10.4)	13	(1.4)	32	(3.3)	5	(1.5)
Inappropriate												
Referral	56	(13.0)	7	(2.2)	43	(3.9)	44	(4.6)	23	(2.4)	40	(11.8)
Project Decision	0	(0.0)	23	(7.1)	0	(0.0)	5	(0.5)	63	(6.4)	54	(16.0)
Court Request	52	(12.0)	0	(0.0)	3	(0.3)	39	(4.1) ^b	1	(0.1)	0	(0.0)
Missing Data	131		83		149		75		82		52	

Table 4-3 Continued

	Boston		Milwaukee		Puerto Rico		MFY-YES		Harlem	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Was Client Enrolled?</u>										
No	82	(20.0)	14	(2.5)	23	(2.5)	9	(5.1)	43	(20.7)
Yes	329	(80.0)	557	(97.5)	890	(97.5)	166	(94.9)	165	(79.3)
Missing Data	0		0		47		10		88	
<u>Did Client Receive Services Beyond Intake?</u>										
No	115	(28.0)	241	(42.2)	32	(3.6)	68	(38.9)	63	(30.6)
Yes	295	(72.0)	330	(57.8)	854	(96.4)	107	(61.1)	143	(69.4)
Missing Data	1		0		74		10		90	
<u>Reason for Termination^a</u>										
Service Completed	167	(48.7)	78	(28.9)	654	(76.8)	27	(17.1)	56	(32.4)
Refused Program	63	(18.4)	11	(4.1)	21	(2.5)	12	(7.6)	38	(22.0)
Failure to Cooperate	66	(19.2)	139	(51.5)	158	(18.5)	91	(57.6)	64	(37.0)
Moved or Died	15	(4.4)	12	(4.4)	11	(1.3)	10	(6.3)	2	(1.2)
Client Rearrest	3	(0.9)	1	(0.4)	7	(0.8)	0	(0.0)	6	(3.5)
Inappropriate Referral	14	(4.1)	1	(0.4)	1	(0.1)	0	(0.0)	4	(2.3)
Project Decision	15	(4.4)	21	(7.8)	0	(0.0)	7	(4.4)	1	(0.6)
Court Request	0	(0.0)	7	(2.6)	0	(0.0)	11	(7.0)	2	(1.2)
Missing Data	68		301		108		27		123	

^aSee text for explanation.

^bThese 39 cases in Orange County were terminated because the victim of the crime refused to allow the alleged perpetrator to be referred to services.

which indicated that a client declined to participate before becoming enrolled in the program, and "failure to cooperate" which meant that the client received at least an initial interview before discontinuing. "Moved or died," "client rearrest," and "inappropriate referral" are self-explanatory. "Project decision" indicates that the project terminated the client usually for misbehavior or other failure to comply with project rules, while "court request" was used to designate cases returned to the justice system for reasons other than rearrest.

It is important to remember that the information in Table 4-3 was coded from project service records and consequently reflects inaccuracies in those records as well as the fallible judgement of the coder. Not infrequently the project staff was unable to supply definitive information about a case, and coders found it necessary to infer the data from case notes and memoranda.

For a more complete picture of the services offered by projects, several statistics were computed based on information obtained from project records. Unlike the results presented so far, the data presented in Tables 4-4 and 4-5 were drawn from the smaller data set (the "long form" information, which excludes Boston because of incomplete service records). Given the systematic way that the cases were selected, they should be representative of all cases referred to projects in their first 18 months of operations.

Table 4-4 shows the mean, median, and standard deviation of number of service contacts (not counting telephone contacts) received by project clients in three categories of services. The statistics were calculated for youths receiving services beyond intake, that is, excluding referrals who did not receive services or received only an initial intake interview. Both means and medians are reported because variable distributions were often skewed, with a

Table 4-4
Number of Service Contacts Received by Project Clients

	<u>Denver</u>		<u>Kansas City</u>		<u>Memphis</u>		<u>Orange County</u>		<u>John Jay-Transit</u>	
	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake
<u>Counseling</u>										
Mean # Contacts	17.0	20.6	21.3	23.5	5.5	7.6	1.4	1.8	8.7	13.9
Median # Contacts	13.6	18.4	10.5	13.5	1.3	3.0	0.9	1.1	2.4	3.4
Standard Deviation	16.9	16.5	30.3	31.1	9.6	10.9	2.3	2.5	33.8	43.8
<u>Jobs/Education</u>										
Mean # Contacts	18.2	22.1	19.8	22.0	3.4	4.9	1.8	2.3	5.5	9.5
Median # Contacts	6.8	22.0	6.0	8.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4
Standard Deviation	23.8	24.6	32.8	33.8	12.9	15.4	8.4	9.6	14.6	18.2
<u>Recreation</u>										
Mean # Contacts	0.8	1.0	3.4	3.7	4.4	6.4	8.5	11.4	6.2	10.7
Median # Contacts	0.2	0.2	0.9	1.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	5.1	0.1	0.2
Standard Deviation	2.7	3.0	6.1	6.3	10.7	12.4	16.4	18.0	39.9	52.2
<u>Total Services^a</u>										
Mean # Contacts	36.2	44.0	48.1	53.3	13.3	18.9	13.2	17.5	20.4	34.3
Median # Contacts	30.9	37.4	28.3	35.5	4.7	10.7	7.4	11.1	2.9	6.2
Standard Deviation	36.0	35.1	55.7	56.3	20.7	22.8	17.8	18.6	77.8	100.4

Table 4-4 Continued

	<u>Rosebud</u>		<u>Milwaukee</u>		<u>Puerto Rico</u>		<u>YES-MFY</u>		<u>Harlem</u>	
	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake	All Youths	Youths with Services beyond Intake
<u>Counseling</u>										
Mean # Contacts	8.9	10.3	3.7	3.8	10.1	10.4	10.2	10.3	5.3	6.6
Median # Contacts	5.3	6.7	1.1	1.1	7.8	8.2	5.6	5.7	3.2	4.3
Standard Deviation	10.3	10.4	9.9	10.0	8.2	8.1	13.4	13.4	7.6	8.0
<u>Jobs/Education</u>										
Mean # Contacts	0.3	0.4	21.0	21.6	0.9	0.9	9.0	9.1	1.3	1.7
Median # Contacts	0.1	0.1	5.3	7.0	0.2	0.2	1.3	1.3	0.2	0.3
Standard Deviation	1.3	1.4	32.5	32.7	2.5	2.6	20.1	20.2	3.3	3.7
<u>Recreation</u>										
Mean # Contacts	0.1	0.1	4.4	4.5	9.3	9.6	9.2	9.3	1.3	1.7
Median # Contacts	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	6.3	6.6	0.9	1.0	0.2	0.3
Standard Deviation	0.9	0.9	10.7	10.9	9.7	9.7	19.6	19.7	3.1	3.5
<u>Total Services^a</u>										
Mean # Contacts	0.1	10.9	4.4	29.9	9.3	21.1	9.2	28.8	1.3	10.4
Median # Contacts	5.4	6.9	12.3	13.7	17.5	18.0	11.3	11.5	4.0	5.8
Standard Deviation	10.9	11.1	39.6	39.9	15.3	15.1	45.3	45.5	12.8	13.6

^a Individual Service categories, i.e., Counseling Jobs/Education, and Recreation, do not sum to Total Services, because the total includes an Other Services category not shown in the table.

few clients receiving a large number of services contacts and the majority receiving very few. When distributions are symmetric, the mean and median coincide; but for the present purpose, the median is probably the better indicator of the "typical" number of contacts received by a client. The mean, on the other hand, can be used to calculate the total number of contacts provided by the project (the mean multiplied by the number of youths in services).

Based on the median values, typical clients in the Denver and Kansas City projects received the greatest number of contacts. The median number of contacts was 37.4 (Denver) and 35.5 (Kansas City) for youths enrolled in services beyond intake. Puerto Rico (18.0), Milwaukee (12.3), YES-MFY (11.5), Orange County (11.1), and Memphis (10.7) offered moderate amounts of services; Rosebud (6.9), John Jay-Transit Police (6.2), and Harlem (5.8) provided the least. It is important to note that these data tell us nothing about the quality of the service provided nor about the duration of an individual service contact. There was, of course, considerable variability in what a single service contact represented. For example, a 10-minute meeting at the youth's place of employment and a 24-hour day on a camping trip were both counted as one service contact.

In some cases (e.g., John Jay-Transit Police, Milwaukee, YES-MFY, and Harlem), the mean number of contacts greatly exceeded the median number, suggesting that a very few clients received a large number of contacts. For these projects particularly, the median may be misleading in estimating the total amount of services provided by a project.

Examination of the median number of contacts for particular services reveals important differences in the kinds of treatment offered by projects.

Memphis, John Jay-Transit Police, Rosebud, YES-MFY, and Harlem can be characterized as counseling projects, since that service was provided to most clients in substantial amounts. Orange County offered primarily recreation services, while Milwaukee provided jobs/education services. Denver and Kansas City offered large amounts of both counseling and jobs/education services, and Puerto Rico provided both counseling and recreation.

Consideration of the the mean number of contacts changes the picture only slightly. At YES-MFY the mean number of contacts for all three service categories was quite similar. In other words, the project provided approximately the same total number of contacts in counseling, jobs/education, and recreation, but provided a disproportionately large number of contacts to a few clients in the latter two categories. A similar distribution can be found in Memphis and John Jay-Transit Police; otherwise the basic pattern of treatment focus remains as was just described.

Table 4-5 reports other measures of the extent of services: the number of months in which services were delivered and the number of months of program enrollment, that is, the length of the period between project intake and termination. The two measures are not the same because clients did not receive services in every month in which they were enrolled as clients. In fact, the discrepancy between the two values gives a rough estimate of the frequency of service contacts and the project's promptness in terminating clients who were no longer receiving services.

On the average, Denver and Kansas City kept clients in services the longest, 8.8 and 6.3 months, respectively. This corresponds to the larger number of contacts provided by these projects as well. Rosebud and YES-MFY had the next greatest number (4.7), and John Jay-Transit Police had the least

Table 4-5
Length of Services Received by Project Clients

	Mean Number of Months in which Services were Delivered	Mean Number of Months of Program Enrollment
Denver	8.8 (233)	9.7 (289)
Kansas City	6.3 (238)	7.9 (282)
Memphis	4.1 (273)	7.8 (304)
Orange County	3.4 (248)	4.8 (336)
John Jay-Transit	2.5 (231)	4.6 (233)
Rosebud	4.7 (235)	7.5 (257)
Milwaukee	3.7 (218)	9.1 (226)
Puerto Rico	4.2 (345)	5.7 (354)
YES-MFY	4.7 (67)	7.1 (89)
Harlem	3.0 (96)	4.5 (123)

NOTE: The number of cases on which the average is based appears in parentheses.

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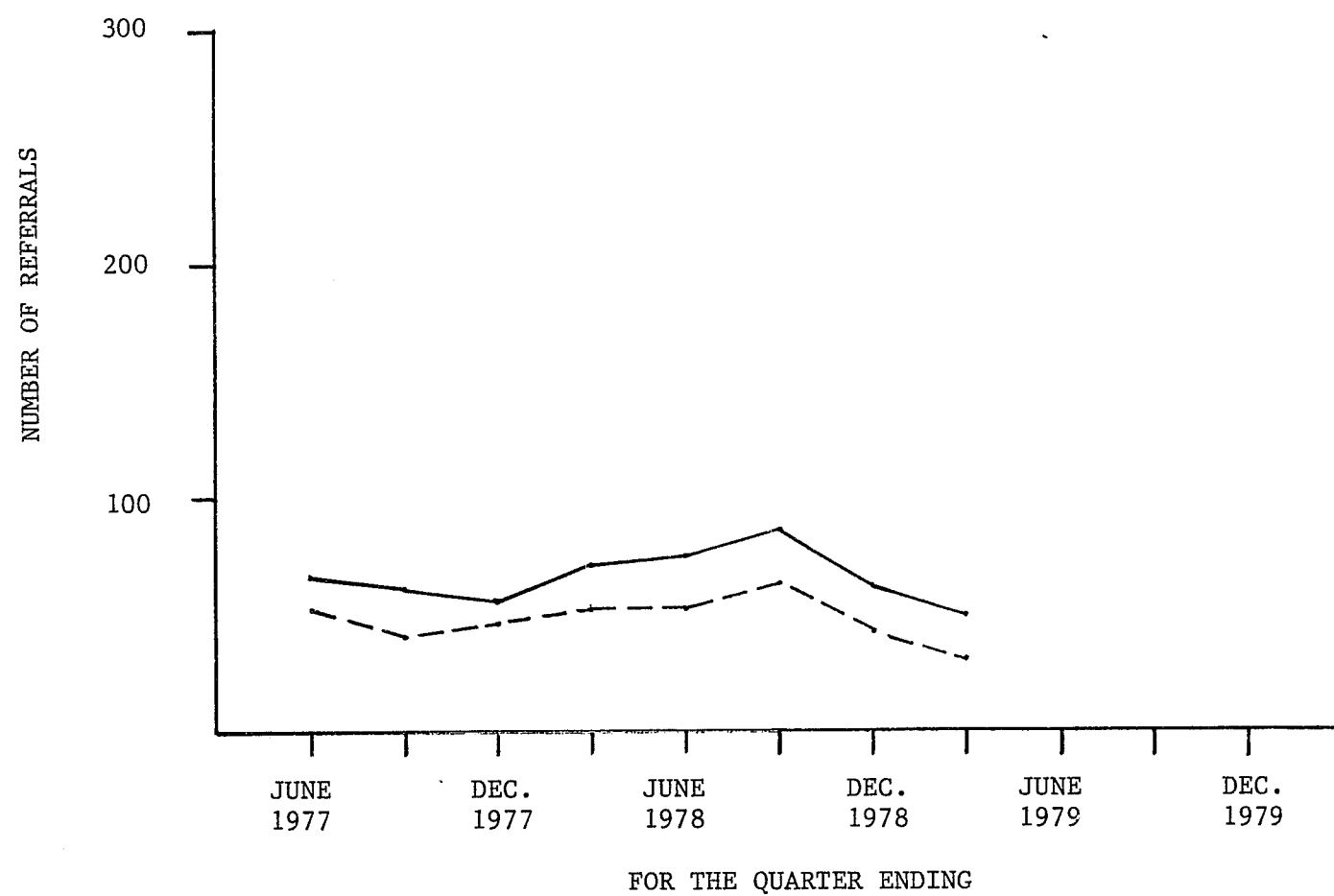
(2.5). The rest of the projects did not vary greatly in the mean number of months in which services were delivered.

As we have seen, there is probably no simple way to describe the services provided by projects to their clients. Variations in the distribution of services over clients and over time are represented to a degree in Tables 4-4 and 4-5. No attempt was made to address differences in the quality of services, the duration of service contacts, and the precise nature of service content. Nonetheless, some patterns emerged that have allowed us to make these general statements about the quantity and the focus of services provided by the 10 projects.

D. Distribution of Referrals Over Time

Figures 4-1 through 4-11 are testament to the extreme variability among projects in their ability to obtain referrals from the juvenile justice system. Using the more inclusive data set, two statistics were plotted quarterly for each of the project's first two years of operations: the total number of new referrals to the project (solid line) and the total number of new referrals who eventually received services beyond an initial intake interview (dashed line). Since projects began accepting referrals in different months, the time periods do not coincide. They do, however, represent developmentally similar periods, since they all begin with the first month in which referrals were received.

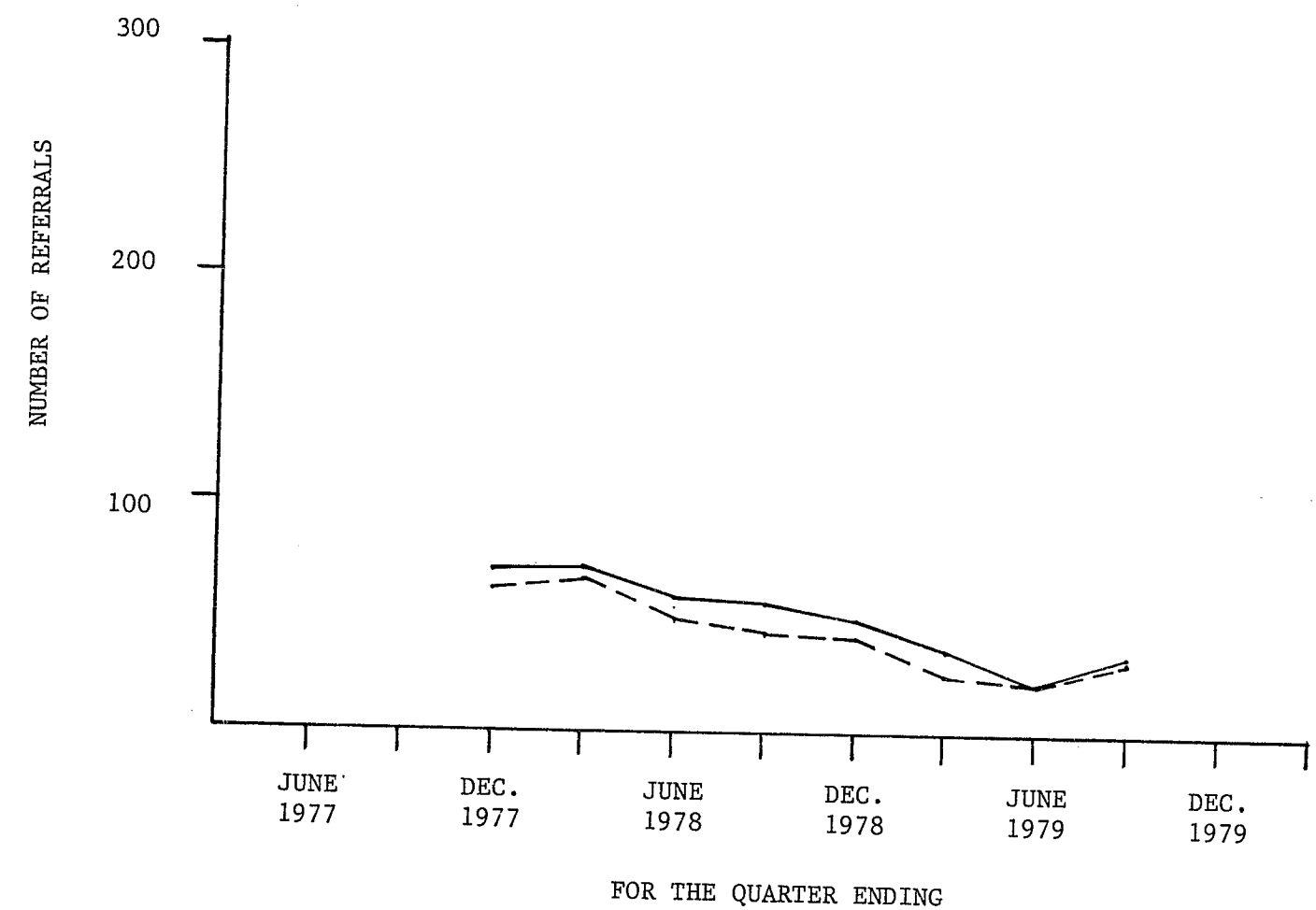
Memphis, Orange County, and John Jay-Transit Police were the largest projects; each had one or more quarters in excess of 200 referrals. YES-MFY and Harlem were the smallest, never receiving more than 60 referrals in a single quarter. There was considerable variability within projects, too. The



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

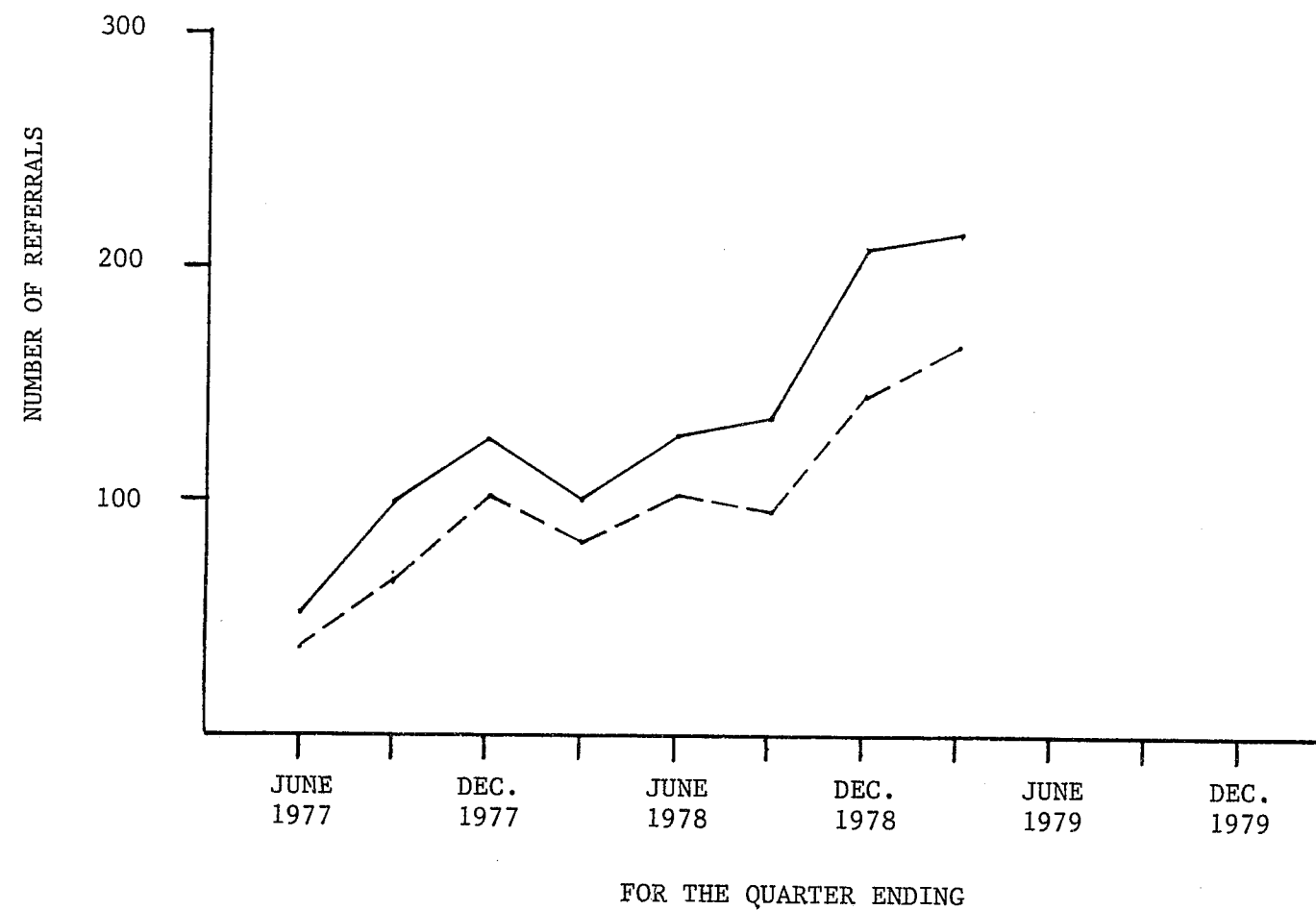
Figure 4-1
Referrals per Quarter to
Central Denver Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

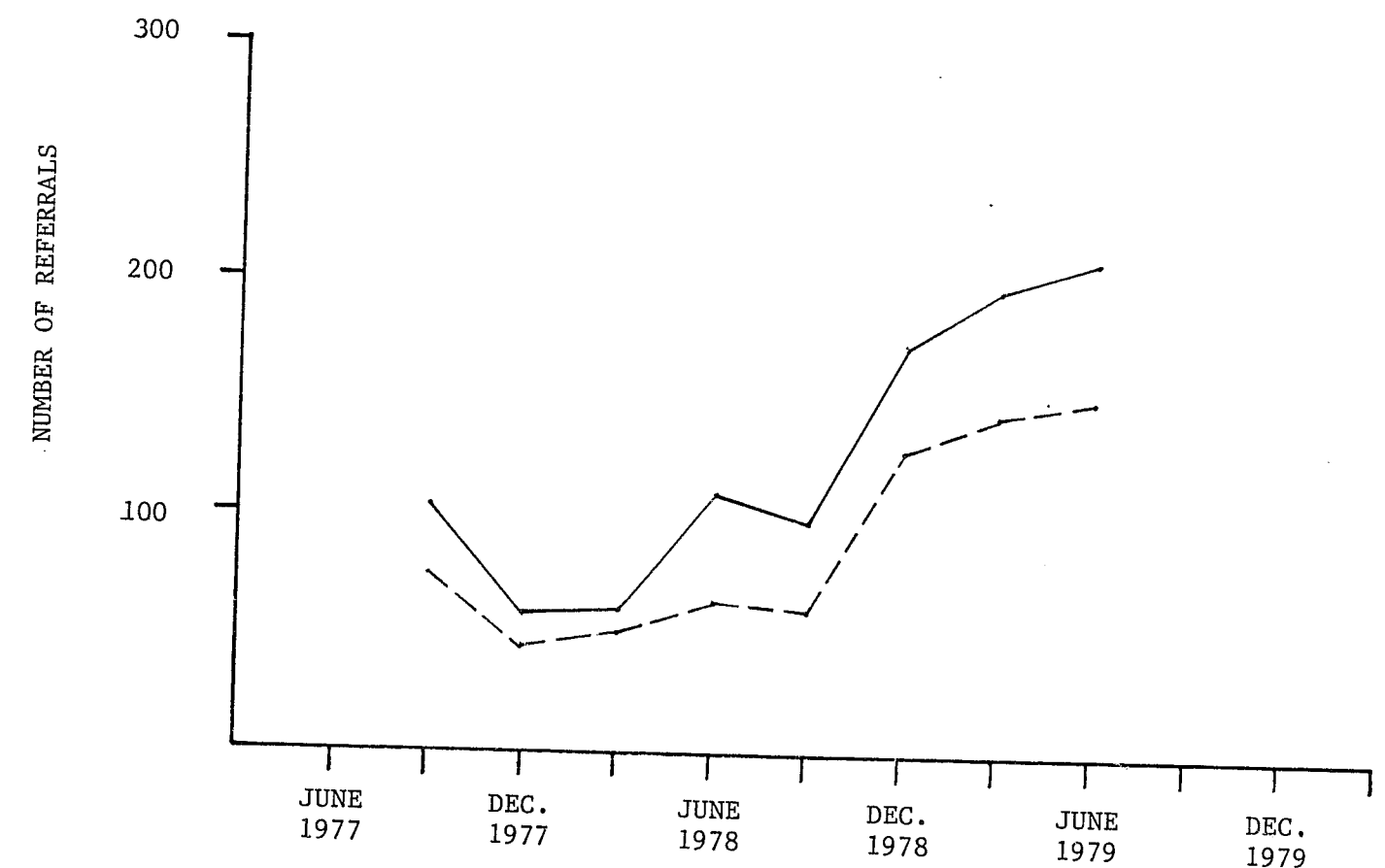
Figure 4-2
Referrals per Quarter to
Kansas City Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

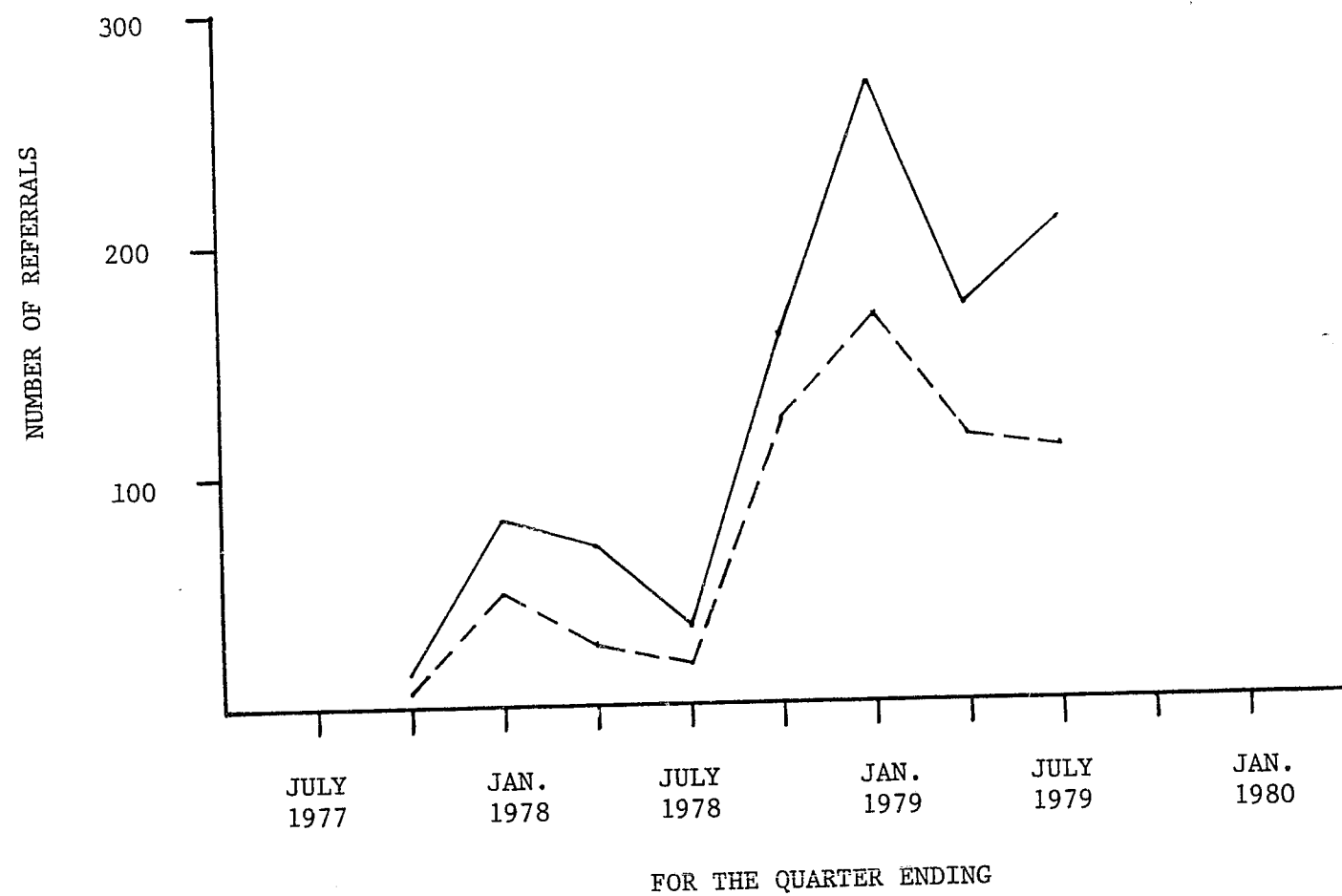
Figure 4-3
Referrals per Quarter to
Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

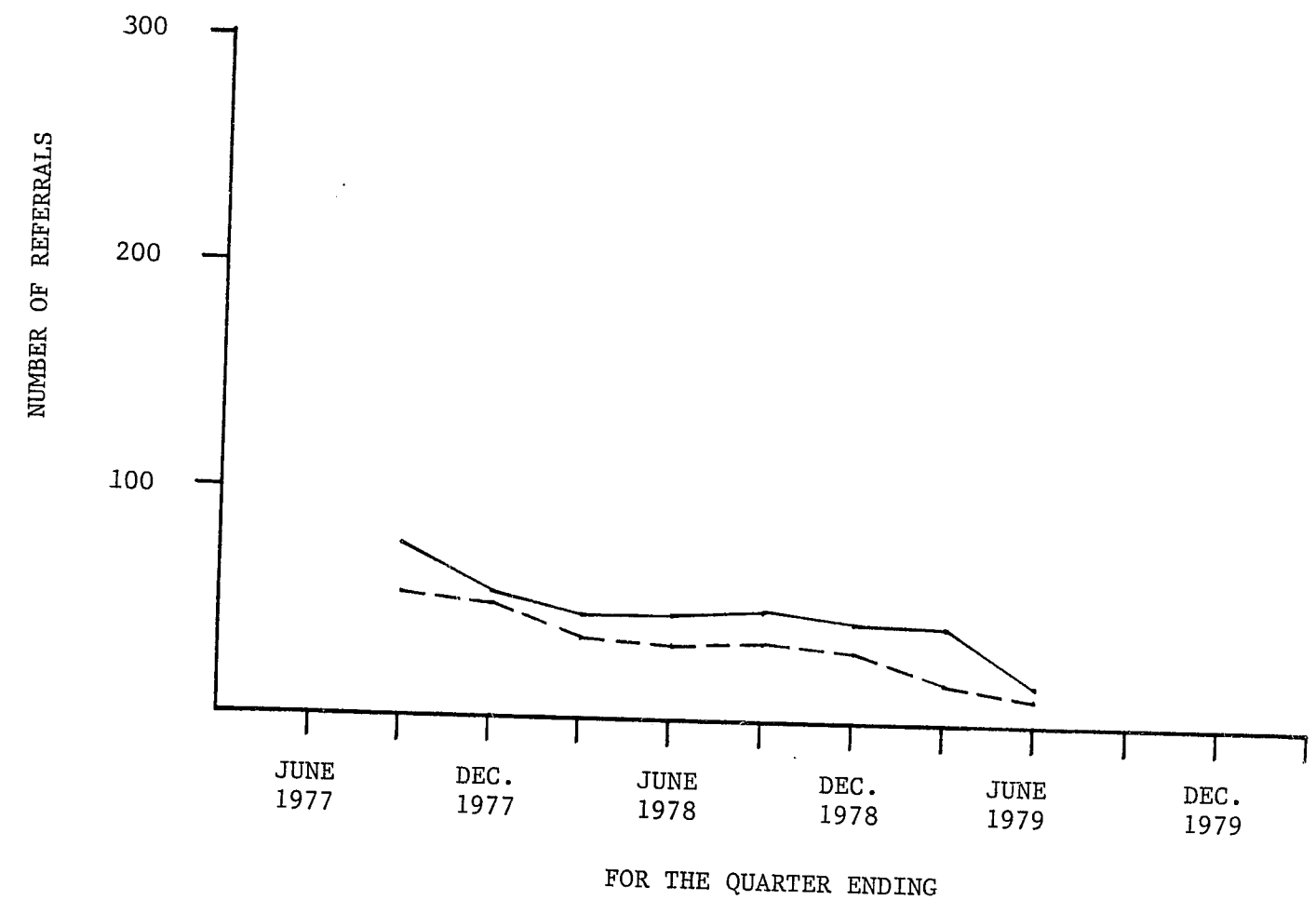
Figure 4-4
Referrals per Quarter to
Orange County, Florida, Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

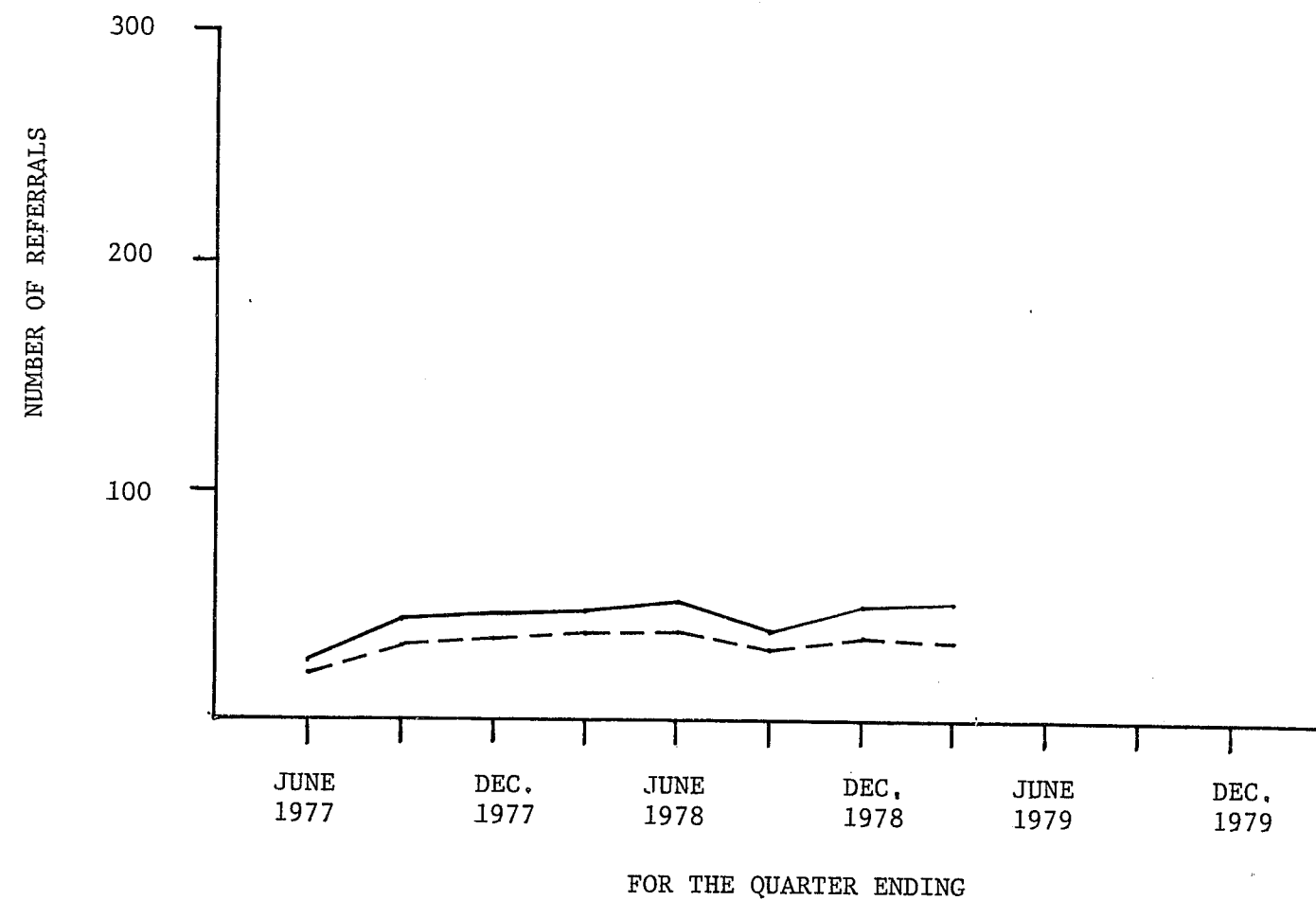
Figure 4-5
Referrals per Quarter to
John Jay College-New York City Transit Police
Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

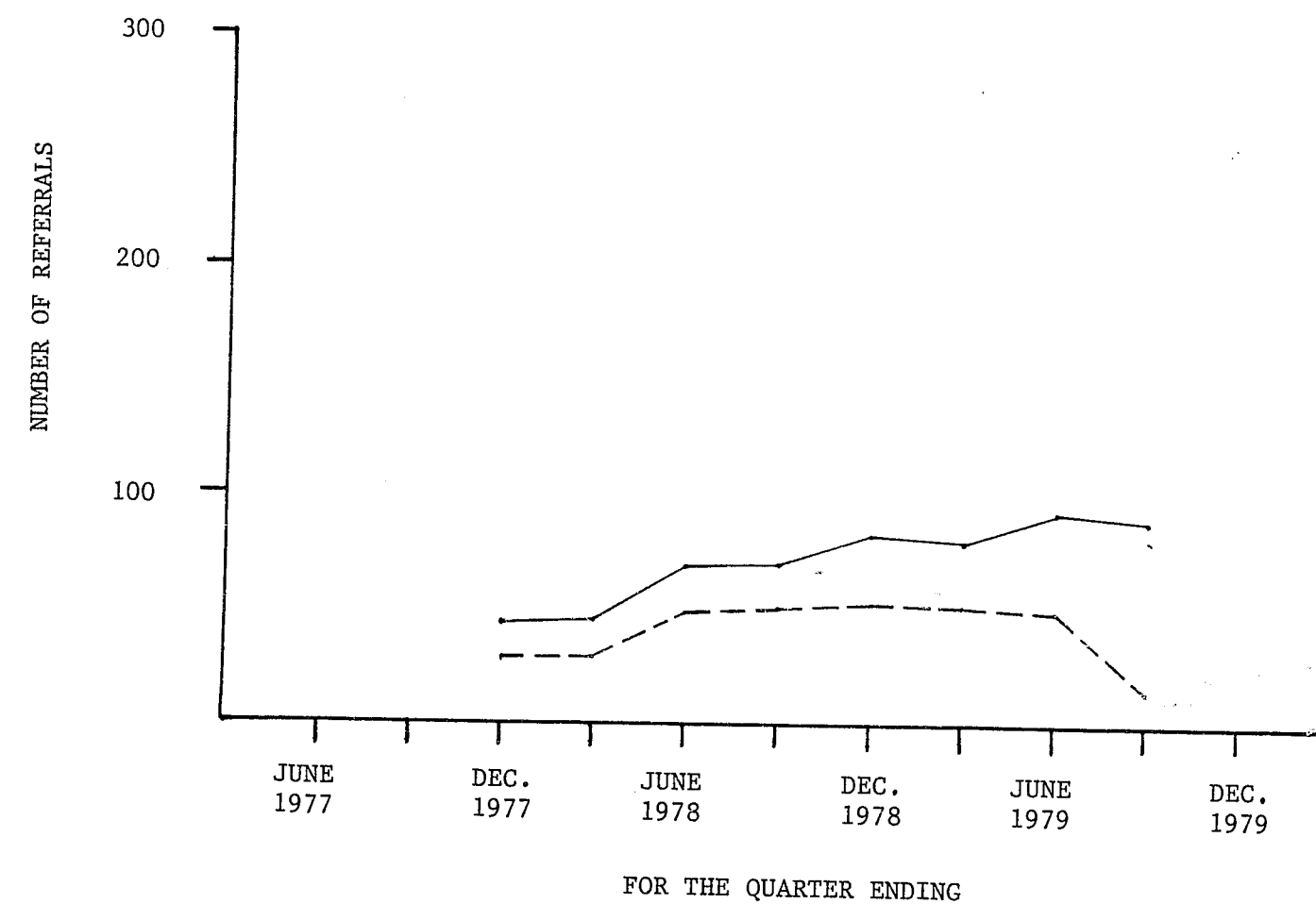
Figure 4-6
Referrals per Quarter to
Rosebud Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

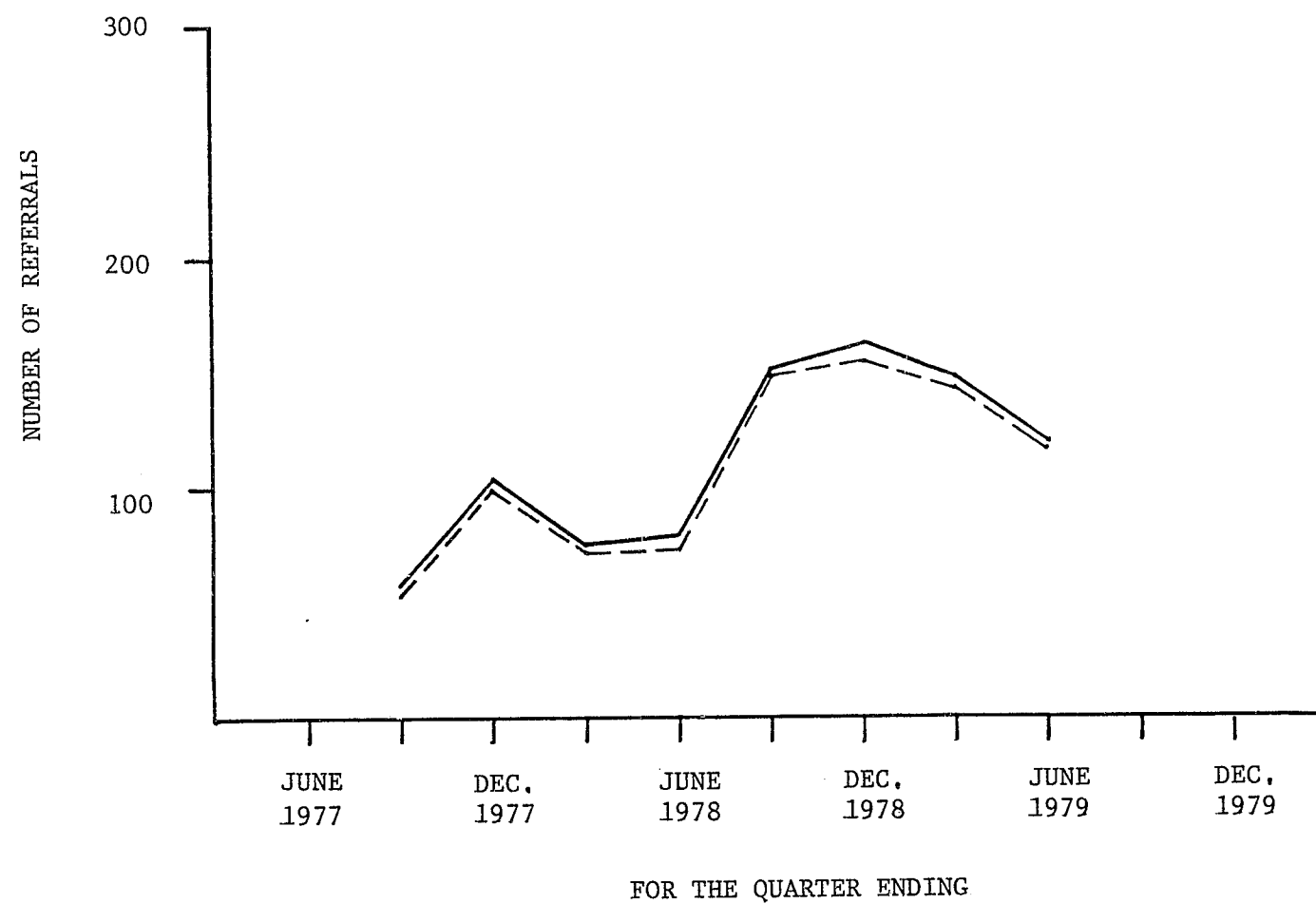
Figure 4-7
Referrals per Quarter to
Boston Advocacy Program Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

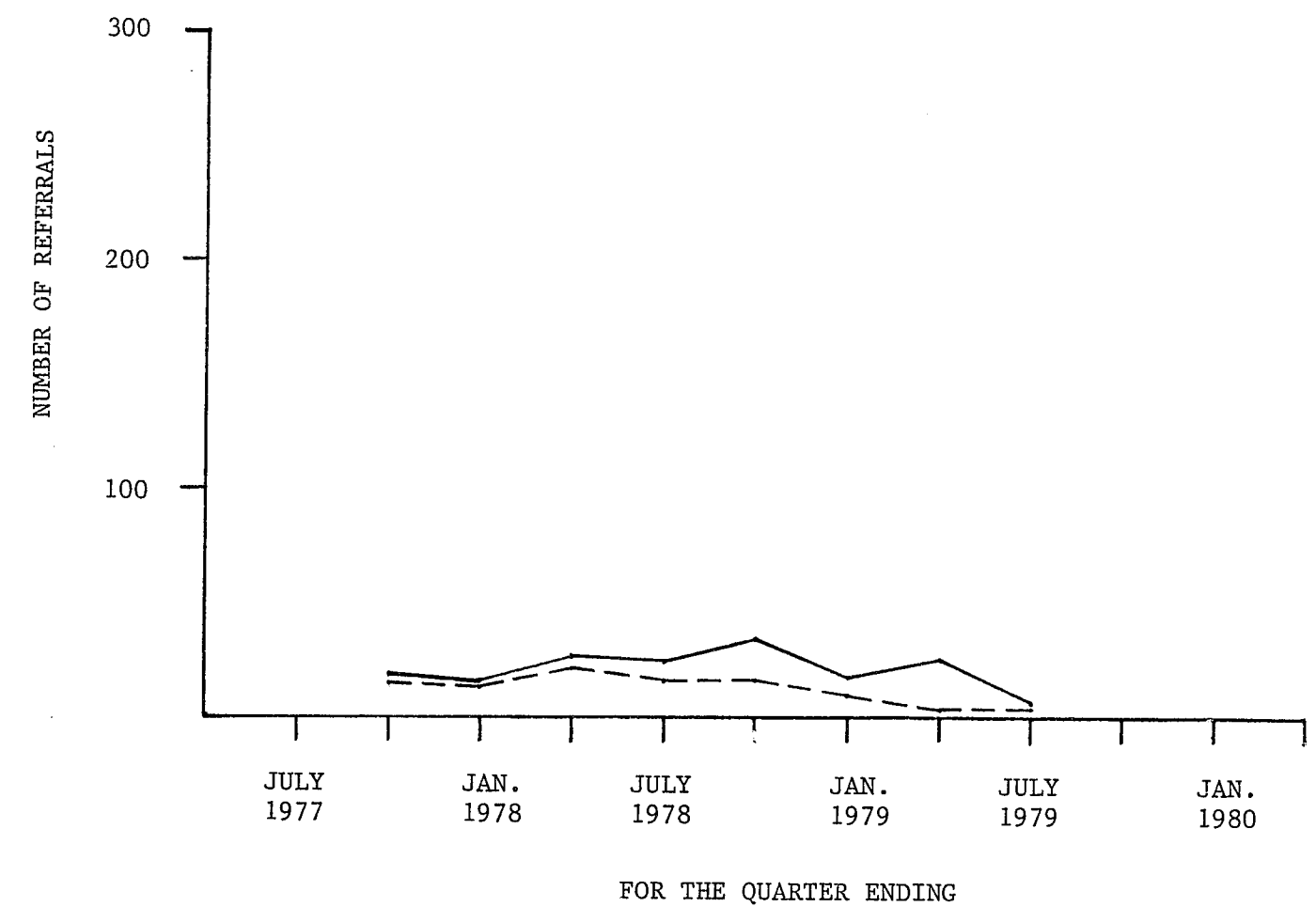
Figure 4-8
Referrals per Quarter to
Alternatives for Youth Diversion Project Milwaukee



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

Figure 4-9
Referrals per Quarter to
Puerto Rico Youth Diversion Project



Solid line represents total number of new referrals

Dashed line represents number of new referrals enrolled in services beyond intake

Figure 4-10
Referrals per Quarter to
Youth Employment Skills Program, Mobilization for Youth, New York City

John Jay-Transit Police Project, for example, had 34 and 159 referrals in successive quarters; Puerto Rico nearly doubled the number of referrals it received in two successive quarters in 1978. Note also that dramatic increases in new referrals are not immediately reflected in corresponding increases in new referrals enrolled in services. Memphis, Orange County, John Jay-Transit Police, and Milwaukee show instances of a decrease in the percentage of cases receiving services when the absolute number of new referrals increases.

Some general trends over time are discernable. Many projects had increasing success in obtaining referrals over the period for which data were collected. Memphis, Orange County, John Jay-Transit Police (with the exception of one quarter in 1978 when most of the project staff was temporarily reassigned to patrol), Puerto Rico, and (to a lesser extent) Milwaukee all showed quarterly increases in new referrals which, toward the end of the two-year period, approached the number of referrals projected in their original applications for funds. None of the projects, however, achieved the projected number of referrals in its first year of operation. Denver, Rosebud, YES-MFY, and Boston showed fairly steady referral rates, with some minor fluctuations from quarter to quarter; referrals to Kansas City and Harlem actually appeared to decrease over the two-year period.

III. Relation between Client Characteristics and Service Delivery

Consideration of the relation between client characteristics and the kind and amount of services they received serves a dual purpose. First, it helps determine whether or not certain kinds of clients (e.g., males, nonwhites, youths with a greater number of prior offenses) were more likely to receive a

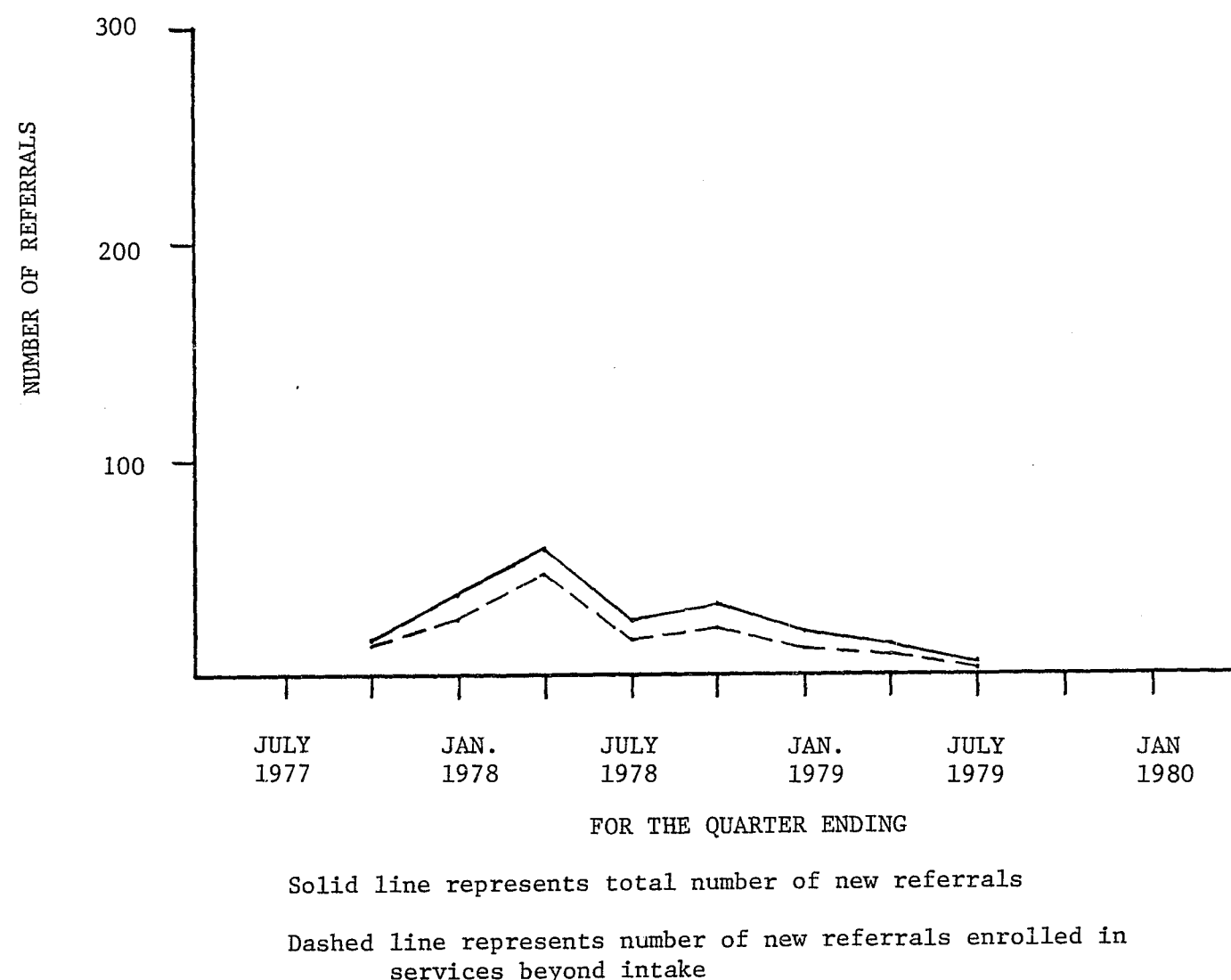


Figure 4-11
Referrals per Quarter to
Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project

particular kind of service or were more likely to receive more attention from service providers. If a degree of relationship greater than what might be expected by chance is found, it would suggest that the project staff assigned youths to service options according to some, perhaps implicit, scheme. Or, to the extent that clients had a voice in the selection, it would indicate that self-selection into service options occurred systematically.

Second, the relation between client characteristics and client services can be viewed as a test of the comparability of a group that received services and a group that did not. The initial equivalence of service groups is a key consideration in evaluating the results of the analysis of covariance described below. As in Chapter 3, respondents who received services were compared on outcome measures with respondents who did not, after statistically controlling for initial differences between groups. Thus, the results of the present analysis aid in the interpretation of the results described in the next section of the report.

Tables 4-6 through 4-15 present crosstabulations of selected client characteristics - sex, age, ethnicity, seriousness of presenting offense, and number of arrests prior to referral - with variables that describe the kind (Counseling, Jobs/Education, and Recreation) and total amount (0 or 1 contact, 2 to 20 contacts, 21 or more contacts) of services. The first three service variables are identical to the composite indicies used in Chapter 3; their coding and scoring are described on pages 117 to 127. Note, however, that the fourth service variable, Total Service Contacts, has been scored somewhat differently. For the present analysis, Low consists of 0 or 1 contact, Medium of 2 to 20 contacts, and High of 21 or more contacts. The chief reason for this recoding was that it provides a more even distribution of cases for the

variable when non-impact sites are considered. (Only impact sites were included in the analysis for which the coding was originally formulated.) An even distribution of cases across levels of a variable is, of course, desirable when statistical tests are performed on the data. Furthermore, the recoding provides an opportunity to confirm some of the results presented in Chapter 3 by repeating analyses with a different coding of the independent variable. Cases returned to the justice system because they failed to meet project criteria (i.e., inappropriate referrals) were excluded for this set of analyses.

In Denver (Table 4-6), males and more serious offenders were more likely to receive counseling and job/education services as compared with females and youths with less serious (i.e., status offense and misdemeanor) offenses. Younger clients (under 16 years) were more likely than older clients to receive recreation services. In terms of total number of service contacts, males and more serious offenders also received a greater number of contacts. Two-thirds of the boys versus one-half the girls and 74.6% of those with felonies as presenting offenses versus 55.1% of those with less serious presenting offenses were in the high service category (21 or more contacts). This result suggests that the Denver project made a concerted effort to retain clients least likely to continue in services, i.e., clients arrested for felonies. It is particularly noteworthy at a site where return to the justice system at the court's request or because of rearrest are significant reasons for termination, since the less serious cases would have a better chance of remaining in services for any length of time.

The only statistically significant relationships in the Kansas City data relate to age (Table 4-7). Youths of age 14 and 15 had a better chance of

Table 4-6
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Denver

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	48 (18.0)	218 (82.0)	72 (27.1)	194 (72.9)	195 (73.3)	71 (26.7)	42 (15.8)	48 (18.0)	176 (66.2)
Female	13 (37.1)	22 (62.9)	18 (51.4)	17 (48.6)	27 (77.1)	8 (22.9)	13 (37.1)	5 (14.3)	17 (48.6)
	$\chi^2=6.98$, df=1, $p<.01$		$\chi^2=8.76$, df=1, $p<.01$		$\chi^2=.234$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=9.46$, df=2, $p<.01$		
White	3 (6.7)	42 (93.3)	9 (20.0)	36 (80.0)	32 (71.1)	13 (28.9)	2 (4.4)	7 (15.6)	36 (80.0)
Nonwhite	30 (13.6)	191 (86.4)	51 (23.1)	170 (76.9)	156 (70.6)	65 (29.4)	25 (11.3)	44 (19.9)	152 (68.8)
	$\chi^2=1.64$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.202$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.0049$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.77$, df=2, N.S.		
13 and Under ^a	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)
14 and 15 ^a	27 (20.9)	102 (79.1)	36 (27.9)	93 (72.1)	88 (68.2)	41 (31.8)	24 (18.6)	16 (12.4)	89 (69.0)
16 and Over	32 (19.3)	134 (80.7)	51 (30.7)	115 (69.3)	131 (78.9)	35 (21.1)	29 (17.5)	36 (21.7)	101 (60.8)
	$\chi^2=.049$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.300$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=5.468$, df=1, $p<.05$		$\chi^2=4.111$, df=2, N.S.		
Status Offense	9 (39.1)	14 (60.9)	13 (56.5)	10 (43.5)	15 (65.2)	8 (34.8)	9 (39.1) ^b	5 (21.7) ^b	9 (39.1) ^b
Misdemeanor	26 (21.0)	98 (79.0)	39 (31.5)	85 (68.5)	93 (75.0)	31 (25.0)	24 (19.4) ^b	28 (22.6) ^b	72 (58.1) ^b
Felony	16 (12.7)	110 (87.3)	26 (20.6)	100 (79.4)	91 (72.2)	35 (27.8)	13 (10.3)	19 (15.1)	94 (74.6)
	$\chi^2=9.727$, df=2, $p<.01$		$\chi^2=13.197$, df=2, $p<.005$		$\chi^2=.993$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=11.886$, df=2, $p<.005$		
No Prior Arrests	6 (28.6)	15 (71.4)	6 (28.6)	15 (71.4)	15 (71.4)	6 (28.6)	5 (23.8)	2 (9.5)	14 (66.7)
1 Prior Arrest	9 (28.1)	23 (71.9)	10 (31.3)	22 (68.8)	25 (78.1)	7 (21.9)	7 (21.9)	6 (18.8)	19 (59.4)
2 Prior Arrests	12 (29.3)	29 (70.7)	15 (36.6)	26 (63.4)	31 (75.6)	10 (24.4)	12 (29.3)	2 (4.9)	27 (65.9)
3 or More Prior Arrests	35 (16.7)	174 (83.3)	60 (28.7)	149 (71.3)	153 (73.2)	56 (26.8)	32 (15.3)	43 (20.6)	134 (64.1)
	$\chi^2=5.73$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.06$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=.48$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=10.05$, df=6, N.S.		

^a"13 and Under" and "14 and 15" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^b"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-7
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Kansas City

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	56 (19.4)	233 (80.6)	69 (23.9)	220 (76.1)	124 (42.9)	165 (57.1)	47 (16.3)	69 (23.9)	173 (59.9)
Female	9 (20.9)	34 (79.1)	13 (30.2)	30 (69.8)	23 (53.5)	20 (46.5)	9 (20.9)	11 (25.6)	23 (53.5)
	$\chi^2=.057$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.81$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.78$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.79$, df=2, N.S.		
White	25 (23.8)	80 (76.2)	31 (29.5)	74 (70.5)	49 (46.7)	56 (53.3)	19 (18.1)	30 (28.6)	56 (53.3)
Nonwhite	39 (17.4)	185 (82.6)	50 (22.3)	174 (77.7)	95 (42.4)	129 (57.6)	36 (16.1)	50 (22.3)	138 (61.6)
	$\chi^2=1.87$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.00$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.526$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.15$, df=2, N.S.		
13 and Under	21 (23.3)	69 (76.7)	26 (28.9)	64 (71.1)	27 (30.0)	63 (70.0)	17 (18.9)	20 (22.2)	53 (58.9)
14 and 15	19 (13.7)	120 (86.3)	24 (17.3)	115 (82.7)	57 (41.0)	82 (59.0)	15 (10.8)	30 (21.6)	94 (67.6)
16 and Over	24 (24.0)	76 (76.0)	31 (31.0)	69 (69.0)	61 (61.0)	39 (39.0)	23 (23.0)	29 (29.0)	48 (48.0)
	$\chi^2=5.15$, df=2, p<.10		$\chi^2=7.13$, df=2, p<.05		$\chi^2=19.38$, df=2, p<.001		$\chi^2=10.81$, df=4, p<.05		
Status									
Offense ^a	1 (16.7)	5 (83.3)	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)	3 (50.0)	2 (33.3)
Misdemeanor ^a	32 (18.8)	138 (81.2)	41 (24.1)	129 (75.9)	81 (47.6)	89 (52.4)	29 (17.1)	41 (24.1)	100 (58.8)
Felony	31 (20.3)	122 (79.7)	37 (24.2)	116 (75.8)	59 (38.6)	94 (61.4)	25 (16.3)	35 (22.9)	93 (60.8)
	$\chi^2=.119$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.029$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.524$, df=1, p<.10		$\chi^2=.289$, df=2, N.S.		
No Prior									
Arrests	29 (21.8)	104 (78.2)	39 (29.3)	94 (70.7)	54 (40.6)	79 (59.4)	26 (19.5)	30 (22.6)	77 (57.9)
1 Prior Arrest	20 (21.1)	75 (78.9)	23 (24.2)	72 (75.8)	37 (38.9)	58 (61.1)	17 (17.9)	20 (21.1)	58 (61.1)
2 Prior Arrests	8 (21.1)	30 (78.9)	10 (26.3)	28 (73.7)	21 (55.3)	17 (44.7)	6 (15.8)	11 (28.9)	21 (55.3)
3 or More Prior									
Arrests	8 (12.5)	56 (87.5)	10 (15.6)	54 (84.4)	34 (53.1)	30 (46.9)	7 (10.9)	18 (28.1)	39 (60.9)
	$\chi^2=2.624$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=4.406$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=5.712$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.501$, df=6, N.S.		

^a"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-8
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Memphis

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	158 (59.2)	109 (40.8)	236 (88.4)	31 (4.9)	195 (73.0)	72 (27.0)	93 (34.8)	116 (43.4)	58 (21.7)
Female	20 (58.8)	14 (41.2)	27 (79.4)	7 (20.6)	28 (82.4)	6 (17.6)	13 (38.2)	13 (38.2)	8 (23.5)
	$\chi^2=2.0015$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.20$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.36$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.335$, df=2, N.S.		
White	33 (40.7)	48 (59.3)	77 (95.1)	4 (4.9)	72 (88.9)	9 (11.1)	26 (32.1)	47 (58.0)	8 (9.9)
Nonwhite	145 (65.9)	75 (34.1)	186 (84.5)	34 (15.5)	151 (68.6)	69 (31.4)	80 (36.4)	82 (37.3)	58 (26.4)
	$\chi^2=15.5$, df=1, p<.001		$\chi^2=5.93$, df=1, p<.05		$\chi^2=12.64$, df=1 p<.001		$\chi^2=13.59$, df=2, p<.01		
13 and Under	55 (74.3)	19 (25.7)	73 (98.6)	1 (1.4)	41 (55.4)	33 (44.6)	25 (33.8)	30 (40.5)	19 (25.7)
14 and 15	63 (61.8)	39 (38.2)	87 (85.3)	15 (14.7)	77 (75.5)	25 (24.5)	42 (41.2)	37 (36.3)	23 (22.5)
16 and Over	60 (48.0)	65 (52.0)	103 (82.4)	22 (17.6)	105 (84.0)	20 (16.0)	39 (31.2)	62 (49.6)	24 (19.2)
	$\chi^2=13.77$, df=2, p<.001		$\chi^2=11.73$, df=2, p<.01		$\chi^2=19.95$, df=2, p<.001		$\chi^2=5.01$, df=4, N.S.		
Status									
Offense ^a	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)	6 (100 0)	0 (0.0)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)	0 (0.0)
Misdemeanor ^a	37 (69.8)	16 (30.2)	48 (90 6)	5 (9.4)	37 (69.8)	16 (30.2)	21 (39.6)	20 (37.7)	12 (22.6)
Felony	138 (57.0)	104 (43.0)	209 (86.4)	33 (13.6)	181 (74.8)	61 (25.2)	81 (34.3)	105 (43.4)	54 (22.3)
	$\chi^2=2.278$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.146$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.321$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.577$, df=2, N.S.		
No Prior									
Arrests	98 (60.5)	64 (39.45)	144 (88.9)	18 (11.1)	112 (69.1)	50 (30.9)	55 (34.0)	69 (42.6)	38 (23.5)
1 Prior Arrest	44 (50.0)	44 (50.0)	75 (85.2)	13 (14.8)	70 (79.5)	18 (20.5)	26 (29.5)	43 (48.9)	19 (21.6)
2 Prior Arrests	22 (71.0)	6 (30.0)	26 (83.9) ^b	5 (16.1) ^b	26 (83.9)	5 (16.1)	15 (48.4) ^b	10 (32.3) ^b	6 (19.4) ^b
3 or More Prior									
Arrests	14 (70.0)	6 (30.0)	18 (90.0) ^b	2 (10.0) ^b	15 (75.0)	5 (25.0)	10 (50.0) ^b	7 (35.0) ^b	3 (15.0) ^b
	$\chi^2=5.93$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=.761$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=4.99$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=6.063$, df=4, N.S.		

^a"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^b"2 Prior Arrests" and "3 or More Prior Arrests" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-9
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Orange County

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	193 (87.7)	27 (12.3)	204 (92.7)	16 (7.3)	116 (52.7)	104 (47.3)	61 (27.7)	105 (47.7)	54 (24.5)
Female	83 (85.6)	14 (14.4)	93 (95.9)	4 (4.1)	61 (62.9)	36 (37.1)	20 (20.6)	59 (60.8)	18 (18.6)
	$\chi^2=.27$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.12$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.81$, df=1, p<.10		$\chi^2=4.62$, df=2, p<.10		
White	193 (85.4)	33 (14.6)	215 (95.1)	11 (4.9)	134 (59.3)	92 (40.7)	62 (27.4)	127 (56.2)	37 (16.4)
Nonwhite	82 (91.1)	8 (8.9)	81 (90.0)	9 (10.0)	43 (47.8)	47 (52.2)	19 (21.1)	36 (40.0)	35 (38.9)
	$\chi^2=1.86$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.86$, df=1, p<.10		$\chi^2=3.46$, df=1, p<.01		$\chi^2=18.60$, df=2, p<.001		
13 and Under	60 (85.7)	10 (14.3)	68 (97.1) ^e	2 (2.9) ^e	26 (37.1)	44 (62.9)	17 (24.3)	29 (41.4)	24 (34.3)
14 and 15	98 (88.3)	13 (11.7)	102 (91.9) ^e	9 (8.1) ^e	60 (54.1)	51 (45.9)	20 (18.0)	61 (55.0)	30 (27.0)
16 and Over	116 (86.6)	18 (13.4)	125 (93.3)	9 (6.7)	89 (66.4)	45 (33.6)	42 (31.3)	74 (55.2)	18 (13.4)
	$\chi^2=.29$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=.053$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=16.11$, df=2, p<.001		$\chi^2=16.32$, df=4, p<.01		
Status									
Offense ^a	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)
Misdemeanor ^a	245 (86.6)	38 (13.4)	265 (93.6)	18 (6.4)	155 (54.8)	128 (45.2)	66 (23.3)	150 (53.0)	67 (23.7)
Felony	23 (92.0)	2 (8.0)	24 (96.0)	1 (4.0)	16 (64.0)	9 (36.0)	11 (44.0)	11 (44.0)	3 (12.0)
	$\chi^2=.565$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.263$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.804$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=5.698$, df=2, p<.10		
No Prior Arrests	221 (86.3)	35 (13.7)	238 (93.0)	18 (7.0)	142 (55.5) ^c	114 (44.5) ^c	61 (23.8) ^d	137 (53.5) ^d	58 (22.7) ^d
1 Prior Arrest	37 (90.2) ^b	4 (9.8) ^b	40 (97.6) ^b	1 (2.4) ^b	22 (53.7) ^c	19 (46.3) ^c	10 (24.4) ^d	19 (43.3) ^d	12 (29.3) ^d
2 Prior Arrests	8 (100.0) ^b	0 (0.0) ^b	8 (100.0) ^b	0 (0.0) ^b	7 (87.5) ^c	1 (12.5) ^c	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)
3 or More Prior Arrests	8 (80.0) ^b	2 (20.0) ^b	9 (90.0) ^b	1 (10.0) ^b	4 (40.0)	6 (60.0)	1 (10.0)	7 (70.0)	2 (20.0)
	$\chi^2=.520$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.069$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.286$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.431$, df=2, N.S.		

^a"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^b"1 Prior Arrest," "2 Prior Arrests," and "3 or More Prior Arrests" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^c"No Prior Arrests," "1 Prior Arrest," and "2 Prior Arrests" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^d"No Prior Arrests" and "1 Prior Arrest" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^e"13 and Under" and "14 and 15" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-10
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
John Jay-Transit Police

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	63 (29.7)	149 (70.3)	156 (73.6)	56 (26.4)	175 (82.5)	37 (17.5)	61 (28.8)	113 (53.3)	38 (17.9)
Female	9 (50.0)	9 (50.0)	13 (72.2)	5 (27.8)	17 (94.4)	1 (5.6)	7 (38.9)	7 (38.9)	4 (22.2)
	$\chi^2=3.17$, df=1, $p<.10$		$\chi^2=.015$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.70$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.40$, df=2, N.S.		
White	16 (35.6)	29 (64.4)	37 (82.2)	8 (17.8)	40 (88.9)	5 (11.1)	16 (35.6)	23 (51.1)	6 (13.3)
Nonwhite	56 (30.3)	129 (69.7)	132 (71.4)	53 (28.6)	152 (82.2)	33 (17.8)	52 (28.1)	97 (52.4)	36 (19.5)
	$\chi^2=.470$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.19$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.18$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.43$, df=2, N.S.		
13 and Under	25 (31.3)	55 (68.8)	61 (76.3)	19 (23.8)	63 (78.7)	17 (21.2)	25 (31.3)	40 (50.0)	15 (18.8)
14 and 15 ^a	46 (31.3)	101 (68.7)	105 (71.4)	42 (28.6)	126 (85.7)	21 (14.3)	42 (28.6)	78 (53.1)	27 (18.4)
16 and Over ^a	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	0 (0.0)
	$\chi^2=.000$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.484$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.988$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.245$, df=2, N.S.		
Status									
Offense	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	32 (84.2) ^b	6 (15.8) ^b	26 (68.4) ^b	12 (31.6) ^b	9 (23.7) ^b	29 (76.3) ^b	0 (0.0) ^b
Misdemeanor	60 (32.3) ^c	126 (67.7) ^c	133 (71.5) ^b	53 (28.5)	161 (86.6) ^b	25 (13.4) ^b	56 (30.1) ^b	90 (48.4) ^b	40 (21.5) ^b
Felony	2 (40.0) ^c	3 (60.0) ^c	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)
	$\chi^2=.133$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.7447$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=7.392$, df=1, $p<.01$		$\chi^2=13.812$, df=2, $p<.005$		
No Prior									
Arrests	38 (36.9)	65 (63.1)	77 (74.8)	26 (25.2)	88 (85.4)	15 (14.6)	36 (35.0)	45 (43.7)	22 (21.4)
1 Prior Arrest	18 (27.3)	48 (72.7)	44 (66.7)	22 (33.3)	52 (78.8)	14 (21.2)	16 (24.2)	37 (56.1)	13 (19.7)
2 Prior Arrests	9 (34.6)	17 (65.4)	21 (80.8)	5 (19.2)	23 (88.5)	3 (11.5)	9 (34.6)	15 (57.7)	2 (7.7)
3 or More Prior Arrests	6 (17.6)	28 (82.4)	26 (76.5)	8 (23.5)	28 (82.4)	6 (17.6)	6 (17.6)	23 (67.6)	5 (14.7)
	$\chi^2=5.09$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.51$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.83$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=9.27$, df=6, N.S.		

^a"14 and 15" and "16 and Over" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^b"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^c"Misdemeanor" and "Felony" categories were combined to compute χ^2 . Note also that seriousness of presenting offense and number of prior arrests had substantial amounts of missing data.

Table 4-11
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Rosebud

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	27 (17.3)	129 (82.7)	136 (87.2)	20 (12.8)	153 (98.1)	3 (1.9)	24 (15.4)	111 (71.2)	21 (13.5)
Female	19 (20.4)	74 (79.6)	78 (83.9)	15 (16.1)	90 (96.8)	3 (3.2)	19 (20.4)	53 (57.0)	21 (22.6)
	$\chi^2=.37$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.52$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.42$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=5.51$, df=2, $p<.01$		
White	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Nonwhite	47 (18.7)	204 (81.3)	216 (86.1)	35 (13.9)	245 (97.6)	6 (2.4)	44 (17.5)	164 (65.3)	43 (17.1)
13 and Under	7 (16.3)	36 (83.7)	31 (72.1)	12 (27.9)	40 (93.0) ^b	3 (7.0) ^b	5 (11.6)	27 (62.8)	11 (25.6)
14 and 15	16 (16.3)	82 (83.7)	91 (92.9)	7 (7.1)	97 (99.0) ^b	1 (1.0) ^b	16 (16.3)	65 (66.3)	17 (17.3)
16 and Over	22 (20.4)	86 (79.6)	92 (85.2)	16 (14.8)	106 (98.1)	2 (1.9)	21 (19.4)	72 (66.7)	15 (13.9)
	$\chi^2=.68$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=10.76$, df=2, $p<.01$		$\chi^2=.252$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.65$, df=4, N.S.		
Status									
Offense	16 (15.0)	91 (85.0)	87 (81.3)	20 (18.7)	105 (98.1)	2 (1.9)	16 (15.0)	72 (67.3)	19 (17.8)
Misdemeanor ^a	28 (20.6)	108 (79.4)	121 (89.0)	15 (11.0)	132 (97.1)	4 (2.9)	25 (18.4)	87 (64.0)	24 (17.6)
Felony ^a	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	$\chi^2=1.282$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.852$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.286$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.519$, df=2, N.S.		
No Prior									
Arrests	27 (20.1)	107 (79.9)	116 (86.6)	18 (13.4)	129 (96.3)	5 (3.7)	27 (20.1)	82 (61.2)	25 (18.7)
1 Prior Arrest	8 (16.0)	42 (84.0)	42 (84.0)	8 (16.0)	50 (100.0) ^c	0 (0.0) ^c	7 (14.0) ^c	37 (74.0) ^c	6 (12.0) ^c
2 Prior Arrests	2 (10.0)	18 (90.0)	19 (95.0)	1 (5.0)	20 (100.0) ^c	0 (0.0) ^c	2 (10.0) ^c	17 (85.0) ^c	1 (5.0) ^c
3 or More Prior									
Arrests	10 (21.3)	37 (78.7)	39 (83.0)	8 (17.0)	46 (97.9) ^c	1 (2.1) ^c	8 (17.0) ^c	28 (59.6) ^c	11 (23.4) ^c
	$\chi^2=1.62$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.90$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.215$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.074$, df=4, N.S.		

^a"Misdemeanor" and "Felony" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^b"13 and Under" and "14 and 15" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^c"1 Prior Arrest," "2 Prior Arrests," and "3 or More Prior Arrests" were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-12
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Milwaukee

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	261 (85.3)	45 (14.7)	123 (40.2)	183 (59.8)	207 (67.6)	99 (32.4)	91 (29.7)	81 (26.5)	134 (43.8)
Female	32 (94.1)	2 (5.9)	13 (38.2)	21 (61.8)	22 (64.7)	12 (35.3)	12 (35.3)	8 (23.5)	14 (41.2)
	$\chi^2=2.00$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.049$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.120$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.46$, df=2, N.S.		
White	69 (82.1)	15 (17.9)	52 (61.9)	32 (38.1)	67 (79.8)	17 (20.2)	41 (48.8)	19 (22.6)	24 (28.6)
Nonwhite	223 (87.5)	32 (12.5)	83 (32.5)	172 (67.5)	161 (63.1)	94 (36.9)	61 (23.9)	70 (27.5)	124 (48.6)
	$\chi^2=1.49$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=22.72$, df=1, p<.001		$\chi^2=7.93$, df=1, p<.01		$\chi^2=19.39$, df=2, p<.001		
13 and Under	37 (67.3)	18 (32.7)	35 (63.6)	20 (36.4)	25 (45.5)	30 (54.5)	22 (40.0)	4 (7.3)	29 (52.7)
14 and 15	143 (87.7)	20 (12.3)	56 (34.4)	107 (65.6)	109 (66.9)	54 (33.1)	44 (27.0)	47 (28.8)	72 (44.2)
16 and Over	112 (92.6)	9 (7.4)	45 (37.2)	76 (62.8)	95 (78.5)	26 (21.5)	37 (30.6)	38 (31.4)	46 (38.0)
	$\chi^2=20.91$, df=2, p<.001		$\chi^2=15.35$, df=2, p<.001		$\chi^2=18.92$, df=2, p<.001		$\chi^2=13.41$, df=4, p<.01		
Status									
Offense ^a	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Misdemeanor ^a	121 (84.0)	23 (16.0)	58 (40.3)	86 (59.7)	96 (66.7)	48 (33.3)	42 (29.2)	39 (27.1)	63 (43.8)
Felony	166 (87.4)	24 (12.6)	73 (38.4)	117 (61.6)	127 (66.8)	63 (33.2)	56 (29.5)	49 (25.8)	85 (44.7)
	$\chi^2=.588$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=0.418$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.020$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.171$, df=2, N.S.		
No Prior									
Arrests	83 (85.6)	14 (14.4)	42 (43.3)	55 (56.7)	62 (63.9)	35 (36.1)	34 (35.1)	13 (13.4)	50 (51.5)
1 Prior Arrest	55 (83.3)	11 (16.7)	24 (36.4)	42 (63.6)	45 (68.2)	21 (31.8)	22 (33.3)	13 (19.7)	31 (47.0)
2 Prior Arrests	59 (88.1)	8 (11.9)	26 (38.8)	41 (61.2)	41 (61.2)	26 (38.8)	16 (23.9)	23 (34.3)	28 (41.8)
3 or More Prior									
Arrests	96 (87.3)	14 (12.7)	44 (40.0)	66 (60.0)	81 (73.6)	29 (26.4)	31 (28.2)	40 (36.4)	39 (35.5)
	$\chi^2=.79$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=.84$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.67$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=18.47$, df=6, p<.01		

^a"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-13
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Puerto Rico

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	23 (7.1)	301 (92.9)	240 (74.1)	84 (25.9)	57 (17.6)	267 (82.4)	14 (4.3)	171 (52.8)	139 (42.9)
Female	4 (14.3)	24 (85.7)	21 (75.0)	7 (25.9)	5 (17.9)	23 (82.1)	2 (7.1)	16 (57.1)	10 (35.7)
	$\chi^2=1.88$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.0115$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.0013$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.86$, df=2, N.S.		
White	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Nonwhite	27 (7.6)	328 (92.4)	263 (74.1)	92 (25.9)	62 (17.5)	293 (82.5)	16 (4.5)	189 (53.2)	150 (42.3)
13 and Under	6 (8.8)	62 (91.2)	54 (79.4)	14 (20.6)	15 (22.1)	53 (77.9)	3 (4.4)	38 (55.9)	27 (39.7)
14 and 15	8 (7.5)	99 (92.5)	80 (74.8)	27 (25.2)	13 (12.1)	94 (87.9)	4 (3.7)	55 (51.4)	48 (44.9)
16 and Over	12 (6.8)	164 (93.2)	127 (72.2)	49 (27.8)	34 (19.3)	142 (80.7)	9 (5.1)	94 (53.4)	73 (41.5)
	$\chi^2=.29$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.37$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.47$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=.74$, df=4, N.S.		
Status									
Offense ^a	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100.0)	0 (0.0)
Misdemeanor ^a	15 (8.1)	171 (91.9)	137 (73.7)	49 (26.3)	32 (17.2)	154 (82.8)	9 (4.8)	98 (52.7)	79 (42.5)
Felony	8 (6.8)	109 (93.2)	85 (72.6)	32 (27.4)	21 (17.9)	96 (82.1)	4 (3.4)	65 (55.6)	48 (41.0)
	$\chi^2=.108$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.051$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.001$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.325$, df=2, N.S.		
No Prior Arrests	21 (7.3)	265 (92.7)	206 (72.0)	80 (28.0)	49 (17.1)	237 (82.9)	11 (3.8)	159 (55.6)	116 (40.6)
1 Prior Arrest ^b	5 (10.9)	41 (89.1)	40 (87.0)	6 (13.0)	10 (21.7)	36 (78.3)	4 (8.7)	22 (47.8)	20 (43.5)
2 Prior Arrests ^b	1 (7.1)	13 (92.9)	12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	3 (21.4)	3 (78.6)	1 (7.1)	6 (42.9)	7 (50.0)
3 or More Prior Arrests ^b	0 (0.0)	9 (100.0)	5 (55.6)	4 (44.4)	0 (0.0)	9 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (22.2)	7 (77.8)
	$\chi^2=.145$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=4.600$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=.112$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.731$, df=1, N.S.		

^a"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^b"1 Prior Arrest," "2 Prior Arrests," and "3 or More Prior Arrests" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-14
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
YES-MFY

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	31 (39.7)	47 (60.3)	35 (44.9)	43 (55.1)	38 (48.7)	40 (51.3)	23 (34.6)	19 (24.4)	32 (41.0)
Female	4 (30.8)	9 (69.2)	6 (46.2)	7 (53.8)	6 (46.2)	7 (53.8)	3 (23.1)	4 (30.8)	6 (46.2)
	$\chi^2=.38$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.0074$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.029$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.70$, df=2, N.S.		
White	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Nonwhite	31 (36.0)	55 (64.0)	37 (43.0)	49 (57.0)	40 (46.5)	46 (53.5)	26 (30.2)	23 (26.7)	37 (43.0)
13 and Under	5 (33.3)	10 (66.7)	7 (46.7)	8 (53.3)	6 (40.0)	9 (60.0)	5 (33.3)	2 (13.3)	8 (53.3)
14 and 15	25 (41.0)	36 (59.0)	27 (44.3)	34 (55.7)	30 (49.2)	31 (50.8)	20 (32.8)	16 (26.2)	25 (41.0)
16 and Over	5 (33.3)	10 (66.7)	7 (46.7)	8 (53.3)	8 (53.3)	7 (46.7)	5 (33.3)	5 (33.3)	5 (33.3)
	$\chi^2=.50$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=.047$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=.58$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.00$, df=4, N.S.		
Status									
Offense ^a	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Misdemeanor ^a	9 (50.0)	9 (50.0)	12 (66.7)	6 (33.3)	11 (61.1)	7 (38.9)	8 (44.4)	4 (22.2)	6 (33.3)
Felony	12 (38.7)	19 (61.3)	14 (45.2)	17 (54.8)	17 (54.8)	14 (45.2)	10 (32.3)	7 (22.6)	14 (45.2)
	$\chi^2=.593$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=2.115$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.183$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.851$, df=2, N.S.		
No Prior									
Arrests	14 (56.0)	11 (44.0)	16 (64.0)	9 (36.0)	17 (68.0)	8 (32.0)	12 (48.0)	6 (24.0)	7 (28.0)
1 Prior Arrest	7 (31.8)	15 (68.2)	10 (45.5)	12 (54.5)	10 (45.5)	12 (54.5)	6 (27.3)	7 (31.8)	9 (40.9)
2 Prior Arrests	4 (30.8)	9 (69.2)	5 (38.5)	8 (61.5)	4 (30.8)	9 (69.2)	4 (30.8)	4 (30.8)	5 (35.5)
3 or More Prior									
Arrests	10 (32.3)	21 (67.7)	10 (32.3)	21 (67.7)	13 (41.9)	18 (58.1)	8 (25.8)	6 (19.4)	17 (54.8)
	$\chi^2=4.49$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=5.90$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=6.06$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=5.85$, df=6, N.S.		

^a"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

Table 4-15
Relation between Client Characteristics and
Type and Amount of Services Received
Harlem

	Counseling Services		Job/Education Services		Recreation Services		Total Service Contacts		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	No Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Male	36 (32.7)	74 (67.3)	74 (67.3)	36 (32.7)	78 (70.9)	32 (29.1)	31 (28.2)	66 (60.0) ^c	13 (11.8) ^c
Female	8 (40.0)	12 (60.0)	15 (75.0)	5 (25.0)	14 (70.0)	6 (30.0)	7 (35.0)	13 (65.0) ^c	0 (0.0) ^c
	$\chi^2=.40$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.47$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.0068$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.380$, df=1, N.S.		
White	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Nonwhite	44 (33.8)	86 (66.2)	89 (68.5)	41 (31.5)	92 (70.8)	38 (29.2)	38 (29.2)	79 (60.8)	13 (10.0)
13 and Under	11 (35.5)	20 (64.5)	22 (71.0)	9 (29.0)	22 (71.0)	9 (29.0)	9 (29.0)	18 (58.1) ^c	4 (12.9) ^c
14 and 15	24 (28.2)	61 (71.8)	56 (65.9) ^b	29 (34.1) ^b	58 (68.2)	27 (31.8)	20 (23.5)	58 (68.2) ^c	7 (8.2) ^c
16 and Over	5 (50.0)	5 (50.0)	7 (70.0) ^b	3 (30.0) ^b	8 (80.0)	2 (20.0)	5 (50.0)	3 (30.0) ^c	2 (20.0) ^c
	$\chi^2=2.22$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=.230$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=.61$, df=2, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.270$, df=2, N.S.		
Status									
Offense ^a	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	0 (0.0)
Misdemeanor ^a	10 (28.6)	25 (71.4)	20 (57.1)	15 (42.9)	18 (51.4)	17 (48.6)	7 (20.0)	24 (68.6)	4 (11.4)
Felony	22 (34.4)	42 (65.6)	49 (76.6)	15 (23.4)	50 (78.1)	14 (21.9)	21 (32.8)	36 (56.3)	7 (10.9)
	$\chi^2=.039$, df=1, N.S.		$\chi^2=4.199$, df=1, p<.05		$\chi^2=6.180$, df=1, p<.05		$\chi^2=1.442$, df=2, N.S.		
No Prior									
Arrests	10 (29.4)	24 (70.6)	24 (70.6)	10 (29.4)	21 (61.8)	13 (38.2)	8 (23.5)	22 (64.7) ^c	4 (11.8) ^c
1 Prior Arrest	9 (29.0)	22 (71.0)	20 (64.5)	11 (35.5)	25 (80.6)	6 (19.4)	8 (25.8)	23 (74.2) ^c	0 (0.0) ^c
2 Prior Arrests	8 (44.4)	10 (55.6)	13 (72.2)	5 (27.8)	11 (61.1)	7 (38.9)	7 (38.9)	9 (50.0) ^c	2 (11.1) ^c
3 or More Prior Arrests	17 (36.2)	30 (63.8)	32 (68.1)	15 (31.9)	35 (74.5)	12 (25.5)	15 (31.9)	25 (53.2) ^c	7 (14.9) ^c
	$\chi^2=1.63$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=.416$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=3.91$, df=3, N.S.		$\chi^2=1.685$, df=3, N.S.		

^a"Status Offense" and "Misdemeanor" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^b"14 and 15" and "16 and Over" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

^c"2 to 20 Contacts" and "21 or More Contacts" categories were combined to compute χ^2 .

receiving job/education services and a higher total number of service contacts than youths in the other age categories. Although the 14 to 15 years age group might be expected to be the most delinquent group, amount and kind of services were unrelated to seriousness of presenting offense and number of arrests prior to referral.

An interesting pattern emerges from the data for Memphis (Table 4-8). Older, white youths were more likely to receive counseling services; while older, nonwhite youths had a better chance of getting job/education services and younger, nonwhite youths of getting recreation services. It is not difficult to imagine a treatment strategy that would assign youths to these kinds of services according to age and race. These distinctions cancelled out when services categories were collapsed into total service contacts but, overall, nonwhite youths received more contacts than white youths.

A similar pattern of client characteristics was found for job/education and recreation services in Milwaukee (Table 4-12). Again, older, nonwhite youths were more likely to receive job/education services and younger, nonwhite youths were more likely to get recreation services. Unlike Memphis, however, it was the younger clients who more often received counseling. In terms of total service contacts, clients who were nonwhite, younger, and came to the program with fewer prior arrests were more likely to be retained in services.

Inconsistent differences were scattered among most of the other sites. In Orange County (Table 4-9), the total amount of services varied with age and ethnicity. Generally, nonwhite and younger clients received more services than their white and older counterparts. At John Jay-Transit Police in New York City (Table 4-10), less serious (status) offenders were more likely to

receive recreation services, but less likely to receive a large total amount of services. In Rosebud (Table 4-11) clients aged 14 and 15 years were somewhat less likely than older or younger clients to obtain recreation services. And in Harlem (Table 4-15), both job/education and recreation services were more often provided to less serious (status) offenders. No differences were found for Puerto Rico or YES-MFY.

Few generalizations across sites can be made with confidence. Out of 150 independent comparisons (three kinds of services x five client characteristics x 10 sites; Total Service Contacts is not independent of the other three service variables), 23 were statistically significant ($p < .05$). Since only eight would be expected by chance, it would appear that many of the significant relationships reflect real effects. Overall, there was some tendency for nonwhites and younger clients to enter and be retained in services more often than whites and older clients, with the exception of job/education services where older clients were more likely to be selected. But when relationships that approach statistical significance ($p < .10$) are considered, it becomes even more evident that the selection and retention of clients in services differed, sometimes considerably, from site to site.

In the bottom row of the contingency tables (Table 4-6 through 4-15), the relation between prior arrest record and the four service variables is analyzed. An alternative, and statistically more powerful, method of determining the magnitude of these relationships is presented in Table 4-16. The mean logarithm of the total number of prior arrests is compared for a group of youths that ultimately received a particular kind of service and a group of youths that did not, and for groups that received varying amounts of any service. An analysis of variance was performed using the four service variables described above.

Table 4-16
Log of Arrests Prior to Referral for Project Clients Recieving
Different Types and Amounts of Services

	<u>Counseling</u>		<u>Jobs/Education</u>		<u>Recreation</u>		<u>Total Service Contacts</u>		
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	0 Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 or 1 Contact	2 to 20 Contacts	21 or More Contacts
Denver	1.45	1.69***	1.57	1.66	1.63	1.63	1.46	1.82	1.64**
Kansas City	.71	.74	.69	.75	.83	.67**	.74	.76	.63
Memphis	.46	.48	.46	.56	.51	.37	.50	.47	.44
Orange County	.18	.15	.18	.10	.17	.19	.20	.17	.17
John Jay-Transit	.52	.67	.63	.60	.62	.62	.53	.72	.49*
Rosebud	.86	.84	.84	.87	.86	.38	.84	.83	.93
Milwaukee	1.03	.88	1.02	1.02	1.06	.92*	.99	1.27	.88***
Puerto Rico	.17	.17	.18	.13	.16	.17	.24	.13	.21*
YES-MFY	.86	1.11	.81	1.17**	.86	1.15*	.84	.90	1.21
Harlem	1.08	.92	.96	1.03	1.01	.90	1.08	.90	1.13

*p<.10

**p<.05

***p<.01

No consistent trends appear in the results. Clients who received counseling in Denver or jobs/education services at YES-MFY had a greater number of justice system contacts prior to referral, but clients receiving recreation services in Kansas City had fewer prior contacts. In terms of total service contacts, the middle service group (2 to 20 contacts) had the greatest number of prior arrests in Denver and Milwaukee. In sum, few differences were found. This result strengthens our confidence in the conclusions of the analysis that follows, since comparisons of outcomes with the analysis of covariance are more readily interpretable when groups are initially equivalent.

IV. The Impact of Services on Rearrests

The project service record and justice system arrest record information collected at 10 sites allows us to determine whether project services had an effect on the subsequent arrest of project clients. The basic method of the analysis is the same as that used in Chapter 3 in assessing treatment outcomes at the four impact sites. And since the four sites are included in the present analysis, it is to some degree a confirmation of the results presented in Chapter 3. There are, however, some important differences between the two:

(1) As just mentioned, the present analysis includes all sites for which data were available. (Boston was excluded because service records were too incomplete to be useful.)

(2) For the impact sites a larger sample was used than in Chapter 3. The earlier chapter had a sample that consisted of all interviewed youths assigned to Diversion with Services. The present sample includes all youths for whom service and justice data were collected, regardless of interview status (i.e., all "long form" cases).

(3) Outcome variables used in the Chapter 3 analysis were measures obtained through interviews and a single rearrest measure (felony and misdemeanor arrests in the 12 months following referral). Interview data were not available for the present analyses, but the number of rearrest measures used as dependent variables was expanded to four: total arrests at six months and 12 months, and felony and misdemeanor arrests at six months and 12 months.

(4) The independent variables, the service variables describing kind and amount of services recorded in project records, were the same as those used in Chapter 3, except for the recoding of Total Service Contacts as noted above. That is, service variables were constructed by dichotomizing Number of Counseling Contacts (none or one versus some), Number of Job/Education Contacts (none versus some), and Number of Recreation Contacts, and by trichotomizing Total Service Contacts (0 or 1 versus 2 to 20 versus 21 or more). Also, since personal interview data were not collected for the present sample, the service variables based on respondents self-report of services were unavailable for analysis.

Tables 4-17 and 4-18 present the results of an analysis of covariance on the logarithm of the four rearrest measures for groups defined by the service variables after covarying out the effects of age, sex, ethnicity, and the logarithm of the total number of arrests prior to referral to a program. As in Chapter 3, the different service groups were not expected to be equivalent initially, so ANCOVA was used to compare treatment outcomes after statistically controlling for initial differences between groups.

With regard to Total Service Contacts, statistically significant differences ($p < .05$) on at least one dependent variable were found at three sites, and differences that approached statistical significance ($p < .10$) were

Table 4-17
Log of Rearrests for Project Clients
Receiving Three Types of Services

	Counseling		Jobs/Education		Recreation	
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	0 Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 Contacts	1 or More Contacts
<u>Denver</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.45	.46	.38	.50	.47	.44
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.39	.41	.33	.45	.41	.40
Total at 12 Months	.68	.64	.51	.72*	.65	.65
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.63	.59	.48	.66*	.59	.62
N	76	243	108	211	240	79
<u>Kansas City</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.24	.35	.41	.30	.33	.33
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.24	.31	.35	.28	.31	.29
Total at 12 Months	.30	.49*	.49	.44	.50	.41
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.30	.44	.43	.40	.45	.37
N	67	264	84	247	147	184
<u>Memphis</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.18	.17	.18	.17	.20	.12
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.17	.16	.17	.17	.18	.13
Total at 12 Months	.31	.31	.31	.31	.34	.21**
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.28	.26	.28	.21	.30	.17**
N	190	123	275	38	235	78
<u>Orange County</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.05	.21****	.07	.09	.06	.08
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.05	.14***	.06	.09	.05	.07
Total at 12 Months	.12	.30****	.14	.17	.16	.12
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.11	.21**	.12	.17	.13	.10
N	292	41	313	20	194	139
<u>John Jay-Transit</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.21	.22	.23	.19	.20	.32
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.21	.22	.23	.19	.20	.32
Total at 12 Months	.32	.38	.36	.36	.35	.41
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.32	.38	.36	.36	.35	.41
N	74	159	172	61	195	38

Table 4-17 Continued

	Counseling		Jobs/Education		Recreation	
	0 or 1 Contact	2 or More Contacts	0 Contacts	1 or More Contacts	0 Contacts	1 or More Contacts
<u>Puerto Rico</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.16	.09	.09	.13	.11	.10
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.16	.09	.09	.13	.11	.10
Total at 12 Months	.15	.13	.12	.16	.15	.13
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.15	.13	.12	.16	.15	.13
N	26	323	259	90	62	287
<u>Rosebud</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.26	.41*	.37	.37	.37	.59
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.15	.28**	.26	.20	.25	.38
Total at 12 Months	.44	.66**	.59	.74	.60	.87
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.28	.48**	.42	.52	.43	.49
N	68	206	239	35	268	6
<u>Milwaukee</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.44	.44	.41	.46	.47	.37
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.41	.42	.36	.44	.44	.34
Total at 12 Months	.62	.61	.57	.65	.67	.52*
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.58	.59	.53	.62	.62	.49*
N	292	47	136	203	229	110
<u>YES-MFY</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.33	.32	.36	.29	.41	.24
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.26	.32	.38	.24	.38	.23
Total at 12 Months	.57	.47	.50	.52	.54	.48
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.53	.47	.54	.45	.48	.50
N	35	56	41	50	44	47
<u>Harlem</u>						
Total at 6 Months	.41	.25	.25	.35	.32	.25
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.41	.25	.25	.35	.32	.25
Total at 12 Months	.57	.33*	.35	.53	.42	.38
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.57	.33	.35	.53	.42	.38
N	43	86	88	41	91	38

NOTE: All means in this table are adjusted for covariates: age, sex, ethnicity (where appropriate), and the log of the total number of rearrests (status offenses, misdemeanors, felonies) prior to referral.

*p<.10
**p<.05
***p<.01
****p<.001

Table 4-18
Log of Rearrests for Project Clients
Receiving Low, Medium, and High Amounts of Services

	Low 0 or 1 contact	Medium 2 to 20 contacts	High 21 or more contacts
<u>Denver</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.40	.40	.50
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.33	.36	.45
Total at 12 Months	.55	.54	.72*
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.51	.49	.66*
N	70	56	193
<u>Kansas City</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.32	.28	.35
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.29	.25	.32
Total at 12 Months	.39	.34	.51**
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.37	.31	.47*
N	58	80	193
<u>Memphis</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.21	.19	.11
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.20	.18	.11
Total at 12 Months	.36	.31	.20
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.33	.28	.15**
N	118	129	66
<u>Orange County</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.05	.08	.08
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.04	.07	.07
Total at 12 Months	.13	.13	.17
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.12	.11	.15
N	98	163	72
<u>John Jay-Transit</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.21	.23	.21
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.21	.23	.21
Total at 12 Months	.33	.37	.37
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.33	.37	.37
N	70	121	42

Table 4-18 Continued

	Low 0 or 1 contact	Medium 2 to 20 contacts	High 21 or more contacts
<u>Puerto Rico</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.15	.09	.11
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.15	.09	.11
Total at 12 Months	.15	.12	.14
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.15	.12	.14
N	16	185	148
<u>Rosebud</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.26	.37	.52*
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.15	.27	.34*
Total at 12 Months	.44	.62	.82***
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.28	.45	.60**
N	65	167	42
<u>Milwaukee</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.46	.49	.40
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.41	.45	.38
Total at 12 Months	.65	.66	.57
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.59	.61	.55
N	103	89	147
<u>YES-MFY</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.49	.25	.23
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.46	.21	.22
Total at 12 Months	.67	.44	.43
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.65	.39	.43
N	30	23	38
<u>Harlem</u>			
Total at 6 Months	.37	.28	.23
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 6 Months	.37	.28	.23
Total at 12 Months	.50	.36	.43
Felonies and Misdemeanors at 12 Months	.50	.36	.43
N	37	79	13

NOTE: All means in this table are adjusted for covariates: age, sex, ethnicity (where appropriate), and the log of the total number of rearrests (status offenses, misdemeanors, felonies) prior to referral.

*p<.10
**p<.05
***p<.01
****p<.001

found at one other site (Table 4-18). At three of the four sites - Denver, Kansas City, and Rosebud - increasing amounts of services were generally associated with higher official rates of rearrest. For example, in Rosebud the mean of log total rearrests at 12 months was .44 for the low service group (which corresponds to .55 arrests), .62 for the medium service group (.85 arrests), and .82 for the high service group (1.27 arrests). The pattern was similar for Denver and Kansas City.

Only in Memphis were greater amounts of services associated with lower official rates, and then the difference reached statistical significance for only one of the four dependent variables, felony and misdemeanor arrests in the 12 months after referral to the project. The low service group averaged .33, the medium service group .28, and the high service group .15.

Although antilogs of the arrest variables cannot be directly compared (because the log of the mean usually differs from the mean of logs), it is clear that youths in the high service contact group were arrested substantially less frequently than their counterparts in the other two groups. This result corroborates the analysis reported in Chapter 3 in which only Memphis, of the four impact sites, showed any relationship between amount of services and subsequent rearrests. Although the statistical test associated with that finding only approached significance, the pattern of means was identical to the one reported here.

With regard to the impact of kinds of services, only three sites had statistically significant effects ($p < .05$) on at least one dependent variable for at least one kind of service: counseling services in Orange County and Rosebud, and recreation services in Memphis. Four other sites had differences that approached statistical significance ($p < .10$): counseling services in

Kansas City and Harlem, jobs/education services in Denver, and recreation services in Milwaukee. Again, only a few of these effects were in the expected direction, i.e., greater services associated with fewer rearrests. Youths receiving recreation services at Memphis and Milwaukee had lower arrest rates for both total arrests at 12 months and felony and misdemeanor arrests at 12 months than youths who did not receive them. For total arrests, the differences were .34 versus .21 in Memphis and .62 versus .49 in Milwaukee.

Instances of greater amounts of services associated with greater number of rearrests have been interpreted in the literature as evidence of the deleterious effects of services. There is, however, an alternative and, for the sample under consideration, more plausible explanation. It is at least as likely that a client's rearrest should result in his or her receiving more services than vice versa. Several projects had arrangements with their associated justice agencies that project clients would be returned to services rather than prosecuted for subsequent violation. In Kansas City, for example, clients rearrested for divertable offenses could be returned to the project as many as three times before the police were able to refer the case to court. Furthermore, project service providers might pay more attention to clients who continued to get in trouble with the law. Thus, the most prevalent finding of the present analysis, that greater amounts of services were associated with higher rates of rearrest, does not permit a straightforward causal interpretation.

In sum, of the 10 sites, only Memphis produced results that were interpretable and statistically significant - groups with a greater number of service contacts had fewer rearrests for felonies and misdemeanors 12 months after referral to the project. This difference appears to be attributable to

the groups that received recreation services (mean log of rearrests were .30 versus .17, $p < .05$) and job/education services (mean log of rearrests .28 versus .21, not significant). Services at other sites did not appear to reduce the rates of official arrest of their clients.

V. Summary

The 11 diversion projects funded through the OJJDP initiative differed in the demographic and referral characteristics of the clients they received and in the duration, kind, and amount of services they offered those clients. A census of referrals to projects in their first two years of operation revealed that they served mostly boys. For eight of the projects, boys constituted more than 80% of the referrals. Five projects served a single ethnic group almost exclusively, either Native Americans, Hispanics, blacks, or whites, while four projects received substantial numbers of both blacks and whites. Only two projects served blacks, whites, and Hispanics. At six projects the modal age group (at time of referral) was 14 to 15 years; at five projects it was 16 to 17 years.

Two projects received primarily cases charged with felonies, three projects received mainly misdemeanants, the remainder had a mix of the two. Theft was the modal type of presenting offense at seven projects; public disorder at two others; and, despite OJJDP guidelines, status offenses was the modal category at one project.

The point in justice processing at which diversion from the system occurs is the standard way to classify diversion programs. These 11 programs represent the full range of possibilities. Referrals came from police agencies, state attorney's offices, court intake units, and probation

departments. Four projects received referrals from a single source, the remainder from two or more sources.

Evidence for differences in projects' abilities to retain clients in services can be found in the proportion of youths who remained in services beyond the initial intake interview. Virtually all clients received at least a second service contact at one site, while only about three-fifths did at three other sites. There were differences, too, in the amounts and kinds of services received by clients. The median number of service contacts ranged from 37.4 to 5.8. Based on median number of contacts with their clients, five projects can be characterized as primarily counseling projects, one a recreation services project, and another a jobs/education services project. Two projects had a dual service orientation. The mean number of months in which at least one service contact occurred ranged from 8.8 to 2.5.

There seemed to be little relationship between client characteristics and whether or not a particular kind or amount of services was received. At one project, more serious cases received the greater number of service contacts. At two sites, older, nonwhite youths were placed in job/education services, while younger, nonwhite youths received recreation services. In general, though, no consistent pattern appeared.

It should be clear from the preceding that the projects under study represent 11 distinct variations on the diversion-with-services theme. This diversity, which was apparent for all the dimensions we assessed, adds to the external validity of results concerning the impact of services. The analyses for the 10 projects (recall that one was excluded because of incomplete service records) are 10 replications of a quasi-experiment performed at programs differing in structure, referral sources, clientele, treatment philosophy, service emphasis, and size.

Of the 10 projects, though, only one produced a pattern of results that was both interpretable and statistically significant. At only one site were increasing amounts of services associated with decreasing number of rearrests in the year following referral to the project. The result appeared to be attributable to the efficiency of recreation services and, to a lesser extent job/education services, in reducing rearrests. (At several sites, amounts of services and number of rearrests were positively related, but whether services caused youths to get rearrested or getting rearrested resulted in more services being delivered cannot be determined.)

Chapter 5

DIVERSION VS. JUSTICE SYSTEM PROGRAMS: VIEWS OF CLIENTS AND SERVICE PROVIDERS

I. Introduction

The argument that diversion programming reduces delinquency among juvenile offenders rests on the assumption that there are important differences between the services provided by diversion programs and the services associated with more traditional dispositions such as probation or incarceration. These differences would not be found in the content of the services, such as whether youths are counseled, participate in recreational activities, or receive school or job assistance. Diversion programs have very little in common with each other in this regard, and a full range of youth services are sponsored by most diversion and justice youth service agencies. Instead, the essential defining characteristic of diversion programs is their status as an alternative to formal justice dispositions. Thus, it is the simple fact that services are community-based that is to produce more positive results.

Advocates of diversion argue that several advantages come from removing services from the context of justice agencies. The first of these is reducing coercion. Service providers in the justice system (e.g. probation officers) typically have the power to invoke sanctions against uncooperative clients. Clients are likely to feel forced into receiving services. By diverting clients out of the formal justice system, the threat of coercion is to be

reduced. Further, diversion program personnel are less obligated to concern themselves with issues of social control as part of their mission than are agents of justice system programs, where monitoring client behavior and stressing law violations are important aspects of their mandate. In contrast, diversion programs are more free to make serving needs of clients their primary goal. Together, less coercion and preoccupation with laws should mean that offenders are less stigmatized by diversion programming. The community setting ostensibly avoids the delinquent label inherent in more officially designated justice agencies and, by the logic of labeling theory, this difference should result in lower rates of delinquency among diverted offenders.

Testing the assumptions used to justify a social program such as diversion is an essential part of understanding its utility. Though the assumptions appear reasonable, they may not be valid. There is some reason to doubt that moving services from justice agencies will produce the desired effects. Rutherford and McDermott (1976) found that a large proportion of diversion programs are so closely tied to the justice system that clients and program staff may not consider them separate. We also note (Dunford, 1977) that some diversion programs retain the potential to coerce clients because justice jurisdiction over clients is not routinely surrendered upon referral. Thus, clients may feel forced to join the program and attend regularly. Furthermore, juvenile court personnel may have reason to complain about being portrayed as agents of social control less able to serve clients' needs than other service providers. After all, the purpose of having a separate juvenile justice system is to rehabilitate rather than punish. In fact, there is considerable overlap in the background and training of the two groups of service providers.

The rationale for diversion programming implies that associated service providers should hold different views of their roles than service providers at justice agencies. Diversion service providers should be less coercive, less concerned with social control, and more oriented toward serving clients' needs. They should also hold less stigmatized views of their clients. For the logic of diversion to hold, the clients' views about the two types of programs should also differ in the same ways. The programs must provide different experiences to clients if they are to have different effects on behavior.

Another goal of the present study was to compare the views of client and service providers about diversion programs. There would seem to be considerable potential for disagreement between the two groups. A study by Wheeler et al. (1968) of the sentencing practices of juvenile court judges offers a useful example. They found that judges who considered themselves more liberal and more concerned with rehabilitation gave harsher dispositions than judges who professed punishment and social control orientations. If administrators of diversion programs are concerned about avoiding coercion, stigma, etc., they need to know how their views compare with those of their clients and agents of the juvenile justice system.

In the study of diversion, it is important that researchers consider a variety of programs rather than focusing on any single approach. Diversion programs vary in so many ways that a finding for any one may be quite irrelevant to others. Researchers must also be selective about which programs they include, because many so-called diversion programs bear little resemblance to the original recommendation of the President's Commission (Rutherford and McDermott, 1976). Though definitions of diversion are subject

to debate, some standards are essential. It is clear that programs serving either adjudicated delinquents or school and parent referrals do not qualify, nor do programs staffed by probation and police officers.

II. Method

A. Research Sites

The issues discussed above were investigated by examining the views of clients and service providers about diversion programs and justice agencies. The study is part of the National Evaluation of diversion funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The data presented in this section included nine diversion programs¹ in seven metropolitan areas.

This set of programs constitutes an appropriate sample in several respects. The programs received adequate financial support, so they were not unfairly burdened by staff shortages or preoccupation with fund raising. They were also subject to fairly stringent guidelines, and thus they may be among the better examples of programs that attempt to remove offenders from formal justice systems. Virtually all clients had been apprehended by the police. Only two programs served status offenders, and even there they were in the minority. None of the programs employed justice personnel as service providers.

The programs also represent a wide variety of approaches to diversion. The typical range of youth services appears, including many forms of counseling, educational and vocational assistance, recreation, etc. Some programs employed a staff to provide services directly; others had a brokering

¹Eleven programs participated in the National Evaluation. Two programs (Rosebud and Puerto Rico) could not be included in this section because adequate samples of respondents could not be obtained.

role, arranging services from agencies with a larger (and not necessarily delinquent) clientele. The programs' status in relation to the justice system varied from administration by justice agencies to complete autonomy. Finally, client populations ranged from solely first-time misdemeanants to solely repeat offenders, most of whom had one or more felony arrests. Thus the sample of programs represents a broad spectrum of diversion programs in the United States.

B. Samples

1. Diversion Service Providers

All personnel whose major responsibility was to work directly with diversion clients as service providers were selected for the study. Therefore, for programs that brokered services, these individuals were actually employed by other agencies. They were asked to respond only with regard to their work with diversion clients.

The research staff contacted all service providers (diversion and justice) by mail and asked them to fill out a brief questionnaire. At least two reminders were sent to individuals who failed to return the questionnaire. Data collection occurred 18 to 22 months after the programs began to accept clients.

2. Justice Agency Service Providers

Probation is the service disposition in the justice systems most comparable to diversion. More informal dispositions do not usually involve services, and more restrictive dispositions imply residential settings. Therefore, the probation officers who supervise caseloads in the jurisdictions served by the diversion programs were selected to serve as the comparison group. A single court represented New York City, where three of the diversion

programs were located. The selected sample included all officers who supervise probationers, except in Memphis where a random subsample was drawn. In Memphis, probation services come from a large group of volunteer probation officers. Data collection from justice and diversion personnel occurred simultaneously.

3. Clients at Diversion Programs

At four of the diversion programs (Kansas City, Memphis, Orange County, and John Jay College-Transit Police), data from diversion clients were gathered as part of a study of program impact. The sampling periods ranged from 10 to 14 months, and they began with the programs' first clients. These data come from a personal interview six months after referral to the program. The samples include all clients appropriately referred for services during the sampling period, who actually received services and responded to our questions about them.

For the remaining five programs, only clients who received services were interviewed. All entered the programs during a six-month period that began six to 10 months after the programs started serving clients. Again, clients were interviewed six months after their referral to the program. The samples selected were comprised of either all referrals during the sampling period or a random subsample.

The research staff hired and trained the interviewers. Interviewers were instructed to make clear that they were not affiliated with the diversion program and that responses were confidential. Respondents received five dollars for participation.

4. Clients at Justice Agencies

Samples of justice clients were available in Kansas City, Memphis, and Orange County as part of the study of the impact of diversion on clients.

These youths were randomly assigned to normal processing by the justice system rather than diversion. Those youths who indicated that they had received services from a justice agency were included in the present study. The vast majority of these youths were probationers; a few had been incarcerated. In New York only one respondent in the randomly assigned group reported receiving services, so that site could not be included. Data collection took the same form as for diversion clients at the three sites.

C. Sample Sizes

Table 5-1 presents the sizes of samples initially selected and of samples actually responding. Response rates were highest among service providers at diversion programs, probably because the agencies felt an obligation to cooperate with the researchers. Rates varied considerably within other categories. Though response rates are low in a few instances, there is little danger of losses biasing the results of the study, given the breadth of the sample of programs and the typically high rate of response.

D. Measures

The five variables of interest in the study were measured by scales of four to eight items. The items were virtually identical for clients and staff except for minor changes in wording (e.g., the term "you" for clients was replaced by "your clients" for staff). All items were phrased as statements, and respondents answered using a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Table 5-2 presents the means, standard deviations, and internal consistency reliabilities of these scales for service providers and clients. Descriptions of the variables and example items follow.

1. Coercion

High scores on coercion meant that students had little choice about joining the program or continuing participation.

Table 5-1
Sizes of Samples Selected and Responding

Site	SERVICE PROVIDERS				CLIENTS			
	Diversion		Justice		Diversion		Justice	
	Selected	Responding	Selected	Responding	Selected	Responding	Selected	Responding
Kansas City	13	11	30	28	212	59	111	31
Memphis	43	38	40	18	229	79	331	25
Orange County	14	14	18	13	244	142	222	28
Denver	21	21	15	9	49	39		
Boston	22	22	38	19	49	40	--	--
Milwaukee	18	15	16	11	52	40	--	--
New York City, John Jay- Transit Police	11	9	15	7	181	24	--	--
New York City, Mobilization	5	5	15	7	51	38	--	--
New York City, Harlem	9	9	15	7	43	31	--	--

NOTE: The three New York City sites share a common sample of justice service providers. In Kansas City, Memphis, Orange County, and John Jay-Transit Police, clients "selected" represent youths randomly assigned to the diversion with services option or to penetrate the justice system. Clients "responding" represent youths referred for services or to the justice system who also reported receiving services as well as answered questions about services.

Table 5-2
Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities
of the Measures of Views about Service Programs

Variable	Number of Items	SERVICE PROVIDERS			CLIENTS		
		Mean	S.D.	Reliability	Mean	S.D.	Reliability
Coercion	6	15.62	4.89	.79	16.12	3.94	.67
Social Control	8	19.61	4.69	.70	20.97	5.26	.80
Serving Needs	5	21.30	2.67	.75	18.88	2.87	.75
Labeled as Delinquent	4	13.09	2.60	.73	10.02	2.81	.81
Labeled as Emotionally Disturbed	5	14.35	2.61	.74	9.42	2.61	.76

NOTE: The measure of reliability is Cronbach's Alpha, which reflects the internal consistence of a scale.

Example Items:

Youth can choose to stop coming to this program whenever they want.
Youth feel forced or pushed into this program.

2. Social Control

A social control orientation implies that the program has a punitive function and serves to monitor clients' activities and enforce conforming behavior.

Example Items:

Clients are sent to this program to pay for their crimes.
Your clients know that you are keeping track of their behavior, even when they are away from your supervision.

3. Serving Needs

This variable concerns the program's emphasis on meeting the needs of clients.

Example Items:

Youth workers are here to aid clients in making better lives for themselves.
This agency provides clients with new opportunities.

4. Labeled as Delinquent

This aspect of stigma concerns service providers' willingness to describe their clients in terms associated with delinquency.

Example Items:

How much would you agree that the youth in your client population...
or
How much would the staff at that agency agree that you...
...are bad kids?
...get into trouble?

5. Labeled as Emotionally Disturbed

Though this aspect of stigma is not normally addressed in a discussion of diversion, it is worthy of attention. The connotations of being labeled emotionally disturbed may be more debilitating than being labeled delinquent, for the label conveys an image of helplessness and lack of control over one's own fate.

Example Items:

How much would you agree that the youth in your client population...
...need help emotionally?
...have a lot of personal problems?

III. Results

A. Comparisons between Service Providers

Means for diversion and justice service providers on the five dependent variables appear in Table 5-3. For each variable, the two groups can be compared both within each site and across the entire set of nine sites. T-tests were used for within site comparisons, with individual respondents serving as the unit of analysis. In the comparisons across sites, each site was given equal weight, and the site became the unit of analysis. Because only one justice program served the New York area, the three diversion programs were pooled (each receiving equal weight). Thus, there were seven cases in the across site comparisons.

A careful examination of Table 5-3 will reveal a remarkable consistency in the results. For all of the dependent variables, the direction of difference between diversion and justice service providers is perfectly consistent across the nine sites. Furthermore, these differences are consistent with the rationale for diversion for all of the dependent variables. As can be seen in the bottom row of the table, the differences are statistically significant ($p < .05$) by t-tests when sites are the unit of analysis. They are also significant by the non-parametric sign-test ($p = .016$).

Apparently, the most notable differences in service providers' views are that justice service providers characterize their programs as more coercive and more concerned with social control. Within site comparisons for these variables were almost all significant, and the magnitude of the differences averaged greater than a standard deviation.

Table 5-3
Means for Service Providers' Views about Diversion Programs and Justice Agencies

Site	<u>Coercion</u>		<u>Social Control</u>		<u>Serving Needs</u>		<u>Labeled as Delinquent</u>		<u>Labeled as Emotionally Disturbed</u>	
	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice
Kansas City	13.2	20.8***	20.1	24.2**	22.6	20.1**	13.9	14.0	13.0	15.0*
Memphis	14.1	19.6***	17.6	21.4**	21.4	20.1	12.6	13.3	13.8	15.1*
Orange County	14.9	19.6*	16.6	22.5**	22.0	19.8*	10.7	14.2***	11.5	14.9**
Denver	13.4	17.1*	17.5	19.7	22.6	21.6	14.0	14.9	14.0	15.6
Boston	12.4	18.4***	17.3	23.1***	23.0	21.2*	12.8	14.0	14.2	14.8
Milwaukee	12.3	17.7**	15.4	22.2***	22.2	20.5	11.5	15.8***	13.9	14.5
New York, John Jay- Transit Police	12.8	20.7***	17.3	23.4**	21.6	17.1**	12.2	14.6	13.2	15.9
New York, Mobilization	13.1	20.7***	17.0	23.4**	20.6	17.1*	13.0	14.6	14.3	15.9
New York, Harlem	14.5	20.7***	18.9	23.4*	21.1	17.1*	12.6	14.6	13.8	15.9
Mean across Sites	13.40	19.13***	17.46	22.36***	22.13	20.06**	12.59	14.40*	13.46	15.11**

NOTE: Significance levels are for t-tests between diversion and justice means. For tests on the means across sites, each site was treated as a single case, with the three New York sites treated as one case.

*p<.05, all tests two-tailed

**p<.01

***p<.001

Though the differences between program types are less striking for the remaining variables, they are still substantial. Service providers at diversion programs indicated greater concern with serving needs. They also described their clients as less delinquent and less emotionally disturbed. Most within site comparisons are significant for views about serving needs. This is not true for either of the labeling variables. For labeling, the magnitude of the differences varies more widely across sites.

B. Comparisons between Clients

Though clients were randomly assigned between the two groups at the three sites reviewed, it is likely that they are not in fact comparable in service experiences. The assignment was to referral to the diversion program or juvenile court. As can be seen in Table 5-1, a substantial number of the respondents in both groups reported that they received no services during the six-month period. Justice agencies, in particular, are likely to reserve services for more serious offenders. If views about programs could be affected by client characteristics, the comparisons might be biased. Fortunately, a wide variety of information about these respondents at the time of referral was also available. To take any prior differences into account, analysis of covariance was used to control for 23 variables in comparing clients of diversion and justice programs.² Though no statistical procedure can fully eliminate initial differences between groups, we can have more

²The variables used as covariates were: number of prior arrests, age, sex, ethnicity, importance of conventional goals, commitment to parents, commitment to peers, normlessness, labeled as delinquent by others (friends, teachers, and family), labeled as emotionally disturbed by others, labeled as conforming by others, self image as delinquent, self image as emotionally disturbed, self image as conforming, counterlabeling, social isolation, peer disapproval of deviance, and self-reported delinquency (divided into serious, minor, and drug related offenses).

Table 5-4
Means for Clients' Views about Diversion Programs and Justice Agencies

Site	<u>Coercion</u>		<u>Social Control</u>		<u>Serving Needs</u>		<u>Labeled as Delinquent</u>		<u>Labeled as Emotionally Disturbed</u>	
	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice	Diversion	Justice
Raw Means										
Kansas City	15.4	18.8***	20.6	25.4***	19.5	18.3***	10.2	10.9*	9.3	9.5
Memphis	15.9	18.7***	20.6	25.0***	19.0	17.8	10.0	10.8	10.0	9.3
Orange County	15.2	18.7	19.3	23.0*	18.7	17.7	9.3	11.0*	8.7	8.8
Means Corrected for Covariates										
Kansas City	15.1	19.0***	20.3	25.7**	19.8	18.0**	10.6	10.4	9.5	9.3
Memphis	15.7	19.0***	21.0	24.9**	18.9	18.0	9.8	10.9	9.8	9.5
Orange County	15.8	18.2**	19.5	22.8**	18.4	17.8	9.3	11.1**	8.8	8.8

NOTE: Significance levels for raw means are from t-tests between diversion and justice groups, and they are from analysis of covariance for means corrected for covariates.

*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001

confidence in our conclusions if the results are consistent with and without the controls.

Once again, the rationale for diversion receives its strongest support for coercion and social control (see Table 5-4). Justice clients report their programs higher on both these dimensions to a degree that is statistically significant at all sites. The corrections for covariates have little effect on the magnitude of these differences.

At all three sites, diversion clients reported their programs placing greater emphasis on serving their needs than did justice system clients. The magnitude of the differences was similar at the three sites, but only in Kansas City were the means (raw and corrected) significantly different.

The results for the two labeling variables are more complex. In Memphis and Orange County, diversion clients felt less labeled as delinquent, significantly so in Orange County. Though there was a significant difference in the same direction for the raw means in Kansas City, the direction of the difference was reversed by correcting for the covariates. Thus, it appears that diversion clients believe they are less labeled at some programs but not others. There is no evidence of differences between the two groups of clients in their reports about being labeled emotionally disturbed. In no case do the groups differ significantly, and the means are quite similar, particularly after controlling for covariates.

C. Comparisons between Service Providers and Clients

Results of comparisons between means for the service providers and means for the clients at diversion programs are quite consistent across programs, as can be seen in Table 5-5. For each variable differences between groups fall in the same direction at all sites. The across site comparisons are all statistically significant by the sign-test ($p=.004$) and by t-tests ($p<.001$).

Table 5-5
Means for Service Providers' and Clients' Views about Diversion Programs

Site	Coercion		Social Control		Serving Needs		Labeled as Delinquent		Labeled as Emotionally Disturbed	
	Clients	Service Providers	Clients	Service Providers	Clients	Service Providers	Clients	Service Providers	Clients	Service Providers
Kansas City	15.5	13.2*	20.6	20.1	19.4	22.6***	10.2	13.9***	9.3	13.0***
Memphis	15.9	14.1*	20.6	17.6***	19.0	21.4***	10.0	12.6***	10.0	13.8***
Orange County	15.2	14.9	19.3	16.6*	18.7	22.0***	9.3	10.7	8.7	11.5*
Denver	15.0	13.4**	21.4	17.5***	19.8	22.6***	9.6	14.0***	9.6	14.0***
Boston	13.6	12.4	18.9	17.3	19.8	23.0***	9.5	12.8***	9.1	14.2***
Milwaukee	13.5	12.3	19.9	15.4***	19.7	22.2*	10.6	11.5	8.8	13.9**
New York, John Jay- Transit Police	15.3	12.8	21.3	17.3	19.9	21.6	9.8	12.2*	9.8	13.2**
New York, Mobilization	14.8	13.1*	21.2	17.0*	19.8	20.6	10.3	13.0*	10.8	14.3*
New York, Harlem	16.4	14.5	23.0	18.9*	20.3	21.2	9.7	12.6*	10.1	13.8***
Mean across Sites	15.02	13.41***	20.69	17.52***	19.60	21.90***	9.89	12.59***	9.58	13.52***

NOTE: Significance levels are for t-tests between service provider and client means. For tests on the means across sites, each site was treated as a single case.

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$

The differences between service providers' and clients' views of the programs form an intriguing pattern. Clients have less favorable views of the programs in terms of coercion, social control, and serving needs. They come closest to agreement on coercion, where the average difference is less than half a standard deviation and many of the within site comparisons are not statistically significant. Nevertheless, clients consistently described programs as more coercive than do service providers. Clients disagree with service providers more markedly in reporting that the programs are more concerned with social control and less concerned with serving clients' needs.

The results for labeling variables are even stronger and in a seemingly opposite direction. Clients' reports about service providers' views of them were substantially more positive than the sentiments expressed by the service providers themselves. On the average, these differences were greater than a standard deviation, and almost all within site comparisons were significant.

IV. Discussion

The findings of the present study yield considerable support for the assumptions underlying the rationale for diversion, but there are important exceptions. For the rationale for diversion to be justified, it is necessary that service providers at diversion programs and justice agencies have substantially different views of their work. These differences did, in fact, appear with perfect regularity across the nine research sites. For diversion services to reduce delinquent behavior beyond that of the justice system, it is also necessary that diversion clients have different experiences than justice clients. There were such differences for coercion and social control, and there was a substantial trend for serving clients' needs. It is for the

two labeling variables that support is lacking. Diversion clients felt less labeled as delinquent in Orange County, but no significant differences for the other sites or for labeling as emotionally disturbed were found. Since the rationale for the effectiveness of diversion rests largely on labeling theory, the lack of stronger results represents a negative outcome.

The comparison of client and service provider views about diversion yielded some unexpected findings. As was suspected, service providers held somewhat more optimistic opinions about their programs than did their clients. Clients felt the programs were more coercive, more oriented to social control, and less concerned with serving needs than did the service providers. It is understandable that clients might take such a view, given that they reached the programs as a result of arrest. Even if the program staff do not threaten clients with sanctions or monitor their behavior, clients may believe that sanctions are possible or that their behavior is being watched.

By the same token, we might guess that clients would presume that service providers hold negative opinions about them. Quite the opposite was found. Service providers described their clients in much more negative terms than the clients thought they would. This can be seen as a success for the service providers.

Chapter 6

SYSTEMS FLOW

I. Introduction

One method to assess the impact of diversion programs is to evaluate the extent to which the justice system has been impacted. By calculating the proportion of juveniles progressing to various stages within a system both before and after a diversion project began, we can determine, in part, whether or not the diversion project was successful in channeling youths out of the system. (To learn more about the justice system impact of diversion programs, consult Blomberg, 1980; Elliott, 1973, 1976; Empey, 1973, 1980; Gibbons and Blake, 1976; Klein, 1979; and Vorenberg and Vorenberg, 1973.) Constructing an analysis of flow through the juvenile justice system is one of several ways to address the issue of "widening the nets."

A review of the literature dealing with the evaluation of diversion programs reveals considerable concern with the concept of "widening the nets," alternatively known as "encapsulation." Some evaluation and social policy analysts have been led to the conclusion "... that both adult and juvenile diversion practices are being applied largely to clients who were previously not subject to justice system insertion" (Blomberg, 1980:575). The stated objective underlying the diversion effort has been to divert or turn away offenders who, in the absence of a diversion program, would otherwise be inserted into the justice system. This contrary finding as to what is actually taking place is most alarming.

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It must be stated at the outset that any analysis of the juvenile justice system is only as good as the justice data available. In conducting flow analyses of youths through these juvenile justice systems, we were limited to existing official police and court data. For some sites, no data were available; for others, only a portion of what was desired could be obtained.

II. Methodology

We expected to be able to examine the possible impact of diversion programming by comparing annual data for a period of years prior to and following the inception of the diversion programs. Data from different levels of the justice system would allow comparisons to be made concerning changes over time in: (a) the number of youths associated with different levels of penetration, including the number receiving adjudications mandated by the court; and (b) the transitional probabilities (TPs) for different levels (i.e., the probability of referral to the next stage in the justice system). While the types of adjudications delivered over time provide comparative data regarding how juvenile cases are resolved, changes in the number of referrals to court may well alter the proportion of juveniles receiving a particular disposition. For example, a decrease in police referrals to the court following the initiation of a police diversion program might result in fewer court dismissals and informal adjustments, since many of the less serious cases have been disposed of prior to court intake.

Penetration refers to the absolute number of juveniles progressing to each stage of juvenile justice processing. The first level of penetration for which we were generally able to obtain data was police arrest. These data were obtained by contacting the police departments with jurisdiction in the areas serviced by the diversion projects.

Transitional probabilities were calculated to measure changes in the flow of youths through the justice system. When diversion programming is operating to remove youths who would otherwise remain under the jurisdiction of agents of the juvenile justice system, the removal of such youths should be reflected in official data sources. The TP reveals the likelihood of youths continuing or being maintained in the system. Assessments for the probabilities of youths passing through various points in the justice system can be documented with police and court records. Using the flow diagram in Figure 6-1 as an example, the annual TPs for three points in a system are calculated: police, court intake, and court adjudication. In the sample flow diagram, 500 youths were arrested and 300 of them were referred to court intake, generating a TP of $300/500 = .60$, or a probability of .60 that once a youth is arrested a referral will be made to the next step in the justice system. Similarly, the court intake TP is $200/300 = .67$; and the TP for formal adjudication is $140/200 = .70$.

Youths penetrating the system past court intake typically are dismissed, warned and released, put on probation, or placed in some form of detention. Youths receiving probation or placement are considered to have received a formal disposition. This formal disposition provides the numerator in the equation for calculating the court TP. Additionally, the number of formal adjudications will also be used to calculate what will be called the adjusted adjudication rate (AAR), the probability of individuals arrested receiving a formal disposition. Thus, in Figure 6-1, the adjusted adjudication rate is $140/500 = .28$.

Computation of transitional probabilities for several consecutive years allows for estimates of system change. Observed changes may not always be

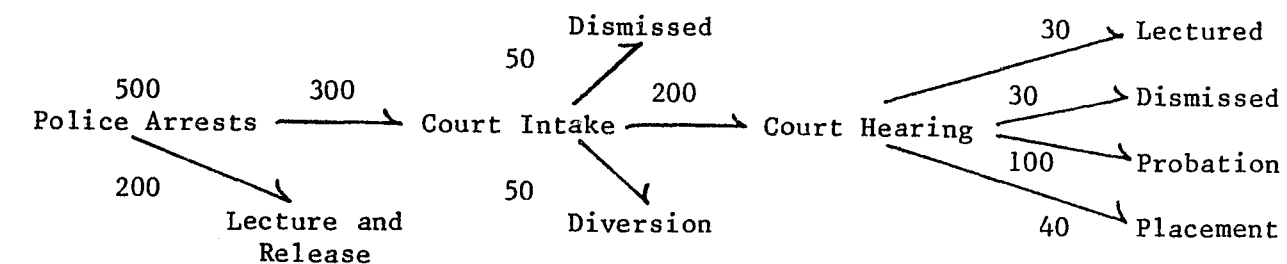


Figure 6-1
Sample Flow Diagram

attributable, however, to the introduction of a new diversion program. Other system changes may be reflected in the flow of youths through the justice system. For example, any significant changes in an offender population may cause system rates to change. If more males are arrested, for instance, this may account for different TPs at all levels, since males have traditionally been dealt with differently by criminal justice agencies when compared with females. Likewise, changes in the type of offenses for which youths are apprehended may also account for changes in transition probabilities. To control for intervening variables of this nature we have attempted to obtain data by sex and offense of juvenile offenders for all sites.

In addition to offender characteristics, other sources may account for observed changes in penetration and transition rates. Changes in police practices brought about by policy changes (as in New York during a rash of subway crime in 1978) can greatly affect these measures. Similarly, changes in the law regarding status offenders and children in need of services (as in Orange County during the late 1970s) may seriously affect the number of youths penetrating the system. Also impacting the flow of youths through the justice system are changes of personnel in key positions. For instance, following the appointment of a new state attorney with a reputation as an aggressive prosecutor a marked increase in the TPs for youths continuing on to court occurred on one site. A problem common to all sites involved the end of year lag of case disposition. That is, cases initiated in one year are often not finalized until the following year. In these circumstances it is possible for penetration rates to change as a result of changes in the speed with which judges, district attorneys, and probation officers refer cases onto subsequent stages. With the possibility of so many intervening or residual variables

accounting for changes in the system, a flow analysis serves as only one, rather crude, measure of impact.

Our goal was to obtain data from the justice agencies which would facilitate the flow analysis suggested above. We therefore sought the following kinds of data from the appropriate justice agencies involved: (1) number of youths coming into contact with the police; (2) number of youths lectured and released without an arrest; (3) number of youths arrested; (4) number of youths diverted by the police; (5) demographic characteristics of arrested youths; (6) number of youths referred to the district attorney's office or probation department; (7) number of youths diverted by the district attorney's office or probation department; (8) number of youths referred to court for a hearing; (9) disposition of cases for which a court hearing was held; and (10) if possible, a breakdown for all these data by seriousness of offense. Unfortunately, these data were unobtainable for most sites. Despite our attempts, we were unable to acquire even minimal data to conduct a flow analysis at two sites, Boston and Rosebud. Two other projects, YES-MFY and Harlem (both in New York City), were not evaluated due to the small number of youths diverted relative to the potential pool of referrals. It could not be expected that these projects would appreciably impact the New York City juvenile justice system.

For the remaining seven sites, data were provided such that flow analyses were attempted. The findings of these analyses are reported in the following section.

III. Findings

A. Denver

In Denver, diversion occurred at three different points in the justice

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system: after arrest by the police, by the district attorney, and at juvenile court dispositional hearings. Youths diverted at the court included some placed on formal probation. With diversion occurring at different penetration points, we expected to observe impact at all three levels of the system. Unfortunately, the nature of criminal justice data in Denver did not allow for a detailed evaluation of the impact of diversion at every referral point.

Our analysis is based primarily upon data provided by the Research Division of the Denver Juvenile Court. This office does not have a computerized information system, and so the controls and cross tabulations required for analysis were unavailable. Of equal significance, data kept across the court system are not uniform in point of reference. In other words, at one level records are kept by number of petitions, at the next level by number of individuals. This is problematic in that one individual may be represented in one or more petitions. Consequently, changes noted over time in percentage of cases penetrating the system may be attributed more to variations in the mean number of petitions filed against an individual than to any new program or philosophy. Despite these handicaps, we attempted to measure the flow of youths through the Denver juvenile justice system. (See Figure 6-2.)

1. Penetration

Referrals to the Central Denver Youth Diversion Project began in September 1977. Allowing 1977 to be considered a year of transition, we were able to obtain data for the three preceding years as well as 1978 and 1979. Table 6-1 reports the number of arrests resulting in a court referral.

A steady decline in youths penetrating the system from 1974 through 1977 can be seen, with the number leveling off in 1978. Coinciding with this

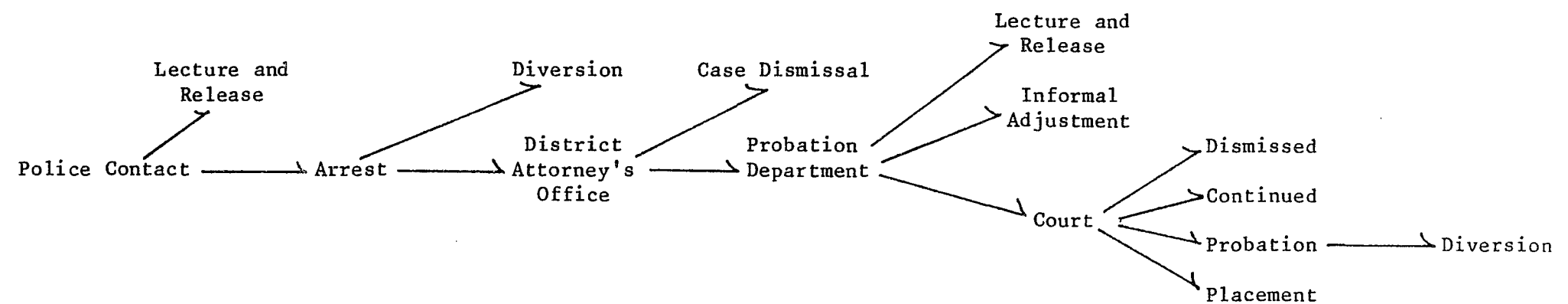


Figure 6-2
Flow Diagram of Denver Juvenile Justice System

Table 6-1
Juvenile Arrests and Referrals to Court, 1974-1979
Denver Police and Juvenile Court

Level of Penetration	1974		1975		1976		1977		1978		1979	
	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*
Juvenile Arrests	12,287		11,791		10,313		9,322		9,476		9,743	
Court Referrals	3,679 (30)		3,754 (32)		3,223 (31)		2,396 (26)		2,284 (24)		2,761 (28)	

*Percentages are court referrals as a percentage of juvenile arrests.

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decline in arrests was also a steady decline in court referrals beginning in 1975 and continuing through 1978. In 1979, however, there was an increase in the absolute number of referrals to court as well as the percentage of arrested youths continuing on to court.

The disparity between court referrals and case resolution is revealed in Table 6-2. Since more than one referral may be included in the filing of a delinquency petition or revocation of probation, the number of court referrals is not matched by the number of case dispositions. Percentages are calculated by using the total number of cases for which dispositions were obtained as the base number. As indicated above, changes in the flow of youths through the system may be attributed to the mean number of referrals per petition. Some variation in this figure is noted during the six-year period (1974-1979), with a mean of 1.04 referrals per petition in 1974, 1.12 in 1975, 1.02 in 1976, 1.09 in 1977, 1.18 in 1978, and 1.16 in 1979.

However, by using the actual number of cases processed at the point of court intake rather than the number of referrals to court, we are able to minimize the impact of the use of multiple referrals per individual. That is, our unit of analysis is the number of cases processed, not referrals to court. In addition to the decrease in court referrals noted above, a drastic change has occurred since 1974 with regard to the disposition of cases referred to court. Whereas 53% of cases were lectured and released in 1974, only 23% were handled in this manner in 1979. Conversely, only 35% of cases had delinquency petitions filed in 1974 but 58% were processed thusly in 1979. A significant increase in the proportion of youths penetrating the system past court intake has occurred. This may have resulted from police practicing greater discretion by lecturing and releasing or diverting youths

Table 6-2
Referrals and Case Determination, 1974-1979
Denver Juvenile Court

Referral Outcome	1974		1975		1976		1977		1978		1979	
	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*
Court Referrals	3,679		3,754		3,223		2,396		2,284		2,761	
Informal Adjustment	171	(5)	216	(6)	265	(8)	245	(11)	164	(8)	293	(12)
Lecture and Release	1,865	(53)	1,232	(37)	1,356	(43)	617	(28)	510	(26)	553	(23)
Delinquency Petition Filed	1,225	(35)	1,596	(48)	1,416	(45)	1,156	(53)	1,147	(59)	1,372	(58)
Revocation of Probation Filed	277	(8)	304	(9)	119	(4)	182	(8)	111	(6)	155	(7)
Total Cases Disposed	3,538		3,348		3,156		2,200		1,932		2,373	

*Percentages are based upon the total number of cases disposed, not court referrals.

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who would normally have been referred to court intake and subsequently lectured and released there thus reducing the number of releasable offenders at court intake. Alternatively, inasmuch as the court received fewer cases, a higher percentage of cases may have been required to maintain the court system (i.e., minimum caseloads, staff size, etc.).

It was revealed in Table 6-2 that a smaller percentage of youths referred to court were lectured and released in 1979 than in 1974. In Table 6-3, it can be seen that fewer petitions were dismissed in 1979 than in 1974, 30% and 41% respectively. At the same time, the percentage of petitions sustained increased commensurately. While the proportion of petitions sustained has increased, the absolute number of sustained petitions has decreased, which reflects fewer delinquent petitions being filed and in turn processed in a given year.

With respect to revocation of probation petitions filed, we note the same trend as that indicated above. Fewer of these types of petitions are filed and acted upon. Furthermore, fewer of these petitions are sustained, meaning that a greater proportion of this type of petition results in continued probation.

Examination of the number of individuals placed on probation, put in group home placements, or committed to the Department of Institutions suggests that fewer individuals are receiving these types of formal disposition. (See Table 6-4.) This follows from the information provided above, which indicated a decrease in arrests, delinquency petitions filed, and petitions sustained. Despite the limitations of the available data, a summary of the preceding discussion is presented in Table 6-5.

Table 6-3
Disposition of Petitions Filed, 1974-1979
Denver Juvenile Court

Disposition	1974		1975		1976		1977		1978		1979	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Delinquency Petition Filed	1,225		1,569		1,416		1,156		1,147		1,372	
Petitions Dismissed	487 (41)		470 (37)		582 (39)		382 (30)		321 (30)		313 (30)	
Petitions Sustained	695 (59)		814 (63)		909 (61)		880 (70)		751 (70)		714 (70)	
Delinquency Petition Acted Upon	1,182		1,284		1,491		1,252		1,072		1,027	
Revocation of Probation Filed	277		304		119		182		111		155	
Revocation of Probation Sustained	173 (63)		123 (55)		104 (62)		154 (63)		89 (59)		68 (49)	
Revocation of Probation Dismissed	103 (37)		102 (45)		63 (38)		91 (37)		62 (41)		72 (51)	
Revocation of Probation Acted Upon	276		225		167		245		151		140	

¹Percentage calculated by using "Delinquent Petitions Acted Upon" as base figure.

²Percentage calculated by using "Revocation of Probation Acted Upon" as base figure.

Table 6-4
Number of Individuals Disposed of via Probation, Commitment, or Placement, 1974-1979
Denver Juvenile Court

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Probation	420	487	454	414	374	366
Commitments	138	132	147	126	125	116
Placements	134	161	139	118	166	141
Total	692	780	740	658	665	623

2. Maintenance in the System

Table 6-6 shows that fluctuations in the transitional probabilities for arrest to court referral, court referral to the filing of a petition, and filing of a petition to formal court disposition have occurred; no change in the adjusted adjudication rate (AAR, the TP for arrest to formal court disposition) can be noted.

The fact that the probability of being referred to court once arrested has decreased since the inception of the diversion project suggests that juveniles are being diverted out of the system at the early stages, i.e., by the police and district attorney's office. This decline in the TP for court referrals coincides with a decrease in actual number of cases referred to court. Subsequently, one would expect a high maintenance of youths in the system after this point, since a large number of eligible youths have already been diverted. This expectation is fulfilled in that the TPs for court referral to formal court disposition did increase during the diversion years (1977-1979).

It would thus appear that diversion has impacted the justice system at the early penetration stages. Fewer youths are penetrating the system at the point of police arrest (this trend, however, began prior to diversion); and, once arrested, the probability of being maintained within the criminal justice system has decreased. Once in the court system, however, the probability of remaining there appears to have increased.

B. Kansas City

The Kansas City diversion project receives youths diverted out of the justice system prior to court processing. Figure 6-3 presents a flow diagram of the Kansas City juvenile justice system. The decision on whether or not individuals are eligible for diversion is made at police headquarters at the

Table 6-5
Flow of Juveniles through Denver Juvenile Justice System, 1974-1979

	1974		1975		1976		1977		1978		1979	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Juvenile Arrests	12,287		11,791		10,313		9,322		9,476		9,743	
Referrals to Court Acted Upon	3,538 (29)		3,348 (28)		3,156 (31)		2,200 (24)		1,932 (20)		2,373 (24)	
Delinquency Petition Acted Upon	1,182 (33)		1,284 (38)		1,491 (47)		1,262 (57)		1,072 (55)		1,027 (43)	
Formal Disposition (Probation, Commitment, Placement)	692 (58)		780 (61)		740 (50)		658 (52)		665 (62)		623 (61)	

1Calculated by using juvenile arrests as denominator.

2Calculated by using referrals to court as denominator.

3Calculated by using delinquency petitions as denominator.

Table 6-6
Transitional Probabilities, 1974-1979
Denver Juvenile Justice System

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Arrest/Court Referral	.29	.28	.31	.24	.20	.24
Arrest/Court Petition Filed	.10	.11	.14	.14	.11	.11
Arrest/Formal Court Disposition	.06	.07	.07	.07	.07	.06
Court Referral/Court Petition Filed	.33	.38	.47	.57	.55	.43
Court Referral/Formal Court Disposition	.20	.23	.23	.30	.34	.26
Court Petition Filed/Formal Court Disposition	.59	.61	.50	.52	.62	.61

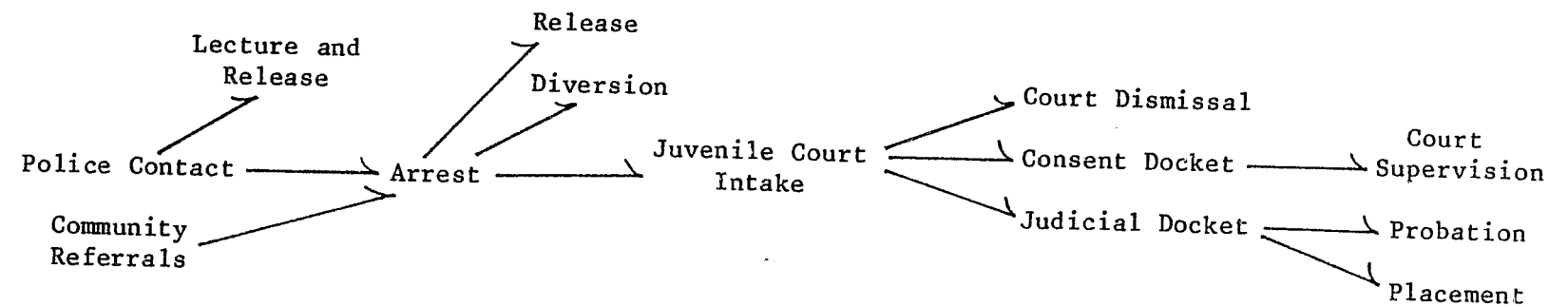


Figure 6-3
Flow Diagram of Kansas City Juvenile Justice System

time of arrest. When eligible, youths are randomly assigned in one of four conditions: (1) processed through the normal juvenile justice channels; (2) referred to the Roles for Youth diversion project (RFY); (3) referred to the Youth Service Unit diversion program (YSU) of the Kansas City Police Department (KCPD); or (4) dismissed with no services. (The last option was dropped after the experimental period with random assignment was terminated.) To be eligible for diversion, a youth must not be (a) a dangerous offender, (b) a first time offender charged with a minor offense, (c) under the court's jurisdiction, (d) a status offender, (e) arrested outside of Jackson County, or (f) held on charges with insufficient evidence to support a court petition.

Several circumstances make it difficult to assess the impact of diversion upon the Kansas City and Jackson County juvenile justice system. Data were provided by the KCPD and the Juvenile Court in Jackson County. Police data are reported in aggregate form and are not available for specific categories of offenders. That is, referrals made to the court are broken down by delinquent, status and traffic offenders, and children receiving improper care. The dispositions associated with those referrals are reported, however, without reference to offender class. In 1979 there were 2,382 delinquents among a total of 7,389 referrals to the Jackson County Juvenile Court. Since only the delinquency referrals are eligible for diversion, it would have been advantageous to have dispositional data for this group only.

Furthermore, the Kansas City Youth Diversion Project is a police diversion program operated through the KCPD, which is only one of several police departments referring juveniles to the Jackson County Juvenile Court. Consequently, many of the cases received by the court are from outside the jurisdiction of the police department associated with the diversion project.

In fact, since 1973, the proportion of referrals by the KCPD to the Jackson County Juvenile Court has decreased, from 62% in 1973 to only 34% in 1979. (See Table 6-9.) Consequently, any changes observed in the transitional probabilities and flow of juveniles into the Jackson County Juvenile Court cannot be determined by the examination of KCPD activities exclusively.

Data obtained from the KCPD do allow for some assessment of impact in that a breakdown of how arrested youths were handled by the KCPD is provided: whether they were processed through Juvenile Court, Youth Diversion, or unknown. As stated above, we can not make the transition from police to court data so we will report the two separately.

1. Penetration

a. Police

Based upon data provided by the KCPD as reported in Table 6-7, it can be seen that the characteristics of juveniles arrested for non-traffic offenses in Kansas City have changed significantly since 1973. Females comprised a larger percentage of the offenders for the diversion years (1977-1979) than they did earlier). Whites have also increased their representation among those arrested. Serious or Part I offenses make up a smaller percentage of offenses committed by juveniles in the later years when compared with the pre-diversion years.

Given the changes in the type of offender arrested by the KCPD, it is difficult to attribute changes in the flow of youths through the justice system to the diversion program alone. Changes in the juvenile population, or, in police practices may account for the observed differences as well.

The KCPD also provided information concerning the disposition of juvenile cases: through juvenile court or through the juvenile diversion of the police

Table 6-7
Demographic Characteristics of Juveniles Arrested in Kansas City, 1973-1979

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Male N	4,181	4,477	3,982	3,394	3,656	2,989	2,790
%	(84)	(83)	(82)	(80)	(71)	(71)	(72)
Female N	771	887	890	853	1,488	1,240	1,081
%	(16)	(17)	(18)	(20)	(29)	(29)	(28)
Total	4,952	5,364	4,872	4,247	5,144	4,229	3,871
White N	1,898	1,818	1,713	1,622	2,208	2,049	1,885
%	(38)	(34)	(35)	(38)	(43)	(48)	(49)
Nonwhite N	3,054	3,546	3,159	2,625	2,936	2,180	1,986
%	(62)	(66)	(65)	(62)	(57)	(52)	(51)
Total	4,952	5,364	4,872	4,247	5,144	4,229	3,871
Part I Offense							
N	3,542	3,896	3,601	2,903	2,517	1,956	1,743
%	(72)	(73)	(74)	(68)	(49)	(46)	(45)
Part II and Other Offenses							
N	1,410	1,468	1,271	1,344	2,627	2,273	2,128
%	(28)	(27)	(26)	(32)	(51)	(54)	(55)
Total	4,952	5,364	4,872	4,247	5,144	4,229	3,871

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department. Examination of Table 6-8 reveals that after a steady increase in the proportion of cases referred to juvenile court from 1973 to 1976, a decline in this method of disposing of cases occurred in 1977. The sudden decrease in juvenile court referrals in 1978 suggests that the diversion project may have reduced the number of juveniles penetrating the system to the court. Given the changes in the type of offenders being arrested, we can not be certain that this change in number of court referrals can be attributed to police diversion, but the data are supportive of this assumption.

b. Court

Table 6-8 in the preceding section reports the number of cases referred to juvenile court by the KCPD. In Table 6-9, which is based upon court data, we note a discrepancy from Table 6-8 in the number of cases referred to court by the KCPD. This kind of discrepancy continuously frustrated our assessment of the impact of diversion upon court procedures.

As the type of juvenile offender arrested in Kansas City changed over time, there was also a change in the nature of referrals to Jackson County Juvenile Court, with a decrease in the number and proportion of delinquency referrals (see Table 6-10). These reductions are consistent with those found for the police rates of referrals to the court and affirm the assumption that the diversion project reduced the number of youths penetrating the court system.

The decrease in delinquent referrals and the increase in referrals for "Improper Care" might account for the changes in disposition handed out by the court presented in Table 6-11.

2. Maintenance in the System

Due to the incompatibility of police and court data in Kansas City,

Table 6-8
Kansas City Police Disposition of Cases, 1973-1979

		1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Juvenile Court	N	3,303	3,647	3,499	3,274	3,708	2,637	2,595
	%	(67)	(68)	(72)	(77)	(72)	(62)	(67)
Juvenile Division	N	1,649	1,717	1,347	974	1,330	1,457	1,080
	%	(33)	(32)	(28)	(23)	(26)	(34)	(28)
Not Stated	N				96	135	196	
	%				(2)	(3)	(5)	
Total		4,952	5,364	4,846	4,248	5,134	4,229	3,871

Table 6-9
Jackson County Juvenile Court Record of Referral Sources
1973-1979

		1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
KCPD	N	4,927	5,197	4,638	4,883	4,404	3,479	3,015
	%	(62)	(57)	(50)	(44)	(42)	(34)	(34)
Other	N	3,045	3,926	4,689	6,134	6,059	6,775	5,886
	%	(38)	(43)	(50)	(56)	(58)	(66)	(66)
Total		7,972	9,123	9,327	11,017	10,463	10,254	8,901

Table 6-10
Type of Referral Processed by the Jackson County Juvenile Court, 1973-1979

		1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Delinquency	N	3,362	3,935	4,001	3,665	3,333	2,339	2,382
	%	(47)	(47)	(46)	(36)	(35)	(27)	(32)
Status	N	1,159	1,326	1,407	1,882	1,747	1,676	1,383
	%	(16)	(16)	(16)	(18)	(18)	(19)	(19)
Traffic	N	1,673	2,059	1,953	2,551	2,370	2,344	1,890
	%	(23)	(25)	(22)	(25)	(25)	(27)	(26)
Improper Care	N	947	1,065	1,334	2,085	2,038	2,285	1,734
	%	(13)	(13)	(15)	(20)	(21)	(26)	(23)
Total		7,141	8,385	8,695	10,183	9,488	8,644	7,389

Table 6-11
Jackson County Juvenile Court Dispositions, 1973-1979

Dispositions		1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Probation	N	1,456	1,575	1,307	1,048	945	1,310	1,188
	%	(42)	(40)	(31)	(28)	(22)	(32)	(29)
Foster Care	N	166	197	217	391	369	345	350
	%	(5)	(5)	(5)	(11)	(9)	(8)	(8)
Placements	N	498	558	673	511	739	541	368
	%	(14)	(14)	(16)	(14)	(17)	(13)	(9)
Adult Court	N	20	33	33	36	19	9	18
	%	(0.6)	(0.8)	(0.8)	(1)	(0.4)	(0.2)	(0.4)
Committed Div. Mental Health	N	62	45	49	21	71	35	24
	%	(2)	(1)	(1)	(0.6)	(2)	(0.9)	(0.6)
Voluntary Dismissals	N	281	134	195	140	264	488	492
	%	(8)	(3)	(5)	(4)	(6)	(12)	(12)
Other	N	1,025	1,347	1,763	1,531	1,883	1,356	1,751
	%	(29)	(35)	(42)	(42)	(44)	(33)	(42)
Total		3,508	3,889	4,237	3,678	4,290	4,084	4,133

transitional probabilities were calculated only for the likelihood of police arrest leading to court processing. The percentage of arrests processed to juvenile court was reported in Table 6-8. These percentages are also the TPs for youths being maintained in the system from police to court intake. After diversion began, the TPs decreased, suggesting that alternative processing of youths had occurred. However, as stated above, the change in the type of offender entering the system during this time confounds the interpretation of the change in TPs.

C. Memphis

The Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project (MMYDP) began accepting clients for referral to no-cost services in April 1977. In Memphis and Shelby County, police officers have three options available when confronted with juveniles who have violated the law: they can (a) arrest offenders, (b) issue a juvenile summons, or (c) warn and release youths. Only those cases referred to court were eligible for diversion, since all referrals to MMYDP came from the Memphis and Shelby County Juvenile Court. In cooperation with the National Evaluation, eligible youths were randomly assigned to (a) diversion with no services, (b) diversion without services, or (c) further juvenile justice system penetration. Ineligible youths included those who (a) normally would not have penetrated further into the system, (b) had committed serious property crimes, (c) had been charged with a crime against persons, (d) were currently on probation or in a placement, or (e) had been diverted previously.

The following analysis is based upon data provided by the Memphis Police Department and the Memphis and Shelby County Juvenile Court. These agencies did not maintain separate records regarding how many youths were diverted to MMYDP. Instead, diverted youths are included in two pre-existing disposition

categories ("referred elsewhere" and "taken under advisement"). Data were also provided for the number of youths penetrating the system at the police level, the sex and race of arrested offenders, and the disposition of all juvenile cases appearing in court. Figure 6-4 presents a flow chart diagramming the Memphis juvenile justice system.

1. Penetration

Data providing the sex and race of offenders were available only for juveniles arrested by police. These data are presented in Table 6-12. No sizable differences in these offender characteristics can be seen for the nine-year period examined. Regarding sex of offenders, approximately 3/4 are male (ranging from 72% to 77%) and 1/4 female (ranging from 23% to 28%). Even less variation over time is evident in the ethnicity of arrested offenders, where approximately 40% are white and 60% black. Since no change in the offender populations has occurred with respect to these variables, we can be more confident that observed changes in the flow of juveniles through the system may be attributable to changes in justice system practices rather than to characteristics of offenders. Despite the lack of change in the sex and race of juvenile offenders, a noticeable change in the severity of offenses occurred during the 1970s. (See Table 6-12.) The percentage of juveniles arrested for misdemeanors has more than doubled since 1971 (from 23% to 49% in 1979), while the proportion arrested for felonies and status offenses has decreased. This change in offense types may have implications for the ultimate dispositions that offenders receive.

Considerable fluctuation in the number of juveniles penetrating the juvenile justice system occurred during the 1970s. Fewer than 10,000 youths had formal contact (arrested or receiving juvenile summonses) with the police

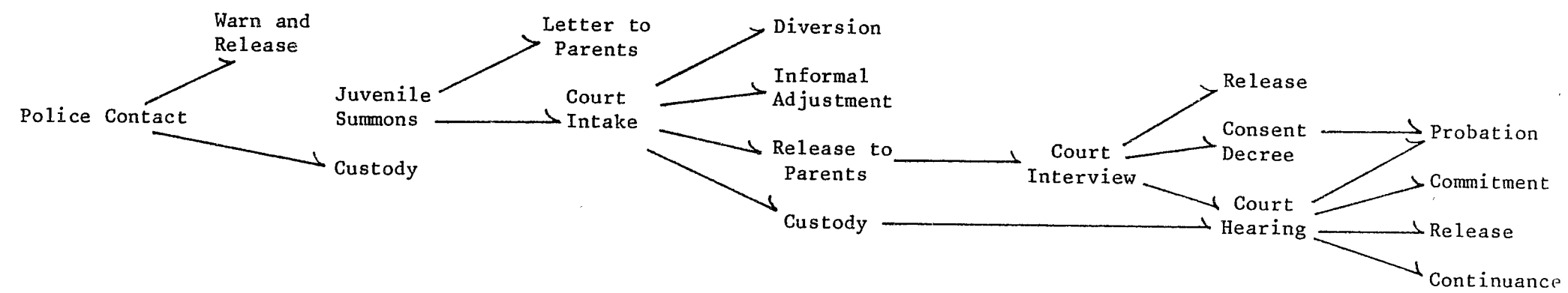


Figure 6-4
Flow Diagram of Memphis Juvenile Justice System

Table 6-12
Type of Referral Processed by Memphis and Shelby County Juvenile Court, 1971-1979

		1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Felonies	N	2,328	2,495	2,725	3,410	3,403	2,865	2,369	2,082	1,923
	%	(28)	(29)	(30)	(30)	(31)	(30)	(32)	(27)	(23)
Misdemeanors	N	1,874	2,126	2,224	3,129	2,873	2,836	2,598	3,087	4,139
	%	(23)	(25)	(24)	(28)	(26)	(30)	(35)	(40)	(49)
Status	N	3,607	3,590	3,685	4,185	4,065	3,066	2,276	2,389	2,179
	%	(43)	(42)	(40)	(37)	(37)	(33)	(31)	(31)	(26)
Other	N	485	423	569	627	637	634	164	190	255
	%	(6)	(5)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(7)	(2)	(2)	(3)
Total		8,294	8,634	9,203	11,351	10,978	9,401	7,407	7,748	8,487

in 1971; the number increased by almost 50% to 14,850 in 1975. A rapid decrease then occurred between 1975 and 1977, with 10,361 youths entering the system in 1977. (See Table 6-13) While some of this variation can be attributed to different rates of arrest, examination of Table 6-13, suggests that significant changes in the issuance of juvenile summonses occurred during this period. While only 11% of youths penetrating the system in 1971 were issued summonses, 29% entered the system by this route in 1977. The number of arrests peaked in 1974, whereas the most juvenile summonses were issued in 1975, the year with the most police contacts.

The number of youths processed through the court (Table 6-14) roughly equals the number of youths coming into contact with the police. Reaching a peak in 1974 (9,650 cases), the number of court cases decreased through 1977. Since 1977, though, there has been an increase in cases referred to court. In fact the 1979 level had surpassed all but the 1974 and 1975 levels.

With respect to police contacts, it would appear that changes in police behavior occurred between 1973 and 1977. The sharp increase and then matching decrease in number of police contacts during this period suggests a change either in field practice or recording practice. It has already been suggested that the use of juvenile summonses appear to account for a major source of the fluctuation. Unfortunately, we cannot account for other variables that may have precipitated the changes in these figures.

While some variation has been noted in the number of cases appearing in court, a cursory examination of Table 6-14 reveals only minor changes in the manner in which these cases have been disposed. Two trends are noteworthy: a steady decrease in the percentage of cases referred to the probation department, down from 20% in 1973 to 10% in 1979; and a substantial increase

Table 6-13
Demographic Characteristics of Juveniles Arrested in Memphis, 1971-1979

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Male N	6,600	6,364	6,855	8,716	8,435	6,963	5,434	5,605	6,197
%	(74)	(74)	(74)	(77)	(77)	(74)	(73)	(72)	(73)
Female N	2,276	2,270	2,348	2,635	2,543	2,438	1,973	2,143	2,290
%	(26)	(26)	(26)	(23)	(23)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(27)
Total	8,876	8,634	9,203	11,351	10,978	9,401	7,407	7,748	8,487
White N	3,594	3,489	3,497	4,605	4,379	3,848	3,017	3,209	3,276
%	(40)	(40)	(38)	(41)	(40)	(41)	(41)	(39)	
Black N	5,274	5,138	5,696	6,728	6,575	5,546	4,373	4,528	5,182
%	(59)	(60)	(62)	(59)	(60)	(59)	(59)	(58)	(61)
Other N	8	7	10	18	24	7	17	11	29
Total	8,876	8,634	9,203	11,351	10,978	9,401	7,407	7,748	8,487
Police Contact	9,935	9,743	10,648	13,994	14,850	12,579	10,361	10,063	10,662
Arrests % Contacts	8,876 (89)	8,634 (89)	9,203 (86)	11,351 (81)	10,978 (74)	9,401 (75)	7,407 (71)	7,748 (77)	8,487 (80)
Delinquents % Arrests		5,746 (67)	6,289 (74)	7,748 (68)	7,442 (68)	6,823 (73)	5,438 (73)	5,606 (72)	6,496 (77)
Unruly % Arrests		2,888 (33)	2,914 (26)	3,603 (32)	3,536 (32)	2,578 (27)	1,969 (27)	2,306 (28)	1,991 (23)
Juvenile Summonses % Contacts	1,059 (11)	1,109 (11)	1,445 (14)	2,643 (19)	3,872 (26)	3,178 (25)	2,954 (29)	2,415 (23)	2,175 (20)

Table 6-14
Court Disposition of Cases in Memphis and Shelby County, 1973-1979

Disposition		1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Dismissed--								
Not Proven	N	1,122	1,579	1,611	1,481	1,202	1,142	1,124
	%	(14)	(16)	(18)	(19)	(17)	(15)	(14)
Dismissed--Warned	N	3,834	5,123	4,945	4,162	3,233	3,773	4,348
	%	(49)	(53)	(54)	(53)	(45)	(49)	(52)
Referred Elsewhere	N	36	60	31	45	272	556	784
	% (0.5)	(0.5)	(0.6)	(0.3)	(0.6)	(4)	(7)	(9)
Under Advisement	N	196	295	244	238	273	396	0
	%	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(5)	-
Probation	N	1,541	1,546	1,499	1,083	1,011	819	823
	%	(20)	(16)	(16)	(14)	(14)	(11)	(10)
Committed	N	318	459	307	326	415	320	290
	%	(4)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(6)	(4)	(3)
Other	N	750	588	553	551	715	715	927
	%	(10)	(6)	(6)	(7)	(10)	(9)	(11)
Total		7,797	9,650	9,190	7,886	7,126	7,721	8,296

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in cases "referred elsewhere" (includes diverted youths), from less than 1% in 1976 to 9% in 1979. Both of these changes are in a direction indicative of diversion impact. It should also be noted, however, that associated with the increase in the use of "referred elsewhere" has been the elimination of the "under advisement" category.

2. Maintenance in the System

In this section, transitional probabilities are reported for the following: (1) the probability of a police contact leading to arrest; (2) the probability of a police contact leading to a court appearance; (3) the probability of a court appearance resulting in a formal decision (probation or commitment); and (4) the adjusted adjudication rate (the probability of a police contact leading to a formal disposition). Table 6-15 reports these transitional probabilities for 1973 through 1979.

Examination of the TPs reveals some fluctuation in the likelihood of a police contact resulting in an arrest or court appearance. As the number of police contacts increased in 1974 and 1975 (see Table 6-12), the probability of formal handling decreased. Furthermore, as the rate of police contact decreased, the probabilities of arrest or court processing leveled off and then began to increase after MMYDP began accepting referrals, such that the probability of a police contact resulting in court processing was higher than any years preceding diversion (.77 and .78 in 1978 and 1979 respectively, compared with .62 and .63 in 1975 and 1976).

Table 6-15
Transition Probabilities for Memphis Juvenile Justice System, 1973-1979

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Police Contact/ Arrest	.86	.81	.74	.75	.71	.77	.80
Police Contact/ Court	.73	.69	.62	.63	.69	.77	.78
Court/Formal Disposition	.20	.21	.20	.18	.20	.15	.13
Police Contact/ Formal Disposition	.14	.14	.12	.11	.13	.12	.10

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While these police transition probabilities underwent annual fluctuations, the court TP remained constant until after the inception of the diversion project. In 1978 and 1979 a substantial decrease in the probability that youths penetrating to court would receive a formal disposition (commitment or probation) was achieved. Inasmuch as the MMYDP is a court diversion project this is exactly where we would expect to see a change in court statistics if the project was having an impact upon the court system. Thus, although the probability of appearing in court once arrested increased, the probability of receiving a formal court disposition decreased. This decrease appears to be associated with the activities of the diversion project.

With respect to the adjusted adjudication rate (AAR), we observe that while some fluctuation has occurred, no trend has been established. However, the AAR in 1979 was the lowest (.10) in the seven years investigated, suggesting again that the MMYDP may have had some impact upon the justice system's handling of youths. It should be noted that this is a fairly tenuous statement in that the highest AAR was only .14, although we would not expect a dramatic change in the AAR because of the large number of police contacts.

Returning to Table 6-14, we note that not only has the probability of formal handling by the courts decreased, but so have the absolute number of cases. While 2,005 cases were referred to the probation department or to an institutional placement in 1974, only 1,113 cases were handled in this manner in 1979. Successful court diversion in the face of shrinking court referrals is an impressive accomplishment for any diversion project.

D. Orange County

The Orange County diversion project, which began accepting clients July 1, 1977, is part of a statewide effort to divert juveniles out of the justice

system. Diversion occurs after arrest but before a petition is filed with the courts. Due to a strict interpretation of state law, police officers must arrest all juveniles in violation of the law. Formal lecture and release or other informal police options do not officially exist. All arrested juveniles are referred to the state attorney's office for review. The options available to that office include: (1) referral to court, (2) diversion, (3) informal disposition, and (4) dismissal of complaint. (See Figure 6-5 for a flow chart of the juvenile justice system.)

In Orange County, the principals agreed to the random assignment of eligible youths to (1) diversion with services, (2) diversion without services, or (3) referral to court. Youths eligible for inclusion in the "pool" of divertable youths were those who would normally be referred to court in the absence of the diversion project. Ineligible youths included those: (1) with a petition filed for a prior offense, (2) on probation during the preceding two years, (3) with charges involving the use of a weapon, (4) with charges involving the sale of drugs other than marijuana, and (5) previously diverted who were rearrested.

In the assessment of the impact of diversion upon the Orange County criminal justice system, several events occurring during the six-year period of the flow analysis must be considered. First, in 1975 a new division chief was assigned to the Orange County State Attorney's Office. This individual built a reputation as an "aggressive prosecutor" by filing on most of the prosecutable offenses passing through his office. As discussed in the introduction personnel changes of this type has important implications for the total justice system and represents an important consideration for flow analyses. Another important change involves the classification of status

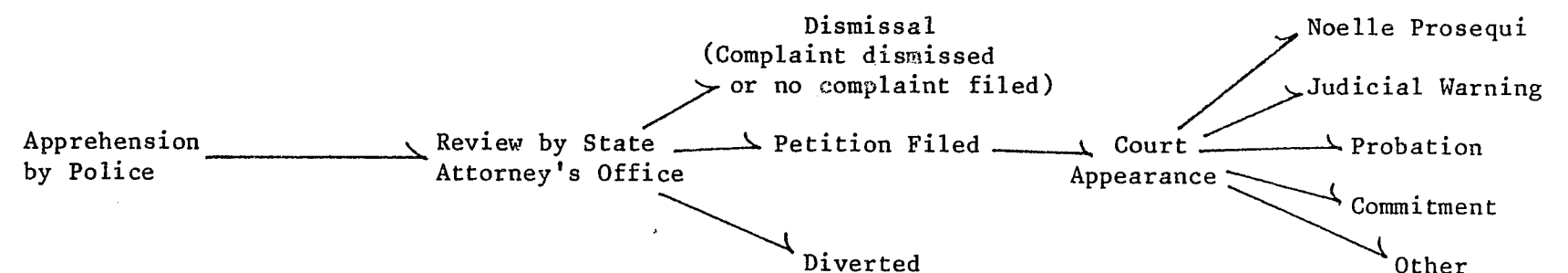


Figure 6-5
Flow Diagram of Orange County Juvenile Justice System

offences. Prior to July 1, 1975, all youths apprehended as Children in Need of Services (CINS) or status offenders were treated as delinquent. Between July 1, 1975, and October 1978, youths adjudicated ungovernable more than once were categorized and treated as delinquent. Since October 1978, no CINS could be handled as delinquents; only those accused of a criminal offense could be thus processed. Furthermore, several types of traffic violations have traditionally been classified as delinquent acts, including "fleeing and eluding," "leaving the scene," and "driving under the influence of alcohol." In October 1978, "driving without a valid operator's license" was added to this list. We must be alerted that these policy changes, as the change in personnel noted above, affects the number of youths entering the system and the subsequent handling of juveniles such that one may incorrectly conclude that a major change in sentencing policy has occurred when, in fact, the only change has been in the type of offender penetrating the system as a result of policy and personnel changes.

A. Penetration

Annual data for delinquents processed in Orange County were obtained from the State of Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (HRS) for 1974 through 1979. These data allow for annual comparisons to be made on the following variables: severity of offense, sex, race, and case disposition.

Table 6-16, which reports the severity of offenses by year, reveals the effects of the re-definition of status offenses upon the numbers of juveniles penetrating the justice system, and the fluctuations in number of arrests between 1974 and 1979. Due to the changing legal status of status offenders during the 1970s, it is difficult to compare the annual juvenile populations in the justice system. If we exclude status offenses from the tabulations, it

Table 6-16
Severity of Offenses Committed by Youth in Orange County, 1974-1979

Offense		1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
<hr/>							
Divertable							
Misdemeanor	N	2,743	4,149	2,939	3,311	1,920	1,750
	%	(43)	(47)	(59)	(66)	(56)	(53)
<hr/>							
Divertable							
Felony	N	1,274	2,264	1,463	1,625	1,434	1,091
	%	(20)	(26)	(29)	(32)	(42)	(33)
Status Offense	N	2,233	2,174	511	19	0	402
	%	(25)	(25)	(10)	(.4)		(12)
Non-Divertable	N	119	160	64	85	82	49
	%	(2)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(2)
<hr/>							
Total		6,369	8,747	4,977	5,040	3,436	3,292
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¹Includes (but not limited to) unauthorized use of motor vehicle, prostitution, petty larceny, vandalism, assault and/or battery, lottering, trespassing.

²Includes (but not limited to) sexual battery, robbery, burglary, arson, auto theft, aggravated assault, grand larceny.

can be seen that approximately two-thirds of the offenses were misdemeanors and one-third were felonies prior to the introduction of diversion. After the diversion project began accepting clients in July 1977, the percentage of misdemeanants decreased to 56% and 53% and the percentage of felony cases increased to 42% before falling to 33% in 1979.

With respect to sex and race of offenders, little difference appears to have occurred over the six-year period examined. Approximately 3/4 of all offenses were committed by males and slightly more than 3/4 were committed by whites. (See Table 6-17.) In the half-year after diversion began, a lower percentage of whites were arrested. This decrease, however, was short-lived, and by 1978 the racial distribution of offenders was the same it had been in 1976.

From the preceding discussions, it can be concluded that, while the numbers of youths penetrating the system varied from year to year, the relative distributions of offenders by severity of offense, sex, and race remained essentially stable over the six years examined.

Table 6-18 provides an accounting of the disposition of all juveniles arrested from 1974 through 1979. Beginning in 1976 (the year after the current state attorney in Orange County took office, as well as the year after status offenders were eliminated from delinquent records), we note an increasing number and percentage of juveniles receiving probation. Whereas only 10% received formal dispositions (probation or commitment) in 1974, 44% did so in 1979. Table 6-16 revealed a decrease in offenses after 1975. This resulted in fewer cases for the state attorney's office to review for possible court processing. A decrease in the number of youths penetrating the court system has been cited as an explanation for an increase in the proportion of

Table 6-17
Demographic Characteristics of Juvenile Offenders in Orange County, 1974-1979

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Male N	4,605	6,772	3,956	3,908	2,720	2,516
%	(69)	(75)	(78)	(77)	(74)	(74)
Female N	2,053	2,222	1,092	1,174	828	896
%	(31)	(25)	(22)	(23)	(23)	(26)
Total	6,657	8,994	5,048	5,082	3,540	3,412
White N	5,240	7,015	3,920	3,795	2,755	2,611
%	(79)	(78)	(78)	(75)	(78)	(77)
Black N	1,387	1,950	1,043	1,184	772	762
%	(21)	(22)	(21)	(23)	(22)	(22)
Other N	30	29	85	103	21	39
%	(0.5)	(0.3)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)
Total	6,657	8,994	5,048	5,082	3,540	3,412

Table 6-18
Disposition of Cases, Orange County Court, 1974-1979

Disposition		1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Dismissed	N	4,365	6,527	3,004	2,245	1,256	771
	%	(80)	(81)	(68)	(49)	(40)	(27)
Diverted or Referred	N	210	211	149	75	146	348
	%	(4)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(5)	(12)
Noelle Prose	N	220	297	258	451	334	352
	%	(0.5)	(0.3)	(5)	(10)	(3)	(1)
Purchase of Services	N	132	83	60	122	75	90
	%	(2)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Probation	N	423	684	555	1,077	1,133	1,140
	%	(8)	(8)	(13)	(24)	(36)	(41)
Commitment	N	108	273	168	159	87	71
	%	(2)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Total		5,486	8,098	4,417	4,564	3,110	2,814

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cases receiving formal dispositions as systems strain to maintain themselves (BREC, 1974). This, combined with the personnel change in the state attorney's office may account for the observed increase in the number and proportion of youths receiving formal dispositions during the diversion years.

2. Maintenance in the System

Orange County is the only site for which dispositional data reported by severity of offense were obtained. Consequently, Orange County is the only site where we can determine if changes have occurred by different offender types. Table 6-19 reports the TPs for five categories of offenders: (1) total number of apprehended youth, (2) divertable misdemeanants, (3) divertable felons, (4) status offenders, and (5) non-divertable offenders. The first TP reported in Table 6-19 refers to the probability of arrested youth being referred by the state attorney's office to court. The second refers to the likelihood of receiving a formal disposition (probation or commitment), and the third refers to the adjusted adjudication rate.

Examination of Table 6-19 reveals that since 1975, the TPs for all five groups have steadily increased at all points of the system. The trend has been for divertable felons to have the highest adjusted adjudication rate, non-divertable felons the second highest, and divertable misdemeanants the lowest. The TPs reported in Table 19 lead us to conclude that the effects of the appointment of the new and active state attorney in 1975 has thoroughly confounded our attempt to assess the system effectiveness of Orange County.

E. John Jay-Transit Police

The John Jay College-New York City Transit Police Diversion Project began accepting clients on May 18, 1977, but random assignment of eligible youths did not begin until August 9, 1977. Only juveniles apprehended by the Transit

Table 6-19
Transitional Probabilities for Orange County, 1974-1979

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
<u>All Offenses</u>						
State Attorney/ Court	.17	.17	.29	.49	.55	.60
Court Appearance/ Formal Disposition	.58	.70	.57	.55	.71	.71
Adjusted Adjudication Rate	.10	.12	.17	.27	.39	.43
<u>Divertable Misdemeanors</u>						
State Attorney/ Court	.09	.11	.21	.40	.46	.55
Court Appearance/ Formal Disposition	.46	.60	.49	.44	.65	.66
Adjusted Adjudication Rate	.04	.07	.10	.18	.30	.36
<u>Divertable Felonys</u>						
State Attorney/ Court	.40	.35	.50	.68	.67	.83
Court Appearance/ Formal Disposition	.61	.75	.64	.68	.78	.77
Adjusted Adjudication Rate	.24	.26	.32	.46	.52	.64
<u>Status Offenses</u>						
State Attorney/ Court	.10	.06	.03	.50	0 ¹	.11
Court Appearance/ Formal Disposition	.72	.77	.70	1.00	01	.53
Adjusted Adjudication Rate	.07	.05	.02	.50	01	.06
<u>Non-Divertable Offenses</u>						
State Attorney/ Court	.23	.22	.16	.59	.59	.64
Court Appearance/ Formal Disposition	.52	.82	.89	.60	.63	.81
Adjusted Adjudication Rate	.12	.18	.14	.35	.37	.52

¹No status offenses in 1978.

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Police in the commission of a crime on the city's subways were included in the pool of youths referred to the diversion project. Diversion occurred at the district police station in collaboration with project representatives at the Juvenile Crime Prevention Unit (JCPU). Figure 6-6 presents a flow chart of the New York juvenile justice system.

Criteria which made youths ineligible for diversion included the following: (1) youths over 15 or under 7 years of age; (2) those committing a felony or a photographable misdemeanor; (3) when an apprehending officer or complainant insisted that the case go to court; (4) when youths and/or parents wanted the case to go to court; (5) when a youth's record indicated that the youth (a) was violent, (b) had an active case pending with the court for a prior offense, or (c) was the subject of an outstanding warrant requiring court action; and (6) when youths appeared to be in need of immediate medical or psychiatric care.

Before discussing the impact of the John Jay-Transit Police Project upon the juvenile justice system in New York City, several observations are in order: First, while the Transit Authority Police account for only 10% of the city police personnel, they are responsible for 35% of the discretionary juvenile detentions in the city. Due to the nature of the Transit Authority Police's jurisdiction, property crimes such as burglary are almost nonexistent. Vandalism, criminal mischief, and larceny, on the other hand, account for the majority of offenses which the Transit Police encounter.

In addition to the idiosyncratic nature of Transit Police apprehensions, several policy changes require attention. Prior to 1976, all youths arrested by the Transit Police were referred to the New York City Police Department for handling. In 1976, the Transit Police assumed this responsibility. Thus, we

were unable to obtain juvenile arrest data by the Transit Police prior to 1976. Furthermore, in early 1979, a rash of crime on the subways led the Mayor of New York City to request greater police presence on the subways. Large amounts of overtime were approved and all available personnel were assigned to patrol the trains and stations of the system. During this period of increased police presence on the subway, patrolman were requested to use the utmost discretion and arrest only the most serious of offenders so that they would not have to leave their patrol assignments. Night patrols were also increased and day time surveillance, the peak periods of juvenile use of the subways, was decreased. Personal interviews and data obtained from the Transit Police suggest that these policy changes slowed the number of juvenile arrests during 1979: 3,081 and 2,952 youths were arrested by Transit Authority Police in 1977 and 1978 respectively while only 2,196 were arrested in 1979. (See Table 6-20.)

In addition to these policy changes, several problems arose in attempting to employ Family Court data to assess the impact of the John Jay-Transit Police Diversion Project upon the justice system. As will be seen in the following discussion, considerable disparity exists between the number of petitions filed in court and the number of dispositions returned. Through conversations with Family Court officials, it was determined that these discrepancies can be attributed to the following circumstances: petitions are sent to the record office in batch form for complaints filed; dispositions are sent to the record office individually after court disposition. This policy of recording dispositions separately increases the loss rate, in that forms are frequently reported as lost or misplaced between the court and records office. Further, while an individual may have numerous complaints filed

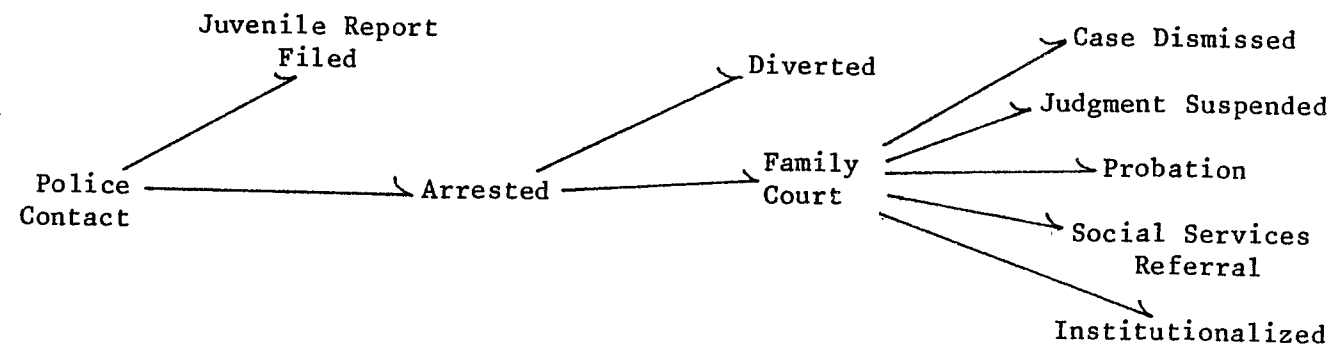


Figure 6-6
Flow Diagram of New York City Juvenile Justice System

against him/her, only one disposition is generally recorded. Another obstacle complicates the complete examination of the flow of youths through the New York City juvenile justice system. Records for the court disposition of juveniles apprehended by the Transit Police are not kept by the Transit Police or separated by the court. Family Court data are kept for all juvenile arrests in the city so that the transition from Transit Police data to court data cannot be made. Due to the nature of the available data no attempt will be made to assess the impact of the John Jay-Transit Police Diversion Project upon the New York City juvenile justice system.

From the data of Tables 6-20 to 6-23, however, the following observations can be made. The number of arrests by Transit Authority Police has decreased significantly since 1977 (Table 6-20) indicative of diversion impact but confounded by other events. A slight decrease in the number of petitions filed with Family Court has occurred as well (Table 6-21). Fluctuations in the absolute numbers of dispositions returned by Family Court have also occurred during the six-year period (Table 6-22). Dispositions are dichotomized into "not placed" (dismissed and withdrawn) and "placed" (probation and placement) and an overall increase in the percentage of cases receiving a formal disposition is observed (Table 6-23).

Whereas only 16% of cases received a formal disposition in 1974, 23% did so in 1978. While this might be expected to result from the diversion of offenders prior to court intake, given the relatively high number of juvenile arrests in NYC, it is questionable what impact the John Jay-Transit Police Diversion Project could be expected to have upon the Family Court flow.

F. New York-Harlem and Mobilization for Youth

No attempt will be made to assess the impact of these two New York

Table 6-20
Total Number of Transit Authority Police Arrests, 1977-1979
New York City Juvenile Justice System

	1977	1978	1979
Number of arrests	3,081	2,952	2,196

Table 6-21
Number of Petitions Filed with the Family Court, 1975-1979
New York City Juvenile Justice System

	1975	1976	1977	1978
Delinquent	12,362	13,213	11,862	11,937
PINS	5,636	5,229	4,784	4,229
Total	17,998	18,442	16,646	16,166

Table 6-22
Dispositions of Juveniles Appearing in Family Court, 1974-1979
New York City Juvenile Justice System

	Dismissed	Withdrawn ¹	Probation	Placement ²	Other ³	Total
1974 N	3,097	1,703	643	270	173	5,886
%	(53)	(29)	(11)	(5)	(3)	
1975 N	4,299	1,215	901	288	254	6,957
%	(62)	(17)	(13)	(4)	(4)	
1976 N	4,212	1,096	832	404	358	6,902
%	(61)	(16)	(12)	(6)	(5)	
1977 N	4,025	1,079	844	644	271	6,863
%	(59)	(16)	(12)	(9)	(4)	
1978 N	4,490	1,347	1,059	832	414	8,142
%	(55)	(17)	(13)	(10)	(5)	
1979 N	4,184	781	788	392	335	6,480
%	(65)	(12)	(12)	(6)	(5)	

¹Includes withdrawn, discharged, judgment suspended.

²Includes own home and foster home, Division of Youth, training school, other placement.

³Includes transferred, Department of Corrections, social services department.

Table 6-23
Percentage of Family Court Dispositions Placed and Not Placed, 1974-1979
New York City Juvenile Justice System

	Not Placed			Placed	
1974	4,800	(82)		913	(16)
1975	5,444	(78)		1,189	(17)
1976	5,308	(77)		1,236	(18)
1977	5,104	(74)		1,488	(22)
1978	5,837	(72)		1,891	(23)
1979	4,965	(78)		1,180	(18)

projects. The number of clients served by the projects, combined with the problems inherent in the gathering of data in New York City, make any evaluation of the impact of these projects upon the Family Court system impractical.

G. Rosebud

Recordkeeping in the juvenile justice system on the Rosebud Sioux Tribe was such that the development of the flow analysis was prohibited. Police records of arrests do not contain information about the ultimate disposition of cases or even whether cases were referred to court. While the juvenile probation department keeps a log of all arrests referred to them with some dispositional information, tabulation of these data revealed that dispositions were missing for at least 10% of the cases in every year and up to 50% of the cases in some years. Since there was no evidence that cases with missing information were randomly distributed across dispositions, the attempt to use probation department data was abandoned.

H. Boston

Contact was made with the Boston Police Department, the Boston Juvenile Court, and the Office of the Commissioner of Probation. The Boston Police Department responded only to say that it could not provide us with the information requested. The Boston Juvenile Court is only one of several in Boston and Suffolk County which processed juvenile offenders associated with the diversion project. District courts throughout the county also process juveniles. Additionally the courts do not maintain the type of records needed to provide information regarding the flow of youths through the courts. Information pertaining to the disposition of offenders is forwarded to the Office of the Commissioner of Probation. This office, however, maintains

records for the county or state level only. Lacking a computerized system, we would have had to review each case individually to obtain the type of data required to conduct an evaluation of the flow of juveniles through the Boston justice system. Additionally, commitments to the Department of Youth Services and youths bound over for adult court are tabulated at the state level only. Arraignments, court cases and cases actively on probation are recorded at the County level. Due to the general unavailability of appropriate data in Boston, the flow analysis was aborted.

I. Milwaukee

Alternatives for Youth (AFY), the Milwaukee diversion project, began operating in October 1977. Referrals to AFY were made from the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center, with probation officers being those primarily charged with referring cases to the diversion project. The district attorney also made referrals to AFY.

Youths eligible for diversion were randomly assigned: 75% to diversion and 25% to be processed as if diversion did not exist. The statement of eligibility criteria included (1) "property felons with prior records," (2) "misdemeanants with repeated violations within a short period of time," (3) "misdemeanants with serious runaway problems who are referred to the court on a delinquency charge," (4) "juveniles on probation or on a 'hold open' status who are returned to the justice system on minor new delinquency charges," and (5) "first time felons."

Penetration of the juvenile justice system begins with police contact. In Milwaukee County, police have discretion over the handling of juvenile offenders in that they can arrest or lecture and release offenders. Those arrested may be held in detention or released to the custody of parents prior

to court intake. At court intake, youths are either diverted, referred to the district attorney's office or receive some informal supervision. The district attorney, in turn, can refer youths to diversion, arrange an informal dispatch, or file a petition against the youth. Those juveniles for whom petitions are filed penetrate the court system and either appear at a court hearing at which their guilt or innocence is determined or their cases are deferred and not prosecuted unless a rearrest occurs. (See Figure 6-7.)

Milwaukee County and State of Wisconsin officials provided data for youths held in detention, referrals to court intake, juvenile petitions filed, and youths committed to state institutions. Due to recording practices, the court could not provide information other than the number of petitions filed. The probation department, although primarily responsible for referring youths to diversion, could not tell us how many youths were diverted or placed on probation in a given year. It was difficult, with this limited information, to come to any definite conclusions about the impact that the AFY may have had upon the flow of youths through the criminal justice system in Milwaukee.

1. Penetration

Data supplied by the court include the number of referrals to court intake and the number of petitions filed. These two data sources are broken into four categories of referrals: (1) delinquent and CINS, (2) neglected and dependent children, (3) traffic offenders, and (4) special proceedings. Only delinquent and CINS data were examined. The Court Center also provided annual data for numbers of youths held in detention. From the State of Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services we received annual commitments to state institutions from the County of Milwaukee. Table 6-24 summarizes these data.

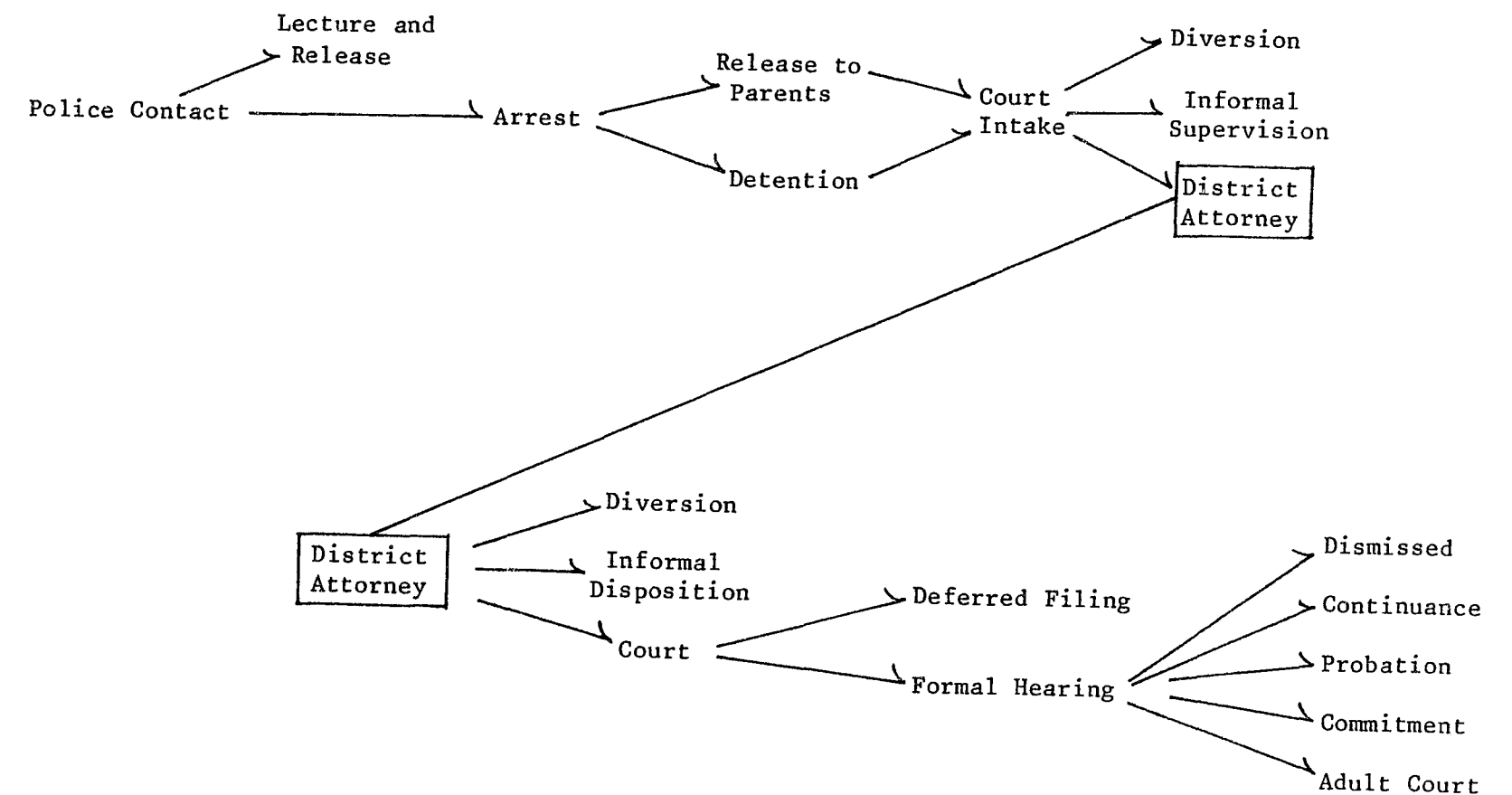


Figure 6-7
Flow Diagram of Milwaukee Juvenile Justice System

Table 6-24
Flow of Delinquent and CINS Youth through Milwaukee Criminal Justice System, 1974-1979

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Referrals to Court Intake	12,418	11,896	11,743	11,111	11,991,	11,771
Held in Detention		4,161	3,102	3,388	3,719	1,734
Petitions Filed	2,873	2,646	2,917	2,809	2,455	2,862
State Commitments	359	301	415	440	406	323

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2. Maintenance in the System

The juvenile justice system of Milwaukee appears to be a fairly stable system with relatively little fluctuation in the number of referrals to court intake and actual petitions filed. No trend of increasing or decreasing numbers of youths penetrating to these different levels can be observed. State commitments, on the other hand, reveal a curvilinear trend, increasing through 1977 and then decreasing. Without information concerning other dispositional categories, though, the meaning of this decrease in state commitments cannot be ascertained.

The probability of court intake leading to the filing of a court petition, as well as the probability of a youth being committed to a state institution once a petition has been filed was calculated on the basis of these data. Since AFY received clients from court intake and the district attorney, we would expect some impact upon the transition probability for intake to filing of petition. Table 6-25 reports the TPs as for court processing points.

After what would appear to be a substantial decrease in the TP for Court Intake/Petition in 1978 (from .25 in 1977 to .20 in 1978), it increased again in 1979. Given this fluctuation, we can not conclude that the diversion project was responsible for the 1978 decrease. With respect to the likelihood of being committed to a state institution, we observe a rather steady increase from 1975 through 1978 and then a decrease back to 1975 levels in 1979. Without knowing what was going on in other areas of the justice system, we can not speculate about the role of AFY upon state commitments.

Compared with other systems evaluated, in Milwaukee the number of youths penetrating the court system has been remarkably stable and the number having petitions filed against them has been fairly constant. (See Table 6-24.) The TPs in Table 6-25 indicate some variability, especially after diversion

Table 6-25
Maintenance Transition Probabilities, 1974-1979
Milwaukee Criminal Justice System

Transition Probability	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Court Intake/ Petition	.23	.22	.25	.25	.20	.24
Petition/ Commitment	.12	.11	.14	.16	.17	.11
Court Intake/ Commitment	.03	.03	.04	.04	.03	.03

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began. However, without more conclusive data, even tentative statements about the impact of AFY would be inappropriate.

J. Puerto Rico

Three different units of the Puerto Rico diversion project were evaluated as part of the National Evaluation in Puerto Rico, one each for Bayamon, Caguas, and San Juan. Whereas Bayamon and San Juan practiced a combination of police and court diversion, Caguas was exclusively a police diversion program. To be eligible for diversion in Puerto Rico, youths had to be (1) under 18 years of age; (2) arrested for a non-divertable offense (non-violent crimes such as burglary, assault, arson, gambling, cruelty to animals, and traffic violations); (3) not considered a danger to themselves or the community; and (4) not already under the jurisdiction of the court. Additionally, the complainant had to agree to suspend the complaint for 90 days, and youths and parent(s) were required to sign a consent agreement for participation.

Due primarily to changes in police jurisdictions, police data were unsuitable for a flow analysis. The following analyses of the flow of juveniles through the juvenile courts in the jurisdictions specified are based upon court data obtained through the Statistics Office of the Courts Administration.

Figure 6-8 presents a flow diagram of the Puerto Rican juvenile justice system. Data are recorded for each jurisdiction, thus allowing for individual examination of the three sites. The number of youths processed within each jurisdiction was obtained in terms of the number of complaints filed, the number of youths receiving brief services (refers to evaluation and counseling services given to youths for whom a judge decided that a complaint should not

be issued), and the disposition of cases going to court. As with other justice systems, a major problem encountered with these data was that youths arrested in a given year did not necessarily receive a disposition in that year. Furthermore, the number of youths processed through the court does not necessarily coincide with the number of complaints recorded for that year. Consequently, the following flow analysis will provide both the number of complaints referred to court as well as the number of complaints actually processed. The court transitional probabilities are calculated by using the actual number of cases processed as the denominator.

Without police data, we were not able to evaluate the impact of diversion except by examining the absolute number of complaints and brief services recorded each year by the court. The court data, however allowed for an analysis of the impact of court diversion upon subsequent judicial disposition. In fiscal year 1978, an unusually high number of cases received a disposition labeled "por disposicion de inventario." Due to the nature of this category, we have excluded cases in this category from our calculations.

1. Bayamon

a. Penetration

In Bayamon, diversion occurred at both the police and court level. While police data concerning the number of police contacts and arrests are missing, a record of the number of youths appearing at court intake was obtained. Police diversion of juveniles to alternative agencies should produce a decline in the number of youths penetrating as far as court intake. This expectation appears to be fulfilled, as the data in Table 6-26 indicate 120 fewer youths appearing at court intake in FY 1978 than in FY 1977. Intake data for FY 1979 were missing at the time this report was written thus prohibiting further

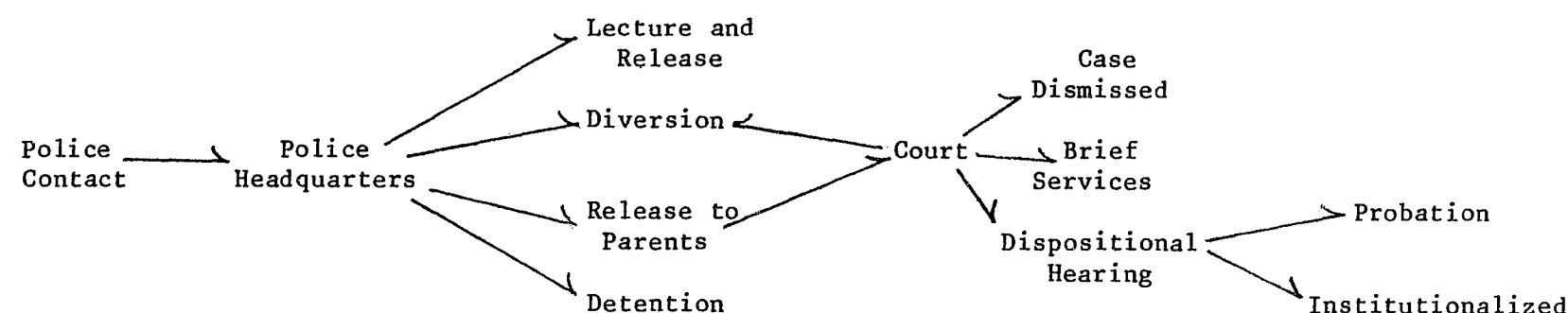


Figure 6-8
Flow Diagram of Puerto Rico Juvenile Justice System

analysis for trends. Changes in police practice, changes in the types of offenses committed, or changes in offender type (i.e., age, sex), however, could all contribute to the observed decrease in youths penetrating to court intake in FY 1978. Our inability to control for these alternative explanations impedes the usefulness of the analysis, but the data do suggest that the police diversion program may have had the desired impact.

With respect to the impact of the Bayamon court diversion component, we must again exercise caution since we were not able to control for changes in client characteristics. The Puerto Rican justice system maintains records by fiscal year. This facilitated our analysis in that the diversion project began operation in June 1977. We considered FY 1976 and FY 1977 data as representative of the pre-diversion flow of juveniles through the Bayamon Juvenile Court, and FY 1978 and FY 1979 data as indicative of post-diversion effects. Inasmuch as cases successfully referred to the diversion project (SYDMA) were recorded as "complaint filed," an increase in the use of this judicial disposition without a corresponding decrease in the warned category would be indicative of system impact.

An examination of Table 6-26 shows that, from a percentage standpoint, there were about twice as many cases receiving a "complaint filed" disposition in FY 1978-1979 as in FY 1976-1977. However, it would appear that some of the cases handled in this manner are those which prior to diversion may have been warned or exonerated. While these two categories accounted for about 30% of dispositions in FY 1976-1977, they account for only 26% in FY 1978 and 18% in FY 1979.

b. Maintenance in the System

The court transitional probabilities reported in Table 6-27 produced

Table 6-26
Flow of Youth through Bayamon Juvenile Court, Fiscal Year 1974-1979

	FY 1974	FY 1975	FY 1976	FY 1977	FY 1978	FY 1979
Court Intake						
Complaints	N.A.	N.A.	622 (77)	674 (78)	518 (69)	N.A.
Brief Service	N.A.	N.A.	184 (23)	195 (22)	231 (31)	N.A.
Total						
Court Intake	N.A.	N.A.	806	869	749	N.A.
Court Dispositions						
Probation	207 (37)	414 (53)	220 (37)	198 (34)	163 (29)	179 (35)
Complaint Filed	80 (14)	118 (15)	112 (19)	133 (23)	197 (35)	201 (40)
Exonerated	117 (21)	120 (15)	107 (18)	118 (21)	93 (17)	67 (13)
Warned	127 (23)	97 (12)	70 (12)	64 (11)	51 (9)	23 (5)
Placement	22 (4)	26 (3)	47 (8)	28 (5)	21 (4)	18 (4)
Other	3 (1)	11 (1)	27 (5)	37 (6)	32 (6)	20 (4)
Total						
Dispositions	556	787	587	575	557	508

Table 6-27
Maintenance Transitional Probabilities, Fiscal Year 1974-1979
Bayamon Juvenile Justice System

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Court Intake/ Court Hearing	N.A.	N.A.	.73	.66	.74	N.A.
Court Hearing/ Formal Disposition	.41	.56	.45	.39	.33	.39
Court Intake/ Formal Disposition	N.A.	N.A.	.33	.26	.25	N.A.

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little evidence indicative of system impact. The data fluctuations over time make it difficult to assess the impact that the diversion project may have had upon the justice system in Bayamon.

2. San Juan

a. Level of Penetration

As in Bayamon, San Juan had both a police and a court diversion program. The same limitations concerning our ability to evaluate the impact of the police diversion component held for San Juan. Reviewing the absolute number of juveniles penetrating the San Juan justice system to court intake, a steady decrease over time is observed. Furthermore, the decrease appears to occur only among those youths receiving brief services. If this decrease is attributable to the diversion project, then it suggests that diverted youths are coming from the brief services group rather than from the group for whom complaints would be filed.

With respect to the impact of the court diversion project upon the disposition of cases, we again would expect to observe an increase in the use of "complaints filed" after the onset of diversion. Examination of Table 6-28 confirms that this did occur.

However, as in Bayamon, a sizable portion of this increase in complaints filed can be attributed to a decrease in the number of individuals exonerated (down from a high of 22% in FY 1977 to a low of 8% in FY 1979). Perhaps of greater significance is the decrease in the number of cases assigned to probation. While this decreasing trend began before the initiation of the diversion project its continuance could well be the result of the diversion of youths formally placed on probation.

b. Maintenance in the System

Examination of the transitional probabilities from court intake to court

Table 6-28
Flow of Youth through the San Juan Juvenile Court by Fiscal Year, 1974-1979

	FY 1974		FY 1975		FY 1976		FY 1977		FY 1978		FY 1979	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Court Intake												
Complaints	N.A.		N.A.		645	(49)	700	(58)	698	(68)	N.A.	
Brief Services	N.A.		N.A.		663	(51)	493	(41)	331	(32)	N.A.	
Total Court Intake	N.A.		N.A.		1,308		1,193		1,029		N.A.	
Court Dispositions												
Probation	391	(49)	419	(60)	268	(45)	271	(39)	210	(35)	202	(31)
Complaint Filed	171	(21)	108	(15)	159	(27)	158	(23)	194	(32)	271	(41)
Exonerated	140	(18)	92	(13)	94	(16)	134	(22)	89	(15)	50	(8)
Warned	67	(8)	17	(2)	24	(4)	51	(7)	40	(7)	57	(9)
Placement	17	(2)	43	(6)	46	(8)	54	(8)	49	(8)	51	(8)
Other	10	(1)	19	(3)	9	(1)	19	(3)	21	(3)	31	(5)
Total Dispositions	796		698		600		687		603		662	

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hearing, the point at which diversion takes place in San Juan, indicates an increase in the probability of penetration not the expected decrease (see Table 6-29). Thus, while changes in the flow of juveniles through the San Juan court have occurred, (court hearing to formal disposition) the probability of reduced penetration at court intake has not occurred.

3. Caguas

a. Level of Penetration

The Caguas jurisdiction differed from the preceding two in that this district practiced only police diversion. It is difficult to assess system impact without police data. We would expect, however, all things being equal, a decrease in the numbers of youths received at the Caguas court if the police were diverting youths normally referred to court. Examination of Table 6-30 indicates that no such decrease occurred. The dispositions handed down have undergone great changes over time.

b. Maintenance in the System

Table 6-31 reports the transitional probabilities for FY 1974 through FY 1979. Inasmuch as Caguas practiced only police diversion and we are without police data, the only effect we would expect to see is an increase in the probability that youths referred to court intake would move to the next stage in the system. This would be expected if the police were diverting youths and only referring the most serious cases to court. A review of Table 6-31 supports this assumption.

K. Summary

With respect to the issue of the net-widening and systems impact of diversion programs, the preceding analysis of the flow of youths through nine different justice systems produced inconclusive and mixed findings. While

Table 6-29
Maintenance Transitional Probabilities, Fiscal Year 1974-1979
San Juan Juvenile Justice System

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Court Intake/ Court Hearing	N.A.	N.A.	.46	.58	.59	N.A.
Court Hearing/ Formal Disposition	.51	.66	.52	.47	.43	.38
Court Intake/ Formal Disposition	N.A.	N.A.	.24	.27	.25	N.A.

Table 6-30
Flow of Youth through the Caguas Juvenile Court by Fiscal Year, 1974-1979

	FY 1974	FY 1975	FY 1976	FY 1977	FY 1978	FY 1979
Court Intake						
Complaints	N.A.	N.A.	224 (94)	247 (92)	244 (91)	N.A.
Brief Services	N.A.	N.A.	15 (6)	21 (8)	24 (9)	N.A.
Total Court Intake	N.A.	N.A.	239	268	268	N.A.
Court Dispositions						
Probation	222 (74)	137 (53)	63 (36)	122 (50)	141 (53)	82 (41)
Complaint Filed	29 (10)	49 (19)	60 (34)	86 (35)	50 (19)	38 (19)
Exonerated	36 (12)	36 (14)	38 (22)	22 (9)	52 (19)	39 (20)
Warned	5 (2)	2 (1)	1 (1)	1 (-)	7 (3)	24 (12)
Placement	10 (3)	18 (7)	5 (3)	6 (2)	9 (3)	10 (5)
Other	0	17 (7)	7 (4)	7 (3)	8 (3)	5 (3)
Total Dispositions	302	259	174	243	267	198

Table 6-31
Maintenance Transitional Probabilities, Fiscal Year 1974-1979
Caguas Juvenile Justice System

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Court Intake/ Court Hearing	N.A.	N.A.	.73	.91	1.00	N.A.
Court Hearing/ Formal Disposition	.77	.60	.39	.53	.56	.46
Court Intake/ Formal Disposition	N.A.	N.A.	.28	.48	.56	N.A.

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some justice systems appear to have been favorably impacted by diversion projects (Denver, Kansas City, and Memphis), there was evidence that other systems were not. The lack of and ambiguity in available data mad it almost impossible to make informed judgments about the remaining sites (Boston, New York City, Milwaukee, Orange County, Rosebud, and Puerto Rico).

Based upon this analysis, which includes the evaluation of both police and court diversion projects, no real conclusions about the systems effects of diversion are warranted. It does appear, however, that a change in penetration rates at one level of a system, be it at entry into the system or at court processing, is often associated with an offsetting change at another level. In Denver, for example, despite an apparent decrease in the probability of an arrest leading to a court referral, the probability of a court referral leading to the filing of a petition increased. Thus, while fewer youths were referred to court, a higher proportion of those so referred received a formal disposition. It should be emphasized, however, that while the AAR did not change in Denver, more youths appeared to be diverted prior to court thus avoiding further justice handling. Conversely, in Orange County, even though there was a decrease in the number of youths penetrating the justice system at both police and court intake, there was an increase in both the proportion and number of youths receiving formal dispositions. This change appears to be due to the change of personnel in the Orange County state attorney's office. That is, a policy of increased prosecution appears to have overwhelmed any impact that the diversion program may have had in terms of documenting system impact through the use of system flow data. Both of these examples serve to highlight the complexities inherent in the use of annual flow data to assess impact and to alert others of the contingencies associated with such analysis.

Chapter 7

COSTS

I. Introduction

A. Background

In the mid 1960s, during the early history of the juvenile diversion movement, the issue of cost received minimal attention. The interest that was shown was based primarily on the assumption that diversion saves money. This assumption has received support from evidence presented by two diversion projects, the Provo Experiment and the Community Treatment Projects (Palmer and Lewis, 1978), where intensive supervision was compared to institutionalization. Results of the evaluation of these programs suggested that serious offenders could be handled in community programs rather than in institutions, and that community programs were less expensive than traditional institutionalization. The apparent success of the Provo and Community Treatment Projects (CTP) has contributed to the dramatic shift in orientation away from processing offenders in the traditional justice system and toward diversion services. Further, the experience of Provo and CTP provided evidence for the belief that diversion services cost less than those provided by the justice system.

As diversion became a national initiative in the late 1960s, concern was developing regarding the need to evaluate diversion programs. Together with questions about the effectiveness of diversion in meeting its explicit goals of stigma and crime reduction, the issue of costs surfaced as a major public

concern. Evaluations of diversion programs were expanded to address program costs.

Evaluations conducted in the early 1970s, like their predecessor studies, showed reduced recidivism and considerable savings from diversion. For example, the evaluation of Project Crossroads, a manpower program for young first offenders in Washington, D.C., showed a substantial savings (Holahan, 1970). Similarly, the New York Employment Project claimed even greater cost savings (Rovner-Pieczenik, 1976). The initial response to the findings of such evaluations was that diversion programs appeared to be reaching the primary goal of reduced recidivism and did so at a lower cost than the justice system.

However, support for diversion based on these early findings diminished as questions regarding methodology appeared. An indication of the growing pessimism was expressed by Seymour in 1972, when he suggested that the assumption of cost savings acquired through diversion might be a "naive assumption." A number of researchers (Mullen, 1974, 1975; Rovner-Pieczenik, 1974, 1976) reviewed earlier studies that had shown such great cost savings for diversion programs, and they pointed out a number of important methodological problems.

Foremost among these problems was the issue of comparison group selection. To make reasonable comparisons between groups of individuals diverted from or remaining in the justice system, the two groups should be identical, with the exception of the processing alternative. Subsequent comparisons between two such groups on rates of recidivism, extent of penetration in the justice system, or the differential cost of processing would then provide accurate information regarding the impact of diversion

programs versus the justice system. In many of the earlier studies, however, diversion groups represented much lower-risk groups than comparison groups, thereby exaggerating differences in the impact of diversion and the costs associated with processing alternatives.

As the methodologies of early cost evaluations came into question, so did acceptance of their findings regarding reduced recidivism and costs. Mullen (1974) pointed to small caseloads and high operating costs of most diversion projects. The Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control in Minnesota (1976) reported that diversion programs were not likely to be cost-effective, especially if high-risk clients were included. The previous widely accepted assumption of the cost savings of diversion was faltering.

While many were quick to reject the idea that diversion might save money, others, notably Kirby (1978), expressed the opinion that research related to diversion's impact and cost-effectiveness was simply indecisive. Additional research, with more carefully constructed designs, would be needed before diversion could be discounted or applauded as an alternative to traditional justice system processing.

Recently, two evaluations have been completed that show a cost savings for diversion. In light of recent methodological questions, the results of these studies are by far more cautious than previous findings in terms of the estimated cost savings of diversion. Palmer and Lewis (1980), in their evaluation of 19 youth diversion projects in California, concluded that diversion does result in a savings, but called such savings "modest" and suggested that many of the programs as presently constituted could not handle higher-risk clients. In an evaluation of the Shelby County Pretrial Diversion Program in Tennessee (Thomas et al., 1980), the first year of operation did

not appear cost-effective due to expensive start-up costs and low caseloads. In subsequent years, however, with larger caseloads, the cost savings of the program was realized. While both studies suggest that diversion can produce cost savings, the evaluators are careful to qualify the extent of savings actually achieved.

These studies demonstrate what appears to be a growing sensitivity to the range of issues that can effect the costs of diversion projects. Methodological concerns are always at issue. Additionally, the process of beginning a diversion project is expensive, involving planning, hiring, and training of personnel; procurement of supplies and equipment; etc. Obtaining referrals can also be slow in the initial phases of programmings, making efficient operation difficult. Organization and management throughout the project influence the cost-effectiveness of any diversion program. These issues, and others, are critical in assessing both the actual and potential cost-effectiveness of diversion.

B. Issues and Techniques of Cost Analysis

Over the past several decades, there has been a marked increase in the use of cost studies in the evaluation of social programs. The interest in cost analysis has developed in association with a more general concern to specify the worth of social programs vis-a-vis their own goals and contributions to society. Certainly, growing political trends stressing a more conservative approach in the allocation of financial resources have also played a role in the growing interest in cost analysis.

Undeniably, cost studies are attractive. They provide a method for organizing and comparing important aspects of programs. Descriptions are based on a dollar defined value system and offer a presumably objective way of

measuring efficiency. The procedures involved in such studies, however, often require subjective judgments and speculation about costs. As such, the results can vary substantially in terms of the reasonableness of estimates and levels of objectivity.

Several techniques are available for analyzing costs. Each has certain advantages and limitations. In a recent article by Phillips (1980), various cost analysis techniques are discussed, including (1) program cost estimation, (2) comparative cost analyses, (3) cost-effectiveness studies, and (4) cost-benefit analyses. These four techniques vary greatly in terms of their complexity.

Program cost estimation focuses on the valuation of costs associated with a given program (Phillips, 1980:462). Program costs are then standardized by estimating per-case costs. It is a fairly straightforward method, and is a useful way of organizing and estimating the costs of various programs. Program cost estimation is limited, however, in that it cannot address the issue of effectiveness. Average cost estimates are limited to clients processed, and more sophisticated measures of effectiveness are beyond the scope of this technique.

Comparative cost analyses involve a somewhat more complicated technique: the comparison of various programs or time periods. Again, costs are standardized by calculating a unit cost, such as total cost divided by total youth contacts. Care must be taken to insure the comparability of dollar estimates, such as adjusting for inflation. A comparative cost analysis provides a means by which alternatives can be compared, but it is limited in that issues such as differing program scales, structures, and success rates are not incorporated in the analysis.

Cost-effectiveness studies are considerably more complicated. They involve the consideration of outputs other than standardized units of clients served or processed. In the criminal justice field the most commonly used measure of output is recidivism, and its use in determining cost-effectiveness requires a research design that allows for comparisons across truly similar groups. The major advantage of the cost-effectiveness technique is that it allows conclusions to be reached regarding what programs are more effective in producing a certain output, such as reduced recidivism. It can, however, ignore other important outputs, such as general deterrence or personal freedoms.

Cost-benefit analyses attempt to incorporate measures of output beyond those typically included in cost-effectiveness studies. This involves identifying and assigning monetary values to outputs external to the program or system under study, but related to it. External costs can include such things as the cost of decreasing the rights of the offender to a fair and speedy trial, or the cost of increasing the safety of society by supporting incarceration as opposed to diversion. Not only is there a considerable amount of judgment and speculation involved in identifying outputs and assigning dollar values to them, but one must also be able to identify who bears the costs and benefits (individuals or society), and these may be in conflict.

Phillips points out that there are advantages to using simpler techniques, although they may be less conclusive for decision-makers, in that simpler techniques avoid the issues related to measuring intangible benefits. Selection of a technique depends primarily on the quality of the data available; as Phillips states, "it is clear that undertaking a more

complicated analysis on a shaky data base may be counterproductive"

(1980:461). Phillips' opinion is shared by Glaser, who advocates the use of cost data that does not involve speculation. Glaser (1973) stresses that the more speculation that is involved in cost analyses, the more one is open to challenges regarding the validity of such estimates.

Nonetheless, it must be recognized that avoiding calculating the monetary value of intangible costs and benefits is not without problems. Dorfman (1965:2) has called this the case of "horse-and-rabbit stew": the rabbit is the small proportion of effects that are susceptible to measurement, while the flavor of the stew is dominated by the "horse" of social, psychological, and ethical considerations that defy measurement.

Clearly, cost analysis as a developing tool is not without its limitations. Selection of a specific analytical technique involves judgment and certain trade-offs, and the sophistication of the technique employed should be in keeping with the quality of the data. Despite these limitations, consideration of costs is relevant and important in the evaluation of social programs. The state of the art of cost analysis does appear to be improving. At this point, however, no single cost study should be used in making decisions, and care should be taken not to allow cost analysis to become the "astrology of the 1980s."

II. Methodology

A. Design

This cost analysis follows the comparative cost technique described by Phillips and is developed as a part of a comprehensive evaluation of the impact of diversion. Based on 11 youth diversion projects included in the

evaluation, the primary focus of the cost analysis is to assess and compare the costs of the projects, to estimate juvenile justice system costs for selected areas, and to offer some limited comparisons of diversion versus traditional processing through the juvenile justice system.

The cost analysis proceeds in three stages as outlined below:

Stage One, Program Cost Estimation, focusing on:

- (a) actual costs associated with each of the diversion projects in four six-month time periods, and
- (b) average costs per referred youth, per referred youth enrolled in services, and per client-month and client-year.

Stage Two, Comparative Cost Analysis, including:

- (a) comparisons of the diversion projects' expenditures,
- (b) comparisons of the amount and types of services provided to youths,
- (c) comparisons of project costs relative to the amount of services provided clients, and
- (d) comparisons of the project costs included in this analysis with costs reported in other studies.

Stage Three, Juvenile Justice System Costs for three¹ impact sites:

- (a) estimated costs associated with traditional processing based on degree of penetration into the system,
- (b) estimated costs associated with traditional processing based on total budgets and the number of youths processed, and

¹New York City was omitted from this analysis due to incomplete data on the group of youths penetrating the justice system and difficulties in obtaining justice system cost data.

(c) comparisons of the estimated justice system costs included in this analysis with costs reported in other studies.

B. Diversion Project Data

1. Financial Data

For each project, expenditure data have been organized into four time periods. The first time period is the pre-referral period, beginning from the start of the project until the approximate date of the first referral. No average client costs have been calculated for this time period, since by definition no clients were served. The remaining three time periods each cover six months, beginning with the first referral. The cost analysis covers 18 months of operation, for which average client costs have been calculated. The dates of the time periods vary across sites, since not all projects began at the same time. All expenditures have been adjusted to 1978 dollars, using the Consumer Price Index.

Actual expenditures of each of the projects have been used in this analysis, rather than budget projections, to more accurately reflect incurred costs. Only internal project costs have been included; estimates of external costs, such as costs of services provided by outside agencies, have not been included. In a few cases, in-kind contributions have been included in the expenditure data, but these have been limited to those cases where a substantial contribution has been provided, and they are identified and explained in the appropriate tables.

The cost analysis includes all expenditures, both direct and indirect, associated with each diversion project; separate presentation of direct and indirect costs is not usually offered. In all cases, an attempt was made to use similar expenditure categories across sites. The categories are not

always identical, however, since the available financial records were not always sufficiently detailed to allow for totally uniform categories. Also, reduction of the categories to achieve total comparability by categories across sites would have blurred unique features of each diversion project.

Projects expenditures included salaries and fringe benefits; materials, supplies, and equipment; cost of contracting with private organizations to provide services; cost of consultants, if used; travel, both local and out-of-state; operating costs (such as rent and utilities), itemized or included in indirect costs depending on each project's records; and indirect costs. It should be noted that while expenditures vary across the different projects because of project structure and records, total expenditures for each project should reflect what it actually cost to operate each project during the time periods included. Wherever information has been unavailable, or if estimates have been used, it has been so designated.

Certain costs were specifically excluded from total expenditure figures for some projects. Expenditures for local evaluations were not considered to be specifically related to providing services to clients and were not uniformly conducted at all sites; thus, expenditures for local evaluations have been deducted where appropriate. All projects' expenditure data were reviewed and the projects were contacted to determine the costs of their local evaluation, dates of such expenditures, and whether or not these expenditures were included in the financial data given to BRI. If expenditures for local evaluations were contained in the financial data during the time periods included in this analysis, those amounts were deducted from the project's expenditure figures used to calculate average client costs. In many cases, no deductions have been made; the evaluations either occurred after the time

periods used to assess costs, were not included in the expenditure data used, or were paid through a separate grant by another agency.

The expenditure data have generally been provided by the diversion projects, with the source of the information noted in the expenditure tables. At some sites, financial reports were provided by the agency handling funds, such as Criminal Justice Commissions. In other cases, account records, spread sheets, or figures provided directly by the projects have been used. All of the projects received a copy of financial information used in this analysis, and were asked to report inaccuracies. None of the financial data used in this analysis were audited by us and, accordingly, we express no opinion on them.

2. Statistical Data

Statistical data from client service records were compiled by BRI staff in conjunction with project personnel during the data collection phase of the National Evaluation. Service record information was collected on a case-by-case basis for each diversion client and included, among other things, date of referral, enrollment status, and length of enrollment. These data were used to determine the number of youths referred to each project for each period of analysis, the number of referrals actually enrolled for services, the total number of months youth referrals for a given time period were enrolled for services, and the average (mean) number of months clients were enrolled. Information related to the number and types of services (recreational, counseling, employment/educational) provided to diversion clients by each project was also compiled based on project records. The accuracy of the client-service records is, of course, dependent on the quality

of recordkeeping by the projects. As with the expenditure data, the diversion projects were sent information regarding the client-service records used in this analysis, and were asked to report inconsistencies.

Estimated costs per case have been calculated by dividing the number of clients served into the projects' expenditures. The number of clients served included the following elements:

- (a) Referrals: Total number of youths referred to the diversion project for a given time period, including both clients who were enrolled as well as those who were not enrolled in services.
- (b) Enrolled Clients: Total number of youths receiving services beyond intake in a given time period.
- (c) Client-Months: Total number of youths enrolled for services multiplied by the number of months enrolled for service without regard for time periods (calculated by using project provided starting and termination dates). It should be noted that this unit is problematic in two ways. First, if either the starting or the termination date was missing for any client, the start was set at date of referral and all cases with missing termination dates were defined as still enrolled. This makes the assumption that some clients who had been terminated received credit as enrolled for the duration of the project, thus inflating the number of client-months. Second, the projects varied in terms of how rapidly a client was considered terminated after services ended. At some sites, clients were kept on the rolls longer than at others. This discrepancy would also tend to inflate client-months for those sites where recordkeeping lagged.
- (d) Client-Years: Cost per client-month multiplied by 12.

- (e) Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client: Average number of months enrolled per client was calculated to determine the average total length of time youth receiving services were enrolled for services without regard to time period. The distinction between enrollment for services and the receiving of services maintained.

3. Juvenile Justice System Data

Four of the diversion projects participated in a random assignment procedure for evaluation purposes. Of the youths eligible for diversion, roughly equal numbers were assigned to one of three groups: (1) diversion with services, (2) diversion without services, and (3) penetration into the justice system. In this way, comparability of the groups was achieved, allowing for a more accurate assessment of the impact of diversion. Further, the random assignment procedure permitted the completion of a more rigorous cost analysis for these sites. Only three of the four projects that participated in the random assignment procedure are included in the cost analysis; one site could not be included due to incomplete data on the group of youths penetrating the justice system. The analysis focuses, therefore, on comparisons of project costs and justice system costs beyond the point at which diversion took place.

Estimates of the cost of traditional processing through the justice system were calculated, based on degree of penetration into the system and/or upon total budget figures. In both cases, data were obtained from the appropriate juvenile courts and justice agencies. Data were standardized to 1978 dollars and adjusted to include operating as well as personnel costs.

To estimate costs based on degree of penetration, cost events involved in court processing were identified for each site, in so far as was possible, and

costs associated with each processing point were determined. The sites varied in terms of processing points, but generally costs were estimated through the following points: intake and evidence reviews, court hearings (consent and judicial, with and without detention), and dispositional results (probation, institutionalization). Based on the flow of the penetration group of youths through the systems, the average cost per youth for traditional processing was then calculated.

A second estimate of the cost of processing youths through the juvenile justice system was calculated using total budgets divided by the total number of youths processed. Operating costs, such as utilities, rent, and indirect costs, were estimated and added to the justice system costs. Additional expenses not included in court budgets, such as the cost of institutionalization, were incorporated in these estimates as well. The average cost per youth for traditional processing calculated in this manner is more directly comparable to the diversion project cost estimations, where total expenditure figures and number of youth processed were used as well in the final cost comparisons.

III. Program Costs

This section provides a general overview of each of the 11 individual youth diversion projects included in the cost analysis. Each project is described, including a summary of project goals and objectives, basic services, main source of referrals, and selected program problems. Next, financial and statistical data regarding project expenditures, number of clients served, and average client costs are provided. A few general observations are then offered regarding program cost estimations.

A. Central Denver Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Denver Youth Diversion Project was comprised of three interrelated components forming what the director has called a "youth service system." The major goals of the project were to divert youths from the justice system and to reduce recidivism through the provision of services and opportunities to clients. The project stressed a wholistic approach in addressing the needs of clients. The emphasis was on all aspects of a client's functioning through a coordinated service delivery system and individualized treatment plans. The project considered brokered services to be frequently fragmented in addressing a client's needs, and preferred providing a more comprehensive approach to service delivery through their own service components.

The three service components - Central Denver, the Morgan Learning Center, and Project New Pride - were fiscally autonomous but were cooperatively developed. While only Central Denver was funded through the OJJDP/LEAA initiative, it referred clients to the other two components for services. Client service records reflected services received from all three components; consequently, expenditures of the three projects were included in assessing average client costs.

Each of the three components was designed to address different client needs. Central Denver initially served youths on continued petitions or those whose cases were informally adjusted, and later took court referrals of youths on formal probation. Project New Pride served only youths on formal probation, while the Morgan Learning Center provided services for youths with learning disabilities from either Central Denver or Project New Pride. Common to all three programs was the requirement that referred youths have a multiple

felony and/or misdemeanor arrest record. Referrals were made through the police, the district attorney, and the court.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-1)

In considering Central Denver's expenditure data, it should be noted that Project New Pride and the Morgan Learning Center had separate funding. Because these two centers provided services included in the client service records of Central Denver, they have been listed in the expenditure table as an in-kind contribution. However, expenditures for the first six months do not include these contributions; financial data were only obtained for them for the second and third six-month periods of operation.

Review of the financial data indicates that expenditures tended to increase somewhat over time for the Central Denver Youth Diversion Project. With respect to the second and third six-month periods of operation, it appears that project operations averaged approximately \$250,000 per period. Total expenditures for the pre-referral period and the first 18 months of operation, including in-kind contributions for the last two periods, were \$633,276.

Between the first and the third six months of operation, the number of youths referred to the project and those enrolled in the project increased somewhat. The number of client-months of service, however, increased substantially during the same amount of time. In the third six months of operation, over 1,000 client-months of service were provided at an average of 8.9 months per client, compared with a little under 300 client-months of service at an average of 3.0 months per client in the first six months of

Table 7-1
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Central Denver Youth Diversion Project¹

Expenditures ²	Pre-Referral (Start to 3/31/77)	First Six Months (4/1/77 to 9/30/77)	Second Six Months (10/1/77 to 3/31/78)	Third Six Months (4/1/78 to 9/30/78)	Total (Start to 9/30/78)
Personnel and Fringe	\$17,715	\$61,438	\$89,576	\$122,643	\$291,372
Contractual ³	0	30,113	49,544	29,417	109,074
Travel ⁴	241	1,306	1,689	1,620	4,856
Equipment	0	10,188	0	2,947	13,135
Supplies	1,047	2,253	1,355	1,493	6,148
Operating					
Rent	5,555	11,951	11,715	9,408	38,629
Utilities	169	531	985	865	2,550
Telephone	1,626	2,219	2,902	2,052	8,799
Reproduction	946	1,487	1,698	2,949	7,080
Postage	77	84	82	142	385
Subtotal	\$27,376	\$121,570	\$159,546	\$173,536	\$482,028
Deduction for Cost of Local Evaluation ⁵	-8,639	-16,812	-19,761	-22,074	-67,286
Subtotal	\$18,737	\$104,758	\$139,785	\$151,462	\$414,742
In-Kind Contributions ⁶					
Project New Pride			70,619	78,691	149,310
Morgan Learning Center			35,390	33,834	69,224
Total	\$18,737 ⁷	\$104,758 ⁷	\$245,794	\$263,987	\$633,276

Table 7-1 Continued

<u>Clients Served</u>						
Referrals	N/A	125	125	160	410	
Enrolled Clients	N/A	93	98	114	305	
Client-Months ⁸	N/A	283	706	1,020	2,009	
Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client		3.0	7.2	8.9	6.6	
<u>Average Client Costs</u>						
Per Referral	N/A	\$838 ⁹	\$1,966	\$1,650	\$1,545	
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$1,126 ⁹	\$2,508	\$2,316	\$2,076	
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$370 ⁹	\$348	\$259	\$315	
Per Client-Year	N/A	4,440 ⁹	\$4,176	\$3,108	\$3,780	

¹Expenditure data calculated using Central Denver Youth Diversion Project Account Records, provided by the Denver Housing Authority.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U.S. Department of Labor, and rounded to the nearest whole dollar.

³Includes payments to Red Cross, psychologists, researchers, and legal services.

⁴Includes out-of-state travel, mileage, and bus token for clients.

⁵Cost of local evaluation was included in project expenditures, and has been deducted from expenditures in calculating average client costs. The total amount spent on local evaluation was \$75,281 from January 1, 1977, through December 31, 1978; this amount has been prorated across the time periods and adjusted to 1978 dollars using the Consumer Price Index, U. S. Department of Labor.

⁶Services for clients of the Central Denver Youth Diversion Project were provided by the Morgan Learning Center and Project New Pride, and have been counted as in-kind contributions to the project. Expenditure data for these two components provided by Dan R. Cook, CPA.

⁷Total expenditures for these two time periods do not include in-kind contributions of the Morgan Learning Center and Project New Pride.

⁸Client months are calculated by multiplying the number of clients enrolled in services by the number of months they were enrolled for services (not to be confused with the number of months in which services were received).

⁹Average client costs in the first six months are based on expenditures that do not include in-kind contributions of the Morgan Learning Center and Project New Pride. Services from these two components are, however, included in the count of clients served.

operation. During this period of early operations, average cost based on all youths referred to the project was \$1,545¹ per client; the average cost per client-month was \$315¹.

B. Kansas City Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Kansas City Youth Diversion Project was the cooperative effort of the Urban Affairs Department and the Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department. The police department diverted youths and operated one of the project's major components, the Youth Services Unit (YSU). The Urban Affairs Department was responsible for the project's overall administration and the operation of a second component, Roles for Youth (RFY), which placed clients in nine community agencies throughout the city.

The major goal of the project was to reduce the number of youths adjudicated delinquent. The two components of the project, however, differed in their approach to changing the behavior of diverted youths and preventing recidivism. The Youth Services Unit, housed in the police department, emphasized a crisis intervention strategy aimed at teaching problem solving skills to youths and parents so that youths could deal more effectively with their environments. Clients were trained through role-playing techniques to consider all available alternatives, and to choose among them on the basis of their consequences. The Roles for Youth component emphasized involving youths in jobs, education, and community service to enhance self esteem and foster commitment to constructive alternatives.

¹These represent low estimates, as the in-kind contributions of Project New Pride and the Morgan Learning Center were not included in the first 6 months budget figures.

All referrals to both components of the project came from the police department's youth unit located at police headquarters. Eligibility criteria included cases involving relatively serious offenses for which sufficient evidence for court presentation was present. Once an eligible youth was identified, assignment to one of four alternatives, juvenile court, diversion without services, RFY diversion, or the YSU diversion, was randomly determined.

Services provided by the YSU component were primarily in-house and consisted of group, family, and individual counseling. YSU made some referrals to community service agencies, and was involved in some youth advocacy in the court and schools. Services were designed to be short-term, lasting a maximum of 30 days from date of referral, although youths placed with community service agencies did continue to receive services after this time limit.

The Roles for Youth component provided services primarily through brokered agencies and case managers who worked with and monitored client participation in those programs. Each diverted youth was assigned to a case manager in a community service agency closest to his or her home. Service options available to RFY youths included tutoring, employment counseling, job placement, medical services, and alternative education. No time limits for services were imposed on RFY referrals.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Tables 7-2 and 7-3)

The expenditures for the two components of the Kansas City Youth Diversion Project were combined in fiscal reports, but efforts were made to separate each component's costs. The procedure used to do this is described in the tables presented for each component.

Table 7-2
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Kansas City Youth Diversion Project¹
Youth Services Unit²

	Pre-Referral (Start to 9/30/77)	First Six Months (10/1/77 to 3/31/78)	Second Six Months (4/1/78 to 9/30/78)	Third Six Months (10/1/78 to 3/31/79)	Total (Start to 3/31/79)
<u>Expenditures³</u>					
Director's Salary	0	\$2,574	\$2,195	\$3,308	\$8,077
All Other	0	<u>\$48,998</u>	<u>\$40,883</u>	<u>\$77,255</u>	<u>\$167,136</u>
Subtotal	0	\$51,572	\$43,078	\$80,563	\$175,213
Deduction for Cost of Local Evaluation ⁴	- 0	- 0	<u>-\$1,668</u>	<u>-\$3,547</u>	<u>- \$5,215</u>
Total	0	\$51,572	\$41,410	\$77,016	\$169,998
<u>Clients Served⁵</u>					
Referrals	0	78	66	40	184
Enrolled Clients	0	72	54	32	158
Client-Months	0	160	325	243	728
Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.2	6.0	7.6	4.6
<u>Average Client Costs</u>					
Per Referral	N/A	\$661	\$627	\$1,925	\$924
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$716	\$767	\$2,407	\$1,076
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$322	\$127	\$317	\$234
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$3,864	\$1,524	\$3,804	\$2,808

Table 7-2 Continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using Fiscal Reports (MCCJ Form D-1), Missouri Council on Criminal Justice and Project Account Records.

²The expenditures of two diversion projects in Kansas City (Roles for Youth and Youth Services Unit) were combined in fiscal reports. Additionally, the two projects share the same director. Thus, expenditures for the two projects have been estimated as follows: (1) Payments to the Kansas City Police Department have been assigned to the Youth Services Unit. (2) The proportion of payments to the Kansas City Police Department of total expenditures has been used as an estimate of the proportion of the director's salary assigned to the Youth Services Unit. (Time 2, 25% of the director's salary assigned to Youth Services Unit; Time 3, 21%; Time 4, 31%.)

³Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U. S. Department of Labor, and rounded to nearest whole dollar.

⁴Cost of local evaluation was included in project expenditures, and has been deducted from expenditures in calculating average client costs. The total cost of evaluation for both components of the Kansas City project was \$35,756 for the period from June 1, 1978, to November 30, 1979. The portion of this amount falling into the above time periods has been prorated according to the proportion of total expenditures for each of the components, and has been adjusted to 1978 dollars using the Consumer Price Index.

⁵Of all youths eligible for diversion at this site, only one-half were assigned to the project for services. This site participated in the random assignment process for evaluation purposes from October 4, 1977, to August 31, 1978, with roughly equal numbers of youth assigned to (1) diversion with services (reflected in this table), (2) diversion without services, and (3) penetration into the justice system. It should be noted that had the site provided services to all youths, the number of clients served would have been about double.

Table 7-3
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Kansas City Youth Diversion Project¹
Roles for Youth²

Expenditures ³	Pre-Referral (Start to 9/30/77)	First Six Months (10/1/77 to 3/31/78)	Second Six Months (4/1/78 to 9/30/78)	Third Six Months (10/1/78 to 3/31/79)	Total (Start to 3/31/79)
Personnel and Fringe	\$28,386	\$63,109	\$56,198	\$55,777	\$203,470
Contractual	17,523	62,623	71,936	82,835	234,917
Travel	678	2,782	970	1,304	5,734
Equipment	0	8,992	1,702	0	10,694
Supplies	6,491	7,566	24,523	28,798	67,378
Subtotal	\$53,078	\$145,072	\$155,329	\$168,714	\$522,193
Deduction for Cost of Local Evaluation ⁴	- 0	- 0	- 6,277	- 7,894	-14,171
Total	\$53,078	\$145,072	\$149,052	\$160,820	\$508,022
<u>Clients Served⁵</u>					
Referrals	N/A	67	50	49	166
Enrolled Clients	N/A	60	41	37	138
Client-Months	N/A	292	542	617	1,451
Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client		4.9	13.2	16.7	10.5
<u>Average Client Costs</u>					
Per Referral	N/A	\$2,165	\$2,981	\$3,282	\$3,060
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$2,418	\$3,635	\$4,346	\$3,681
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$497	\$275	\$261	\$350
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$5,964	\$3,300	\$3,132	\$4,200

Table 7-3 Continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using Fiscal Reports (MCCJ Form D-1), Missouri Council on Criminal Justice and Project Account Records.

²The expenditures of two diversion projects in Kansas City (Roles for Youth and Youth Services Unit) were combined in fiscal reports. Additionally, the two projects share the same director. Thus, expenditures for the two projects have been estimated as follows: (1) Payments to the Kansas City Police Department have been assigned to the Youth Services Unit. (2) The proportion of payments to the Kansas City Police Department of total expenditures has been used as an estimate of the proportion of the director's salary assigned to the Youth Services Unit. (Time 2, 25% of the director's salary assigned to Youth Services Unit; Time 3, 21%; Time 4, 31%.)

³Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U. S. Department of Labor, and rounded to the nearest whole dollar.

⁴Cost of local evaluation was included in project expenditures, and has been deducted from expenditures in calculating average client costs. The total cost of evaluation for both components of the Kansas City project was \$35,756 for the period from June 1, 1978, to November 30, 1979. The portion of this amount falling into the above time periods has been prorated according to the proportion of total expenditures for each of the components, and has been adjusted to 1978 dollars using the Consumer Price Index.

⁵Of all youths eligible for diversion at this site, only one-third were assigned to the project for services. This site participated in the random assignment process for evaluation purposes from October 4, 1977, to August 31, 1978, with roughly equal numbers of youth assigned to (1) diversion with services (reflected in this table), (2) diversion without services, and (3) penetration into the justice system. It should be noted that had the site provided services to all youths, the number of clients served would have been about two-thirds higher.

Based on our estimates, it appears that the Roles for Youth component had much higher expenditures than did the Youth Services Unit. Service records indicate that the two components provided services for roughly the same number of clients; during the first 18 months of operation, RFY obtained 166 youth referrals, compared with 184 youth referrals for YSU. It should be remembered that random assignment practices affected referral rates during the first two cost periods.

After reviewing the client-months and the average number of months enrolled for services data, two interesting observations can be made. First, as the number of referrals to the projects decreased, the average number of months enrolled for services increased, promoting speculation about the relationship between length of treatment and quantity of referrals; i.e. are youths kept on the roles for the purpose of organizational maintenance? Second, the YSU component averaged 4.6 client-months of services in the face of a mandate to terminate services after 30 days. We believe that these client-month figures are due to: (1) continuing services for periods exceeding 30 days, (2) recording termination dates well after the actual terminations of services, or (3) recording services rendered to clients referred to other community youth services programs. We are of the opinion that all three explanations may be correct, but have no data as to the individual contributions each makes to the overrun.

Given the expenditures and client service records of the two components, average costs per client were quite different. Costs per client were higher in general for RFY compared with YSU, but the differences in cost were much more marked in terms of the average cost per referral and per enrolled client than in the average cost per client-month. In the Roles for Youth component,

the number of client-months of service increased across the year-and-a-half time period, resulting in decreased average cost per client-month with time. For the Youth Services Unit, however, the lowest average cost per client-month occurred in the second six months of operation and then increased for the next period.

C. Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project was created by the Community Day Care and Comprehensive Social Services Association of Memphis, a chartered nonprofit organization designated by the state of Tennessee as an administrative agency for public funds for social services. The Diversion Project was self-sustaining and fiscally autonomous, but received technical support, fiscal services, and overall supervision from CDC/CSSA.

The goals of MMYDP were: (1) to reduce adjudication of juveniles who were alleged to be delinquent and unruly; (2) to achieve, through redirection, expansion, and provision of more cost effective services, a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to the diversion process; and (3) to provide services to diverted youths who were in need of them and thus to reduce their delinquent behavior. Of additional importance was the objective to empirically evaluate the program's impact as an alternative to the justice system and to compare the effectiveness of various services options for helping diverted youths.

All referrals to the project came from the juvenile court of Memphis and Shelby County. Eligibility for diversion included cases likely to result in adjudication without commitment. Youths on probation, under commitment, or whose cases were under advisement were generally excluded from consideration

for diversion. Youths who would normally be warned and released or released prior to adjudication were also excluded from diversion. Random assignment to one of three alternatives (diversion with services, diversion without services, penetration into justice system) was then made.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-4)

The expenditure data for the Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project show substantial increases in expenditures in the third six months of operation. This is attributable to the contractual or purchase of service expenditures, which became operational during the last time period included in the analysis. Expenditures for each of the three six-month periods presented ranged from a low of \$48,000 to a high of nearly \$174,000.

Client service records indicate a steady increase in the number of youths referred and enrolled in the project across time, even during random assignment, which includes all but one month of the cost periods specified in Table 7-4. Additionally, the number of client-months of enrollment increased substantially, from 267 in the first six months to 1,348 in the third six months of operation, for an average of 5.4 months per client enrolled for services.

Based on the expenditure data and client service records, the lowest per client costs were achieved in the second six months of operation. The average costs per youth referral to the project was \$467; for those enrolled for services, the average cost was \$619. The average cost per client-month of service was \$115.

D. Orange County, Florida, Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Orange County, Florida, Youth Diversion Project was a program of the Human Services Planning Council of Orange County (HSPC), an independent

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Table 7-4
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project¹

Expenditures ²	Pre-Referral (Start to 3/31/77)	First Six Months (4/1/77 to 9/30/77)	Second Six Months (10/1/77 to 3/31/78)	Third Six Months (4/1/78 to 9/30/78)	Total (Start to 9/30/78)
Personnel and Fringe	\$7,044	\$36,032	\$41,075	\$42,157	\$126,308
Contractural (Purchase of Service)	0	0	16,206	\$111,602	\$127,808
Consultative	0	91	533	66	690
Travel	997	2,484	1,615	3,717	8,813
Equipment	4,142	5,199	122	1,298	10,761
Supplies and Operating	268	2,266	2,061	5,703	10,298
Indirect Charge	871	3,233	4,313	11,292	19,709
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>113</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>113</u>
Subtotal	\$13,322	\$49,418	\$ 65,925	\$175,835	\$304,500
Deduction for Random Assignment Procedure and Contact with Non- Diversion with Services Cases ³	<u>- 0</u>	<u>- 1,740</u>	<u>- 2,517</u>	<u>-2,016</u>	<u>- 6,273</u>
Total	\$13,322	\$47,678	\$63,408	\$173,819	\$298,227

Table 7-4 Continued

	Pre-Referral (Start to 3/31/77)	First Six Months (4/1/77 to 9/30/77)	Second Six Months (10/1/77 to 3/31/78)	Third Six Months (4/1/78 to 9/30/78)	Total (Start to 9/30/78)
Expenditures²					
Clients Served⁴					
Referrals ⁵	N/A	151	225	263	639
Enrolled Clients	N/A	101	183	198	482
Client-Months	N/A	267	988	1348	2603
Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.6	5.4	6.8	5.4
Average Client Costs					
Per Referral	N/A	\$316	\$282	\$661	\$467
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$472	\$347	\$878	\$619
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$179	\$64	\$129	\$115
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$2,148	\$768	\$1,548	\$1,380

¹Expenditure data calculated using Report of Expenditures and Claims for Reimbursement forms, plus additional financial information provided by the project.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U.S. Department of Labor, and rounded to nearest whole dollar.

³This project was involved in the random assignment procedure for evaluation purposes. Cost of this procedure has been estimated to involve two hours a day, at \$6 per hour, for all working days (including holidays) during the random assignment period (June 1, 1977, to August 31, 1978). The project also contacted youth in the no-services group, at a cost of \$6 per case for 353 cases. Expenditures associated with these two procedures have been deducted from the project's overall expenditures.

⁴Of all of the youths eligible for diversion at this site, only one-third were assigned to the project for services. This site participated in the random assignment process for evaluation purposes from June 1, 1977, to August 31, 1978, with roughly equal numbers of youths assigned to (1) diversion with services (reflected in this table), (2) diversion without services, and (3) penetration into the justice system. It should be noted that had the site provided services to all youths, the number of clients served would have been about two-thirds higher.

⁵The number of referrals cited here is based upon BRI's aggregation of client service records. Based upon the project's aggregations of their records, the number of referrals was 160 in the first period, 230 in the second period, and 265 in the third. Project calculations for enrollment also differed from those used by BRI: 115 in the first six-month period, 198 in the second period, and 217 in the third period.

organization jointly supported by Orange County and the United Way. The emphasis of the project included increasing access to desirable roles, avoiding negative labeling, and providing services through a coordinated network of community-based agencies.

Diversion project administrators assumed responsibility for placing diverted youth in appropriate service-providing agencies, and monitoring the services received by clients. Available services included recreational and cultural activities as well as employment, education, and family counseling. The project placed primary emphasis on recreational activities. Services were provided by a variety of existing community agencies, with the diversion project functioning as a point of assessment and referral. Many youths were assessed as having multiple needs, and multiple placements were used.

The only source of clients for the diversion project was the juvenile division of the local state attorney's office. Referrals were the responsibility of a single person, the chief of that division.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-5)

Review of the expenditure data for the Orlando project shows a moderate but steady increase in expenditures across the pre-referral period and the first 18 months of operation. Expenditures for each of the three six-month periods presented ranged from a low of about \$40,000 to a high of almost \$70,000; the average expenditures for six months was about \$56,000.

Client service records indicate that about the same number of youths were referred and enrolled during the first and second six months of operation. The average number of client-months, however, increased considerably during these two time periods, from 2.5 client-months in the first six months to 4.5 in the second six months, for an average of 3.3 months enrollment per youth

Table 7-5
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Orange County Youth Diversion Project¹

	Pre-Referral (Start to 6/30/77)	First Six Months (7/1/77 to 12/31/77)	Second Six Months (1/1/78 to 6/30/78)	Third Six Months (7/1/78 to 12/31/78)	Total (Start to 12/31/78)
<u>Expenditures²</u>					
Personnel and Fringe	\$ 9,509	\$26,529	\$35,384	\$48,044	\$119,466
Contractual ³	0	5,160	12,567	13,684	31,411
Travel	63	1,446	1,549	1,795	4,853
Equipment	143	170	340	0	653
Operating	1,060	6,358	5,125	5,444	17,987
Indirect Costs	823	197	4,463	600	6,083
Subtotal	\$11,598	\$39,860	\$ 59,428	\$69,567	\$180,453
Cost of Random Assignment Process ⁴	- 0	- 481	- 481	- 80	- 1,042
Total	\$11,598	\$39,379	\$58,947	\$ 69,487	\$179,411
<u>Clients Served⁵</u>					
Referrals	N/A	162	169	271	602
Enrolled Clients	N/A	118	113	187	418
Client-Months	N/A	298	507	565	1,370
Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.5	4.5	3.0	3.3
<u>Average Client Costs</u>					
Per Referral	N/A	\$243	\$349	\$256	\$298
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$334	\$522	\$372	\$429
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$132	\$116	\$123	\$131
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$1,584	\$1,392	\$1,476	\$1,572

Table 7-5 Continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using Orange County, Florida, Youth Diversion Project Semi-Annual Expenses, provided by the project.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U.S. Department of Labor, and rounded to the nearest whole dollar.

³Includes payments to 10 contractors.

⁴This project participated in the random assignment process; cost of this process for the non-diversion with services cases were estimated by the project director and excluded from the expenditures used in calculating average client costs. The total amount spent on the random assignment process, based on salary, fringe, and amount of time involved, was estimated at \$1,042 from July, 1977, to August, 1978. This amount has been prorated and deducted from project expenditures.

⁵Of all youths eligible for diversion at this site, only one-third were assigned to the project for services. This site participated in the random assignment process for evaluation purposes from July 6, 1977, to August 1, 1978, with roughly equal numbers of youth assigned to (1) diversion with services (reflected in this table), (2) diversion without services, and (3) penetration into the justice system. It should be noted that had the site provided services to all youths, the number of clients served would have been about two-thirds higher.

referral during this 18-month period. The highest number of youths referred and enrolled, and the highest client-months enrolled for services was realized in the third six months of operation. As shown in Table 7-5, most of the referrals in the last period occurred after random assignment stopped, thus increasing the number of youths available for referral to the project.

Based on expenditure data and client service records, the lowest per client costs were achieved in the first and second six months of operation. The average cost per all referred youths was \$298, and \$429 per enrolled youth. The average cost per client-month was \$131.

E. John Jay College-New York City Transit Police Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice Juvenile Offender Diversion Project was jointly operated by the John Jay College Criminal Justice Center and the New York City Transit Police Department. The project was developed to divert youths from the justice system at the police level, counsel them, and place them in various community agency service programs.

The project had two main components: juvenile offender diversion and police training. The focus of the present report is on the former, but it should be noted that in the original proposal, the two components were of equal importance. The Juvenile Justice Police Training Program was designed to upgrade the knowledge and skills of police officers in diverting youths who might otherwise become involved in the justice system.

The goals of the Juvenile Offender Diversion Project included diverting youths from the justice system, reducing recidivism, providing employment opportunities, providing medical and crisis intervention, and measuring program effectiveness. The staff was treatment-oriented and stressed the crisis intervention aspect of services.

Diversion services offered to the youths began with contact with response team officers. They were regular two-man patrol teams of plainclothes officers who have received special training in diversion programing and crisis intervention. About 20% of their work was estimated as related to the diversion project. After the initial contact, project staff provided evaluative and short-term counseling services to those youths defined as needing services and arranged and monitored services through community agencies.

Referrals were obtained through the New York City Transit Police Department. Eligibility to the diversion project excluded youths who were taken into custody for felonies or photographable misdemeanors. Cases were also excluded if the arresting officer, youth, or parents insisted on referral to the family court. Desk officers, in consultation with program personnel, determined eligibility for diversion. Random assignment to diversion with services, diversion without services, or penetration into the justice system was then made.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-6)

Financial data for the John Jay College-Transit Police project were calculated incorporating selected expenditures additions and deductions. As described in the expenditure table, deductions were made for the Police Training Program, and for the cost of contacting non-diversion cases included in the random assignment procedure. In-kind contributions included staff from the Juvenile Crime Prevention Unit of the Transit Police.

Based upon the financial data illustrated in Table 7-6, project expenditures appear to decrease across the first 18 months of operation. Expenditures totaled approximately \$95,000 in the first six months, compared

Table 7-6
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
John Jay College-Transit Police Youth Diversion Project¹

	Pre-Referral (Start to 7/31/77)	First Six Months (8/1/77 to 1/31/78)	Second Six Months (2/1/78 to 7/31/78)	Third Six Months (8/1/78 to 1/31/79)	Total (Start to 1/31/79)
Expenditures ²					
Personnel and Fringe	\$4,728	\$51,764	\$46,143	\$56,193	\$158,828
Consultants	\$11,775	7,128	1,800	388	21,091
Travel	0	761	4,421	2,223	7,405
Equipment	0	10,996	8,847	2,709	22,552
Supplies	0	1,077	8,356	1,020	10,453
Communications	0	1,561	2,017	2,345	5,923
Publication	66	1,345	3,255	2,186	6,852
Other Direct	0	0	5,092	2,930	8,022
Indirect Costs	<u>3,314</u>	<u>14,289</u>	<u>21,387</u>	<u>13,840</u>	<u>52,830</u>
Subtotal	\$19,883	\$88,921	\$101,318	\$ 83,834	\$293,956
Deduction for Police Training Program ³	<u>- 0</u>	<u>- 0</u>	<u>-23,598</u>	<u>-27,787</u>	<u>- 51,385</u>
Subtotal	\$19,883	\$88,921	\$77,720	\$56,047	\$242,571

Table 7-6 Continued

	Pre-Referral (Start to 7/31/77)	First Six Months (8/1/77 to 1/31/78)	Second Six Months (2/1/78 to 7/31/78)	Third Six Months (8/1/78 to 1/31/79)	Total (Start to 1/31/79)
Expenditures²					
In-Kind					
Contributions ⁴	+ 0	+14,174	+ 20,133	+19,549	+ 53,856
Subtotal	\$19,883	\$103,095	\$97,853	\$75,596	\$296,427
Deduction for Cost of Contact with Non-Diversion Cases ⁵	- 0	- 7,691	- 6,002	- 0	-13,693
Total ⁶	\$19,883	\$95,404	\$91,851	\$75,596	\$282,734
Clients Served⁷					
Referrals ⁸	N/A	94	102	426	622
Enrolled Clients	N/A	54	44	288	386
Client-Months	N/A	141	378	866	1385
Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.6	8.6	3.0	3.6
Average Client Costs					
Per Referral	N/A	\$1,015	\$901	\$177	\$455
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$1,767	\$2,088	\$262	\$732
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$677	\$243	\$ 87	\$204
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$8,124	\$2,916	\$1,044	\$2,448

Table 7-6 Continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using document 16792, rf. no. 07199; document 02710, rf. no. 07195; document 02731, rf. no. 07199; document 16786, rf. no. 07195, Research Foundation of Cuny, Financial Reporting System, Transaction Reports.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U. S. Department of Labor, and rounded to nearest whole dollar.

³The diversion project at this site was one of two components of the grant operations. The second component funded was a Police Training Program, developed and implemented in cooperation with the New York City Transit Police Department. Recipients of training were primarily police patrol officers. The police training program occupied approximately 40% of the project director's time, 40% of the consultant's time, 60% of the secretary's time, and 40% of publication costs from February, 1978, to March, 1979. These costs, plus the proportion of the total expenditures they represent, have been subtracted from the project's expenditures to reflect actual diversion services expenditures.

⁴The diversion project received in-kind contributions from John Jay College and from the Juvenile Crime Prevention Unit, primarily in the form of personnel assigned to work with the project. These contributions totaled approximately \$60,400 for the period from October 1, 1977, to March 31, 1979, and have been prorated and added to project expenditures.

⁵Some youths were provided limited service who are not included in the count of the number of clients served. Youths in the other two study groups (no services and penetration into the justice system) were contacted and interviewed by project personnel; consequently, costs for contact with these youth have been subtracted from the project expenditure figure used to calculate costs for the diversion with services clients. An estimated three hours was spent with those clients at a personnel and fringe cost of \$12.20 per hour. In the first six months, 114 diversion without services youth were contacted, and 85 penetration group youth were contacted. In the second six months, 94 diversion without services youth and 70 penetration group youth were contacted. After July 20, 1978, only diversion with services youth were included in the project.

⁶Estimates of expenditures for Police Training Program, cost of services to non-diversion cases, and amount of in-kind contributions provided by the project director.

⁷Of all of the youths eligible for diversion at this site, only one-third were assigned to the project for services. This site participated in the random assignment process for evaluation purposes from October 11, 1978 to July 20, 1978, with roughly equal numbers of youths assigned to (1) diversion with services (reflected in this table), (2) diversion without services, and (3) penetration into the justice system. It should be noted that had the site provided services to all youth, the number of clients served would have been about two-thirds higher.

⁸The number of referrals cited here is based on BRI's aggregation of client service records. Based on project aggregations, the number of referrals was 99 in the first six months, 103 in the second six months, and 430 in the third six months.

with \$76,000 in the third six months. Average expenditures for the three six-month periods of operation were about \$88,000.

During the first 12 months of referrals, the number of youths referred to the project and the number of those who were enrolled were quite low. The number of client-months enrolled for services, however, more than tripled across the first two time periods, from an average of 2.6 client-months in the first six months of operation to an average of 8.6 client-months in the second six months. In the third six months of operation, after the termination of the random assignment procedure, the number of clients referred to the project increased greatly, and the average period of enrollment decreased to three months.

Based upon expenditure data and client service records, the lowest per client costs were achieved in the third period of operation for which data were obtained. The average cost per all referrals was \$455, the average cost per enrolled youth was \$732, and the average cost per client-month of enrollment was \$204. These figures were greatly reduced, however, after the termination of random assignment, as witnessed by the third period cost data.

F. Rosebud Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Rosebud Sioux Tribe, which operated the Rosebud Youth Diversion Project, outlined the five following goals in its grant proposal: (1) to involve all juveniles who come to the attention of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe law enforcement agencies; (2) to coordinate all tribal, state, and private efforts on the reservation where youth are involved; (3) to involve the affected juvenile in responsible decision-making, educational-oriented, and cultural-oriented activities; (4) to create a more informed and efficient

referral service for reservation youth; and (5) to develop in affected juveniles a strong self-awareness in relation to their communities, tribe, and beliefs.

To achieve these goals, the project had three main programs: crisis counseling, needs counseling, and recreation. Crisis counseling occurred at the project's crisis center immediately upon referral to the project. On-going services delivered throughout a client's involvement with the project were managed by a needs counselor, who worked out of the project offices in Mission, South Dakota. The recreation program operated throughout the reservation and served all of the reservation's youths, whether diversion clients or not.

The project was relatively self-contained, offering the majority of services to youths through project personnel. Occasionally, services from outside agencies were used, consisting mainly of short-term residential care. The bulk of the project's services were comprised of providing activities, primarily recreational, for the reservation's youths.

Youths eligible for referral to the diversion project typically had not committed serious offenses. Because serious offenses (felonies) were violations of federal law, youths arrested for such offenses fell under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and were processed by the federal court in Pierre, South Dakota. For this reason, the tribal juvenile justice system handled only youths arrested for misdemeanors or less serious violations of tribal law.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-7)

Financial data for the Rosebud Youth Diversion Project show an increase in expenditures over time. In the first six months of operation, the project

Table 7-7
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Rosebud Youth Diversion Project¹

	Pre-Referral (Start to 6/30/77)	First Six Months (7/1/77 to 12/31/77)	Second Six Months (1/1/78 to 6/30/78)	Third Six Months (7/1/78 to 12/31/78)	Total (Start to 12/31/78)
<u>Expenditures²</u>					
Personnel and Fringe	\$31,940	\$56,616	\$49,517	\$99,822	\$237,895
Contractual ³	172	4,058	4,701 ³	4,701 ³	13,632
Travel	4,878	11,108	11,090	13,430	40,506
Equipment ⁴	3,843	1,660	2,274	5,118	12,895
Supplies	1,074	3,734	1,418	627	6,853
Construction	2,474	11	29	625	2,779
Indirect Costs	596	2,316	2,157	2,893	7,962
Subtotal	\$44,977	\$79,503	\$ 71,186	\$126,856	\$322,522
Deduction for Cost of Local Evaluation	- 0	- 650	- 516	- 6,640	- 7,806
Total	\$44,977	\$78,853	\$70,670	\$120,216	\$314,716
<u>Clients Served</u>					
Referrals	N/A	131	90	90	311
Enrolled Clients	N/A	105	70	66	241
Client-Months	N/A	267	469	620	1,356
Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.5	6.7	6.9	5.6
<u>Average Client Costs</u>					
Per Referral	N/A	\$602	\$785	\$1,336	\$1,012
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$751	\$1,010	\$1,821	\$1,306
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$295	\$151	\$194	\$232
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$3,540	\$1,812	\$2,328	\$2,784

Table 7-7 Continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using Financial Reports (SDDLEA Form No. 303), South Dakota Criminal Justice Commission.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U.S. Department of Labor, and rounded to the nearest whole dollar.

³Contractual expenditures for 1978 totaled \$9,402 and were divided in half to provide an estimate for each time period.

⁴Capital assets.

⁵Cost of local evaluation was included in project expenditures, and has been deducted from expenditures in calculating average client costs. The total amount spent on evaluation was \$7,806 from December 21, 1977, to December 4, 1978; this amount has been deducted from the appropriate time period in which the expenditure was made.

spent about \$79,000, compared with \$120,000 in the third six months. The average expenditures for the project across the first 18 months of post-referral operation were about \$90,000, but this average was greatly influenced by the high costs of the third six months.

Client service records show decreasing numbers of youth referrals and enrollments across the first 18 months of operation. As might be expected, the project had higher costs per referred and enrolled clients in the later time periods. The lowest cost per referred clients (\$602) and enrolled clients (\$751) were both realized in the first six months of operation. The average cost per referral for the total 18-month period was \$1,012; the average cost per enrollment was \$1,306; and the per client-month average was \$232. The number of client-months enrolled for services, however, increased over time, from 2.5 client-months in the first six months to 6.9 client-months in the third six months of operation. This resulted in lower total average cost per client-month.

G. Boston Diversion Advocacy Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Boston Diversion Advocacy Program, which was operated by a large parent organization entitled the Youth Activities Commission, proposed to develop a network of services to which youths having contact with the juvenile justice system could be diverted. The operation of the project was rather complex, involving liaisons assigned to police station houses and juvenile courts. The liaisons were the project's link to the decentralized Boston juvenile justice system, which included seven courts and 11 police stations.

Once referrals from the justice system were obtained, youth advocates were responsible for identifying appropriate services available through community

resources and maintaining a close relationship with youths. The majority of services were purchased from outside agencies, but some services were offered at the Youth Resource Centers. The Centers provided some recreational activities, but were used primarily as a base of operations.

According to the official criteria negotiated with the decentralized justice system personnel in Boston, youths referred to diversion must have been involved in an offense for which they could be adjudicated delinquent. Diversion could occur at the police station before booking or at court, either before a complaint was filed or at a hearing. While the project was designed for serious offenders, reluctance was experienced regarding the referral of "hard-core" youths.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-8)

The Boston Diversion Advocacy Project experienced a number of delays in initiating its operations. These delays are reflected in the expenditure information where contractual services, a major portion of the Boston project, appear only in the second and third six months of operation.

The number of clients referred and enrolled for services by the project also appear to be quite low, particularly in the first six months of operation. Overall, the number of youth referrals and enrollments increased between the first and second six months of operation, but remained about the same between the second and third months of operation. The number of client-months of enrollment for services, however, increased with time, from 2.2 client-months per enrolled client provided in the first six months to 6.2 client-months in the third six months of operation.

Based on these financial and statistical data, the project's costs per referred and enrolled client increased over the first 18 months of

Table 7-8
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Boston Advocacy Program Youth Diversion Project¹

Expenditures ²	Pre-Referral (Start to 3/31/77)	First Six Months (4/1/77 to 9/30/77)	Second Six Months (10/1/77 to 3/31/78)	Third Six Months (4/1/78 to 9/30/78)	Total (Start to 9/30/78)
Personnel and Fringe	\$4,448	\$81,188	\$104,486	\$115,381	\$305,503
Contractual ³	0	0	68,234	84,008	152,242
Travel ⁴	0	0	1,117	3,896	5,013
Equipment ⁵	0	0	9,325	4,778	14,103
Supplies ⁶	0	0	2,042	1,962	4,004
Training ⁷	0	0	764	7,670	8,434
Operating					
Telephone	0	0	7,806	7,342	15,149
Reproduction	0	0	2,428	3,812	6,240
Postage	0	0	261	450	711
Miscellaneous	0	0	99	477	576
Total	\$4,448	\$81,188	\$196,563	\$229,776	\$511,975
Clients Served					
Referrals	N/A	68	91	91	250
Enrolled Clients	N/A	52	74	71	197
Client-Months	N/A	115	294	441	850
Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.2	4.0	6.2	4.3
Average Client Costs					
Per Referral	N/A	\$1,194	\$2,160	\$2,525	\$2,047
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$1,561	\$2,656	\$3,236	\$2,599
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$706	\$669	\$521	\$602
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$8,472	\$8,028	\$6,252	\$7,224

Table 7-8 Continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using Boston Advocacy Program Account Records.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U.S. Department of Labor, and rounded to nearest whole dollar.

³Includes payments to four agencies and fee-for-services expenditures.

⁴Includes local and out-of-state travel.

⁵Includes office equipment and beepers.

⁶Includes desk supplies, periodicals, testing, and remedial reading materials.

⁷Includes training and training equipment expenditures.

post-referral operation, while the average cost per client-month decreased during the same period. The average cost per referral for the total 18-month period was \$2,047; the average cost per enrolled client was \$2,599; and the per client-month average was \$602.

H. Milwaukee Alternatives for Youth Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Alternatives for Youth Diversion Project was operated by the Community Relations-Social Development Commission of Milwaukee County, a service planning and coordinating body for the metropolitan area. The goals of the project included diverting youths who otherwise would have been formally handled, and increasing the capability of existing community youth service agencies for providing alternatives to the juvenile justice system. The program involved counseling and referral services, and it stressed career and life-experience oriented service alternatives.

The majority of referrals to the diversion program came from the probation officers at the Children's Court Center. Additionally, some referrals were made by the chief assistant district attorney. The guidelines for eligibility for referral to the diversion project were flexible, allowing court personnel latitude in deciding those cases appropriate for diversion. The criteria for eligibility included first time and repeat misdemeanants and felons. Referrals were slow in the beginning of the project, but increased considerably in the following year.

The majority of services provided to youths were arranged through brokered service agencies. Service alternatives included supplemental and alternative education, career training and work exposure, public service opportunities, family support services, and personnel development experiences encompassing

programs in the fine arts and wilderness survival. Project staff monitored youth participation in brokered service agency activities.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-9)

Financial data indicate that the Alternatives for Youth Diversion Project in Milwaukee averaged spending about \$80,000 for each six months during the first 18 months of pre-referral operation. Expenditures ranged from approximately \$66,000 to \$98,000 for the three six-month periods of project operations specified.

Client service records show a gradual and steady increase in the number of youths referred to and enrolled by the project, as well as in the average numbers of months in which clients were enrolled for service. Between the first and the third six months of operation, the number of referrals doubled, as did the number of enrolled youths. The number of months in which clients were enrolled for service also doubled over the course of the 18-month period.

Correspondingly, average client costs steadily declined over the first 18 months of operation. The lowest client costs were achieved in the third six months of operation. The average cost per referral for the total period was, however, \$747; the average cost per enrolled client was \$1,101; and the average cost per client-month was \$158.

I. Puerto Rico Youth Diversion Project (SYDMA)

1. Project Description

The Puerto Rico Youth Diversion Project was one component of the SEMIT (initials in Spanish for "Special Services for Minors Involved with the Courts") program, which was a division of the Department of Addiction Services and was organized to provide services to juvenile offenders. The project included three youth service centers, one each in the Manuel A. Perez Housing

Table 7-9
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Milwaukee Alternatives for Youth Diversion Project¹

	Pre-Referral ³ (Start to 9/30/77)	First Six Months (10/1/77 to 3/31/78)	Second Six Months (4/1/78 to 9/30/78)	Third Six Months (10/1/78 to 3/31/79)	Total (Start to 3/31/79)
<u>Expenditures²</u>					
Personnel and Fringe	\$42,845	\$53,515	\$53,126	\$25,273	\$174,759
Contractual ⁴	440	2,039	39,314	43,922	85,715
Travel	780	834	816	569	2,999
Equipment	65	64	0	0	129
Supplies and Operating	3,821	4,279	2,940	2,151	13,191
Indirect Costs	3,836	4,859	1,713	3,563	13,971
Total	<u>\$51,787</u>	<u>\$65,590</u>	<u>\$ 97,909</u>	<u>\$75,478</u>	<u>\$290,764</u>
<u>Clients Served⁵</u>					
Referrals	N/A	88	139	162	389
Enrolled Clients	N/A	56	101	107	264
Client-Months	N/A	229	616	999	1844
Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client		4.1	6.1	9.3	7.0
<u>Average Client Costs</u>					
Per Referral	N/A	\$745	\$704	\$466	\$747
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$1,171	\$969	\$705	\$1,101
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$286	\$159	\$76	\$158
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$3,432	\$1,908	\$912	\$1,896

Table 7-9 continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using Financial Report (Form G-2), Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U.S. Department of Labor, and rounded to the nearest whole dollar.

³Expenditures for September and October were combined on financial reports. For purposes of this analysis, cumulative costs for the two months were divided in half to provide an estimate for each month.

⁴Includes professional services and service contracts.

⁵The number of clients served cited here is based on BRI's client service records. The project's records show that, for the three six-month periods of operation, the number of referrals was 92, 140, and 162 and the number of client-months was 520, 965, and 1,143.

Project, in Bayamon, and in the community of Caguas. Initially, a shelter home was established in the municipality of Aguas Buenas, but it received so few clients that it had to be closed.

The primary goals of the project were to divert youths from the justice system and to provide them with services. Other objectives included providing treatment to parents, stressing the importance of early intervention, and coordinating the activities of community youth service agencies.

Referrals to the diversion project were made through project representatives stationed at the Bayamon Juvenile Court, the San Juan Juvenile Court, and the Juvenile Affairs Division at police headquarters in downtown San Juan and the Caguas Police Department. Youths eligible for diversion included those who had committed non-violent crimes, who were not considered to be a danger to the community or themselves, and who were not already under the jurisdiction of the court.

The services provided at the three service centers consisted primarily of individual counseling, recreation, occupational therapy, tutoring, and cultural enrichment. Referrral to community agencies for medical services, job, and educational placement were offered to a limited extent. The centers also provided hot lunches for needy clients.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-10)

During the first 18 months of operation, financial data indicate that the Puerto Rico Youth Diversion Project averaged spending about \$138,000 for each six months of operation. Their expenditures ranged from a high of about \$153,000 in the second six months of operation to a low of \$119,000 in the third six months.

Client service record data for the project show the greatest number of clients served occurred in the third six months of operation. The lowest

Table 7-10
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Puerto Rico Youth Diversion Project¹

Expenditures ²	Pre-Referral (Start to 6/30/77)	First Six Months (7/1/77 to 12/31/77)	Second Six Months (1/1/78 to 6/30/78)	Third Six Months (7/1/78 to 12/31/78)	Total (Start to 12/31/78)
Personnel and Fringe	\$56,633	\$103,051	\$114,628	\$66,881	\$341,123
Contractual (Consultants)	5,461	4,346	5,380	0	15,187
Travel	640	2,213	3,829	1,144	7,826
Equipment	2,507	9,389	3,325	4,442	19,663
Supplies	0	9,501	2,662	4,226	16,389
Payments to Clients	0	0	0	3,860	3,860
Operating					
Rent	12,793	10,812	4,499	7,417	35,521
Utilities	0	258	0	0	258
Advertisements	692	0	0	0	692
Food	0	1,976	5,886	5,389	13,251
Miscellaneous (Postage, Telegrams, Telephones)	366	965	1,658	1,010	3,999
Indirect Costs	0	0	11,440	25,084	36,524
Total	\$79,092	\$142,511	\$153,307	\$119,383	\$494,293

Table 7-10 Continued

	Pre-Referral (Start to 6/30/77)	First Six Months (7/1/77 to 12/31/77)	Second Six Months (1/1/78 to 6/30/78)	Third Six Months (7/1/78 to 12/31/78)	Total (Start to 12/31/78)
Expenditures ²					
<u>Clients Served</u>					
Referrals	N/A	204	196	391	791
Enrolled Clients	N/A	191	186	381	758
Client-Months	N/A	443	820	1320	2583
Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.3	4.4	3.4	3.4
<u>Average Client Costs</u>					
Per Referral	N/A	\$699	\$782	\$305	\$625
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$746	\$824	\$313	\$652
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$322	\$187	\$ 90	\$191
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$3,864	\$2,244	\$1,080	\$2,292

¹Expenditure data calculated using Forms DSCA 88 and SC 1422, Departamento de Servicios Contra La Adiccion, Secretaria Auxiliar de Administracion.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U. S. Department of Labor, and rounded to nearest dollar.

number of clients referred to and enrolled by the project appeared in the second six months. The average number of months enrolled for services per client increased over the first two periods and then dropped by a month during the last period of heavy referrals. Almost all referrals were enrolled for services.

The lowest average client costs were achieved in the third six months of operation, where expenditures were lowest and the number of clients served was the highest. The average cost per referral during the total period, however, was \$625; the average cost per enrollment was \$652; and the average cost per client-month was \$191.

J. Youth Employment Skills Program, Mobilization for Youth, New York City

1. Project Description

The Youth Employment Skills (YES) program was operated by Mobilization for Youth, Inc. (MFY) for the purpose of assisting lower east side juveniles who had come into contact with the justice system. MFY, established by Colombia University in the early 1960s, has operated a number of projects for youths in addition to the YES program, including the development of a nationally recognized Neighborhood Youth Groups, a youth theater, and a high school equivalency program.

The YES program was designed to receive youths diverted from the justice system and prevent recidivism by providing youths with the skills to further their education and to find gainful employment. In addition to structuring and supervising on-the-job training to develop marketable work skills, the YES program included counseling for youths and their families as well as recreational, cultural, and creative arts programs. Services were provided by the diversion project staff, other MFY staff, and a few brokered service agencies.

Workshops, alternative education, and psychiatric services were additional service options available.

Referrals to the YES program came primarily from the probation intake unit of the court and legal aid. Some referrals were made through the probation supervision unit and the probation liaison unit. Eligible youths included those who resided in the lower east side of Manhattan (a predominantly Hispanic area), who were multiple misdemeanants or lesser felons, who were non-violent, and who were not known drug abusers or mentally ill.

The project experienced a number of difficulties in obtaining referrals. Twenty or more social programs competed for referrals through the family court. Additionally, YES eligibility criteria specified a group of youths not usually diverted by the court. It is important to note that even though many of the cases referred to the YES project did meet the project's eligibility criteria, most of them would have been referred out of the juvenile justice system to one of the many other social service programs at the court in the absence of YES.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-11)

Financial data for the Youth Employment Skills Program show a gradual decrease in expenditures across the first 18 months of post-referral operations. The project averaged spending about \$112,000 for each six months of operation, ranging from a high of nearly \$122,000 for the first six months to a low of about \$100,000 in the third six months.

Client service records show slight increases in the numbers of clients served during the 18 months, and a steady increase in the average number of months referrals were enrolled for services. Overall, the project had low

Table 7-11
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Youth Employment Skills Program, Mobilization for Youth, New York City¹

Expenditures ²	Pre-Referral (Start to 7/31/77)	First Six Months (8/1/77 to 1/31/78)	Second Six Months (2/1/78 to 7/31/78)	Third Six Months ³ (8/1/78 to 1/31/79)	Total (Start to 1/31/79)
Personnel and Fringe	\$28,865	\$78,854	\$86,506	\$66,723	\$260,948
Travel	1,479	501	749	340	3,069
Equipment	60	444	1,880	136	2,520
Supplies	597	448	567	1,088	2,700
Alterations	0	1,040	126	0	1,166
Rent	9,088	8,550	5,628	7,729	30,995
All Other	11,811	31,700	20,399	23,5	87,432
Total	\$51,900	\$121,537	\$115,855	\$ 99,538	\$388,830
Clients Served					
Referrals	N/A	35	49	53	137
Enrolled Clients	N/A	29	38	27	94
Client-Months	N/A	76	167	179	422
Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.6	4.4	6.6	4.5
Average Client Costs					
Per Referral	N/A	\$3,472	\$2,364	\$1,878	\$2,838
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$4,190	\$3,049	\$3,687	\$4,136
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$1,599	\$694	\$556	\$921
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$19,188	\$8,328	\$6,672	\$11,052

Table 7-11 Continued

¹Expenditure data calculated using Grantee Fiscal Cost Reports (Contract #C-112836; DCJS Proposal #D-2438), New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U. S. Department of Labor, and rounded to nearest dollar.

³Expenditure data obtained included only October through January. An estimate of August and September expenditures was obtained by multiplying the October to January expenditures by .33 (expenditures for two months of the six-month period).

numbers of referrals. As mentioned in the project description, the project experienced difficulties in obtaining referrals, largely due to the number of social service programs competing for clients in the area.

Based on the financial data and client service records, the project had quite high client costs. Client costs did decrease with time, but were generally high. The lowest average costs per client was achieved in the third six months of operation.

K. Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project

1. Project Description

The Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project was one of a number of youth service programs operated under the auspices of the Convent Avenue Baptist Church. In the original proposal, program goals were stated in terms of reducing caseloads in the justice system. The primary objective of the program, as viewed by staff, was to improve the quality of life for the youths served. Strategies to accomplish these goals focused on involving families, strengthening the youth/parent relationships, and creating positive atmospheres for youths.

The majority of the services were provided by in-house staff. Counseling, tutoring, and vocational and recreational activities were offered to diverted youths. The original plan was to include purchased services from community agencies but, because of the limited referrals to the project, brokered services did not become a major part of the project.

The primary referral source was the probation department of the Manhattan family court. The Harlem project also accepted a few referrals from legal aid and the police department. Referrals throughout the duration of the project were low. There were other projects (at least 20) seeking referrals through

the family court, thus referrals were often difficult to obtain. The project assigned a liaison to the court in an attempt to increase referrals; this resulted in a moderate increase in referrals, but the rate remained low.

2. Financial and Statistical Data (Table 7-12)

Financial data show that the Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project expenditures averaged about \$95,000 per six months during the first 18 months of operation. The lowest expenditure period occurred in the third six months of operation, where costs totaled about \$86,000.

Client service records show that rather low numbers of clients were referred to the project over the first 18 months of operation. The largest number of clients were referred during the second six months. The average number of months in which referrals were enrolled for services increased over the three time periods reviewed, for an average of 2.3 client-months for the first period to 4.6 client-months for the last six months.

The project achieved the lowest average client costs during the second six months of operation. Because the number of clients served was low, costs were high. Average client costs per all youths referred to the project was \$1,605; average cost per enrollment was \$2,254; and average cost per client-month of service was \$632.

IV. Comparative Program Costs

This section offers a number of comparisons of the 11 diversion projects described in the preceding section. First, project expenditures are summarized and compared. Next, services provided to clients by each of the projects are compared, including the number of referrals, enrolled clients, client-months of service, and average number of service contacts by type of

Table 7-12
Expenditures, Clients Served, and Average Client Costs
Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project¹

Expenditures ²	Pre-Referral (Start to 6/30/77)	First Six Months (7/1/77 to 12/31/77)	Second Six Months (1/1/78 to 6/30/78)	Third Six Months (7/1/78 to 12/31/78)	Total (Start to 12/31/78)
Personnel and Fringe	\$18,874	\$71,314	\$81,700	\$73,913	\$245,801
Travel	377	687	510	517	2,091
Equipment	257	5,447	6,126	27	11,857
Supplies	0	1,626	3,586	686	5,898
Cultural Activities	0	126	1,794	89	2,009
Recreational Activities	0	8	490	482	980
Alterations	166	2,193	3,469	40	5,868
Operating					
Rent	1,173	6,943	7,775	7,262	23,153
Utilities	0	429	1,195	170	1,794
Telephone	0	2,418	1,445	2,603	6,466
Postage	0	95	166	148	409
Bank Charges	0	0	0	4	4
Client Services	0	17	133	0	150
Total	\$20,847	\$91,303	\$108,389	\$85,941	\$306,480

Table 7-12 Continued

	Pre-Referral (Start to 6/30/77)	First Six Months (7/1/77 to 12/31/77)	Second Six Months (1/1/78 to 6/30/78)	Third Six Months (7/1/78 to 12/31/78)	Total (Start to 12/31/78)
Expenditures²					
<u>Clients Served</u>					
Referrals	N/A	55	84	52	191
Enrolled Clients	N/A	41	63	32	136
Client-Months	N/A	95	243	147	485
Average Number of Months Enrolled per Client		2.3	3.9	4.6	
<u>Average Client Costs</u>					
Per Referral	N/A	\$1,660	\$1,290	\$1,653	\$1,605
Per Enrolled Client	N/A	\$2,227	\$1,720	\$2,686	\$2,254
Per Client-Month	N/A	\$961	\$961	\$446	\$632
Per Client-Year	N/A	\$11,532	\$5,352	\$7,008	\$7,584

¹Expenditure data calculated using Convent Avenue Baptist Church Youth Diversion Project Account Records.

²Expenditures adjusted to 1978 dollars, using Consumer Price Index, U. S. Department of Labor, and rounded to nearest dollar.

service. This is followed by comparisons of average client costs. Then, project expenditures relative to the amount of services provided are analyzed. Finally, the average costs per client reported in this study are then compared with estimates from two other studies.

A. Comparisons of the Diversion Projects' Expenditures

In Table 7-13, the expenditures for each of the four time periods are presented for all of the projects. As can be seen, total project expenditures for the 18-month period ranged from a low of \$169,998 to a high of \$633,276. The average expenditure for the pre-referral period was \$30,806; for the first six months, \$81,911; for the second six months, \$107,166; and for the third six months, \$119,312.

B. Comparisons of the Diversion Projects' Services to Clients

The number of youths referred to each project and the number of those referrals enrolled for services are presented in Table 7-14. These data are presented separately for the first, second, and third six months of operation, as well as for the first 18 months of operation combined.

The range of total youth referrals to the projects was great, with a low of 137 and a high of 791. The average number of referrals for the 18-month period was 391. Of those youths referred for services, the number enrolled for services ranged from a low of 94 to a high of 758. The average number of youths enrolled in services was 298, or 76 percent of the youths referred for services.

In general, referrals increased with time, although this was not the case for all of the projects. The average number of referred youths was 105 in the first six months of operation, 116 in the second six months, and 171 in the third six months. The sharp increase in the third period is primarily due to

Table 7-13
Expenditures of Youth Diversion Projects

	Pre-Referral	First Six Months	Second Six Months	Third Six Months	Total
Central Denver	\$18,737	\$104,758	\$245,794	\$263,987	\$633,276
Kansas City, Mo. (RFY)	53,078	145,072	149,052	160,820	508,022
(YSU)	0	51,572	41,410	77,016	169,998
Memphis-Metro	13,322	47,678	63,408	173,819	298,227
Orange Co. (Orlando)	11,598	39,379	58,947	69,487	179,411
John Jay-Transit (NYC)	19,883	95,404	91,851	75,596	282,734
Rosebud	44,977	78,853	70,670	120,216	314,716
Boston Advocacy	4,448	81,188	196,563	229,776	511,975
AFY (Milwaukee)	51,787	65,590	97,909	75,478	290,764
Puerto Rico	79,092	142,511	153,307	119,383	494,293
YES-MFY (NYC)	51,900	121,537	115,855	99,538	388,830
Harlem (NYC)	\$20,847	\$91,303	\$108,389	\$85,941	\$306,480
Mean	\$30,806	\$81,911	\$107,166	\$119,312	\$336,825

Table 7-14
Referrals, Enrolled Clients, and Percentage of Referrals Enrolled for Services

	First Six Months			Second Six Months			Third Six Months			Total		Average Percentag of Referrals Enrolled in Services
	Referrals	Enrolled Clients		Referrals	Enrolled Clients		Referrals	Enrolled Clients		Referrals	Enrolled Clients	
	N	N	%	N	N	%	N	N	%	N	N	
Central Denver	125	93	(74%)	125	98	(78%)	160	114	(71%)	410	305	(74%)
Kansas City, Mo. (RFY)	67	60	(90%)	50	41	(82%)	49	37	(76%)	166	138	(83%)
(YSU)	78	72	(92%)	66	54	(82%)	40	32	(80%)	184	158	(86%)
Memphis-Metro	151	101	(67%)	225	183	(81%)	263	198	(75%)	639	482	(75%)
Orange Co. (Orlando)	162	118	(73%)	169	113	(67%)	271	187	(69%)	602	418	(69%)
John Jay-Transit (NYC)	94	54	(57%)	102	44	(43%)	426	288	(68%)	622	386	(62%)
Rosebud	131	105	(80%)	90	70	(78%)	90	66	(73%)	311	241	(77%)
Boston Advocacy	68	52	(76%)	91	74	(81%)	91	71	(78%)	250	197	(79%)
AFY (Milwaukee)	88	56	(64%)	139	101	(73%)	162	107	(66%)	389	264	(68%)
Puerto Rico	204	191	(94%)	196	186	(95%)	391	381	(97%)	791	758	(96%)
YES-MFY (NYC)	35	29	(83%)	49	38	(78%)	53	27	(51%)	137	94	(67%)
Harlem (NYC)	55	41	(74%)	84	63	(75%)	52	32	(62%)	191	136	(71%)
Mean	105	81		116	89		171	128		391	298	

the termination of random assignment processes in that period.

The proportion of youths referred and enrolled for services was relatively stable. Few drastic changes in enrollment patterns emerged. With few exceptions, the relative levels of enrollment obtained during the first period held for subsequent enrollment periods. The John Jay College-Transit Police (NYC) project's low enrollment levels are due, in part, to a policy developed early in the program to avoid enrolling diverted youths when project personnel evaluated them as not requiring services.

In Table 7-15, the client-months of service provided by each project are presented for each of the three six-month periods of operation. Client-months represent a way of assessing time enrolled for services without carrying services over from one time period to another. It indicates the number of recorded months youths were enrolled in services (referral to termination dates), irrespective of enrollment period. For the first 18 months of operation, the average number of client-months of service was 1,342, ranging from a low of 422 to a high of 2,603. Again, the number of client-months of service generally increased with time.

Samples of the service records of youths enrolled for services over the two years of the evaluation were aggregated and summarized to assess the differences between the number of months in which youths were enrolled for services and the number of months in which youths actually received at least one service contact. The data of Table 7-16 illustrate these findings.

The total number of months in which youths were enrolled for services reported in Table 7-16 differs from those reported in Table 7-15. The difference is due primarily to the extended period of time (two years) used to assess enrollment for the data of Table 7-16 compared with Table 7-15 (18

Table 7-15
Client-Months and Average Number of Months Enrolled for Services

	First Six Months		Second Six Months		Third Six Months		Total	
	Client-Months	Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client	Client-Months	Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client	Client-Months	Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client	Total Client-Months	Total Mean Number of Months Enrolled per Client
Central Denver	283	3.0	706	7.2	1,020	8.9	2,009	6.6
Kansas City, Mo. (RFY)	292	4.9	542	13.2	617	16.7	1,451	10.5
(YSU)	160	2.2	325	6.0	243	7.6	728	4.6
Memphis-Metro	267	2.6	988	5.4	1,348	6.8	2,603	5.4
Orange Co. (Orlando)	298	2.5	507	4.5	565	3.0	1,370	3.3
John Jay-Transit (NYC)	141	2.6	378	8.6	866	3.0	1,385	3.6
Rosebud	267	2.5	469	6.7	620	6.9	1,356	5.6
Boston Advocacy	115	2.2	294	4.0	441	6.2	850	4.3
AFY (Milwaukee)	229	4.1	616	6.1	999	9.3	1,844	7.0
Puerto Rico	443	2.3	820	4.4	1,320	3.4	2,583	3.4
YES-MFY (NYC)	76	2.6	167	4.4	179	6.6	422	4.5
Harlem (NYC)	95	2.3	243	3.9	147	4.6	485	3.6
Mean	205	2.8	466	6.2	643	6.9	1,342	5.2

Table 7-16
Average Client-Months Enrolled for Services and Months of Actual Services
for Two-Year Sample

	Total Months Enrolled for Services		Total Months of Actual Services		Differences	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Central Denver	9.7	12.7	8.8	9.4	-0.9	-3.3
Kansas City, Mo.	7.9	6.2	6.3	5.0	-1.6	-1.2
Memphis-Metro	7.8	6.9	4.1	3.1	-3.7	-3.8
Orange Co. (Orlando)	4.8	4.3	3.4	3.2	-1.4	-1.1
John Jay-Transit (NYC)	4.6	3.5	2.5	1.5	-2.1	-2.0
Rosebud	7.5	6.0	4.7	3.7	-2.8	-3.3
AFY (Milwaukee)	9.1	9.0	3.7	2.1	-5.4	-6.9
Puerto Rico	5.7	5.2	4.2	4.1	-1.5	-1.1
YES-MFY (NYC)	7.1	6.4	4.7	3.6	-2.4	-2.8
Harlem (NYC)	4.5	4.2	3.0	2.8	-1.5	-1.4

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months). Given the trends mentioned above establishing steady increases in enrollment over time, it is not surprising to find that enrollments reported in Table 7-16 are higher than those recorded in Table 7-15.

The use of enrollment periods (intake through termination dates) to calculate months of services also appears to systematically overestimate the amount of time that youths were in service. The average number of months in which services were actually provided, as reported in Table 7-16, indicates that the number of months enrolled for services exceeds actual service months from one to five months, resulting in a two month average overrun. It should be noted that almost all of the projects somewhat delayed their paper terminations of youths from services, and that when termination dates were not available to calculate enrollment periods the assumption was made that such youths were still in service, thus enlarging enrollment figures for cases with missing data. These circumstances may well have contributed significantly to the high enrollment estimates.

These findings have major implications for cost figures based on client-months, suggesting that they systematically underestimate real service costs. Inasmuch as we were unable to calculate the exact dates in which services were rendered to all youths enrolled for services, we were not able to identify exact service costs by periods of service, hours of service, or service contacts. The actual service data of Table 7-16 are based upon a systematic random sample of service records for each project and, as such, represent good estimates of length of time in services. All cost data should be reviewed, therefore, with these service data in mind.

C. Comparisons of the Diversion Projects' Average Client Costs

In Table 7-17, the average costs associated with each of the projects are presented. Four estimates are offered for each project based on total budget

Table 7-17
Average Client Costs Per Referral, Per Enrolled Client,
Per Client-Month, and Per Client-Year

	Per Referral ¹	Per Enrolled Client ²	Per Client-Month ³	Per Client-Year
Central Denver	\$1,545	\$2,076	\$315	\$3,780
Kansas City, Mo. (RFY)	3,060	3,681	350	4,200
(YSU)	924	1,076	234	2,808
Memphis-Metro	467	619	115	1,380
Orange Co. (Orlando)	298	429	131	1,572
John Jay-Transit (NYC)	455	732	204	2,448
Rosebud	1,012	1,306	232	2,784
Boston Advocacy	2,047	2,599	602	7,224
AFY (Milwaukee)	747	1,101	158	1,896
Puerto Rico	625	652	191	2,292
YES-MFY (NYC)	2,838	4,136	921	11,052
Harlem (NYC)	1,605	2,254	632	7,584
Mean	\$1,302	\$1,722	\$340	\$4,085

¹Average costs included in this figure are for the total post-referral period and were calculated by dividing the total budget by the total number of referrals.

²This cost was obtained by dividing the total budget by the total number of referrals receiving services beyond intake.

³Per client-month was calculated by dividing the total number of months that clients were in service by the total budget.

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and flow data: (1) the average cost per referral, including all youths referred to the project, whether or not they received services; (2) the average cost per enrolled client, defined as youths who received services beyond intake; (3) the average cost per client-month, based on the number of youths enrolled and the number of months of service; and (4) the average cost per client-year (the cost per client-month times 12).

As can be seen, the average cost per referral across projects was \$1,302; this ranged from a low of \$298 to a high of \$3,060 and included all youths referred for services.. The average cost for referrals enrolled for services was \$1,722. The range was from a low of \$429 to a high of \$4,136 and included youths receiving services at least once after intake. The average cost per client-month ranged from \$115 to \$921 and averaged across the sites at \$340. Client-month was based upon enrollment data rather than actual service information and as such represents an underrepresentation of costs. Per client-year, the average cost per client enrolled for services was \$4,085, with a range from \$1,572 to \$11,052.

The variation in these cost data is tremendous, reflecting in large measure the variations in number of referrals and enrollments. Where referrals were low in number, program costs per case tended to be extreme. It should also be remembered that these figures represent the first 18 months of post-referral program operation and thus include many of the expenses of start-up that are not at issue in cost analysis conducted at later periods.

D. Project Expenditure and Service Comparisons

Figure 1 offers a comparison of total project expenditures and total number of client-months of service provided. Values for both of the variables (expenditures and client-months) were organized into three categories (low,

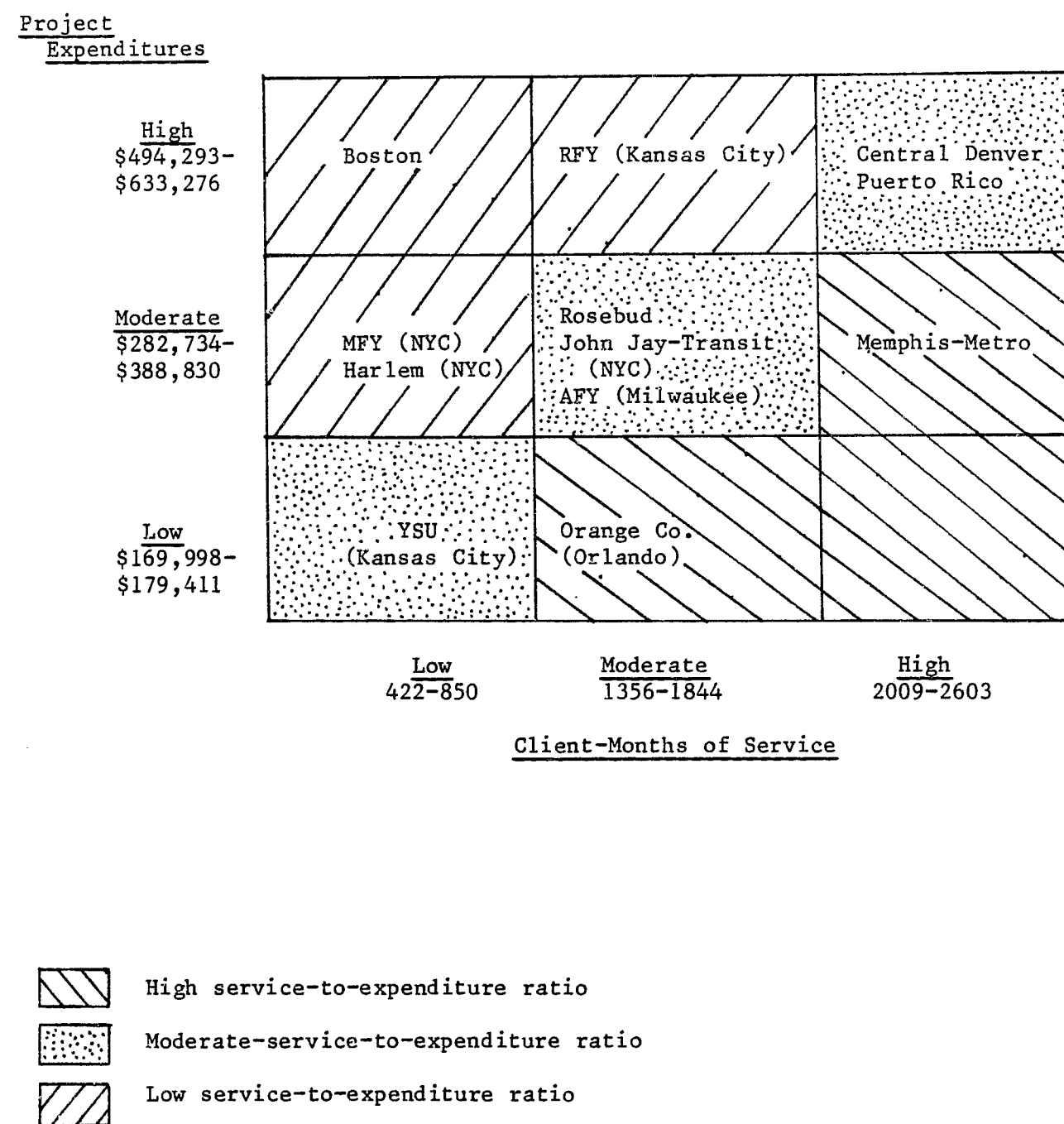


Figure 7-1
Total Project Expenditures by Total Client-Months of Service

moderate, and high) relative to the distributions of all of the projects. As can be seen, this categorization was straightforward, since there were quite distinct breaks between the values on both variables.

Based on this analysis, several observations can be made with respect to the amount of services provided by the projects relative to their expenditures. For most of the projects, there was no discrepancy between level of spending and provision of services. That is, low client-months of service resulted in low spending, moderate client-months of service resulted in moderate spending, and high client-months of service resulted in high spending. This was the case for those projects in the shaded boxes of Figure 1: YSU, Rosebud, John Jay-Transit, AFY, Central Denver, and Puerto Rico.

Four of the projects, however, appear to have spent more money to provide lesser amounts of service. The projects in the diagonally slashed boxes of Figure 1 - Boston, RFY, MFY, and Harlem - were relatively less efficient, on the bases of this breakdown, in terms of services provided per expenditure.

On the other hand, the Memphis-Metro and Orange County (Florida) Youth Diversion Projects provided relatively greater amounts of service considering expenditures. Memphis-Metro provided a high number of client-months of service with relatively moderate expenditures. For low expenditures, Orange County provided a moderate number of client-months of service.

It should be noted that this comparison of expenditures and client-months of service has certain limitations. All of the data and consequently the categorization of the variables are relative to the other projects included in this analysis. Further, as has been mentioned before, client-months of service is highly dependent on the recordkeeping system of the projects and

how soon after services terminations are recorded. Nonetheless, this comparison provides another way of considering the relationship between expenditures and services to clients, and appears consistent with other indicators of the projects' relative cost-efficiency.

E. Comparisons of Diversion Projects' Costs from Other Studies

To compare our estimates of the costs of the 11 diversion projects included in this analysis, three other studies were reviewed. As reported, we found an average cost per client of \$1,302 for the 11 projects, with a range from \$298 to \$3,060. These figures are based on 1978 dollars.

In an evaluation of youth diversion projects in California, Palmer and Lewis (1980), using project expenditures and the number of clients served, calculated an average cost per client of \$250, with a range from a low of \$107 to a high of \$600. Their estimates were based on 1974 dollars; adjusted to 1978 dollars, the average cost per client would be \$330, with a range from \$141 to \$792. Haapanen and Rudisill (1980) reported a per case cost of \$324 for nine Youth Service Bureaus; that figure is based on 1977-1979 budgets. In a cost analysis of services for diverted status offenders (Peat et al., 1978), the estimated cost per client was \$520 in Pima County, Arizona; \$544 in Spokane, Washington; and \$3,313 in Delaware.

It is difficult to draw hard and fast conclusions on the basis of comparing the cost findings of the 11 projects of the National Evaluation with each other or with those of two or three outside studies. Direct comparisons are difficult to make; the maturity of programs and length of operation differ and methodologies vary, as do the scope and structure of the projects included in the different analyses. Several things are clear, however: (1) the cost differences between sites are startling, irrespective of the unit of

comparison; (2) the relationship between costs and number of referrals is weak; and (3) while several of the projects in the National Evaluation fall within the cost range of most of the projects in the three studies reviewed, more than half were well above the average costs reported in those studies. Overall, the program expenditures associated with the projects of the National Evaluation appear to be high.

V. Juvenile Justice System Costs

This section provides information on the juvenile justice systems of three of the sites involved in random assignment: Memphis, Kansas City, and Orange County. For each site, client flow through the justice system is described. Next, calculations and estimates of average client costs are provided for traditional processing. For Memphis and Kansas City, costs are calculated two ways: one based on degree of penetration into the system and the other on total budget divided by youths processed. For the Orange County system, only the latter calculations (total budget divided by youths processed) are used. The estimates of the justice system costs for these sites are then compared with estimates from other studies.

A. Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County

1. Client Flow through the Justice System

Step One: Court Intake

There are two main points of entry into the juvenile justice system in Memphis. One point of entry is made when a police officer takes a child into custody and transports him or her to the juvenile court. The alternative point of entry is made through the use of a juvenile summons. In the latter case, police do not transport youths to the juvenile court; therefore, no

"detention" charges are incurred. Approximately 38% of all delinquency cases are referred to the juvenile court through the use of juvenile summonses. The juvenile summons referral also saves the expense of housing a child in detention. Youths held in detention are those whose cases involve capital offenses or juveniles already under the jurisdiction of the court. Whether the entry point into the system involves custody or the use of a juvenile summons, there is some contact with a professional court officer. In many cases this contract is not considered official, but all case progress at least to this point.

Step Two: Consent Decree

The court counselor, after interviewing youths and parents, makes the decision whether or not to proceed with official adjudication. If a consent decree is obtained, a court hearing to determine guilt or innocence is not necessary. The consent decree results in judicial probation. Cases handled by consent decree include youths issued a juvenile summons as well as youths taken into custody.

Step Three: Judicial Decree

If the court counselor decides that a court hearing is warranted, an adjudicatory hearing is scheduled. The judge may either release the youth or, if the alleged offense is sufficiently serious and supported by the evidence, the judge may decide to take the case under advisement. If the youth meets the terms of advisement, the case is dismissed. If the judge decides to carry through the adjudication process and the youth is adjudicated delinquent, he or she can either be placed on probation or committed to a correctional facility of the State Department of Corrections.

Step Four: Dispositions

Once a youth is placed on probation, there are no costs incurred by the

juvenile court. The court uses volunteer auxiliary probation officers to provide all supervision for youth on probation.

If a youth is adjudicated delinquent and remanded to the custody of the Tennessee State Department of Corrections, costs are incurred by the state. The average length of stay in a correctional facility is six months.

2. Estimated Costs of Traditional Processing

Based on the steps involved in processing youths through the Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County, costs were calculated for the group of youths randomly assigned to penetrate the system. Since processing for all youths in each of the three study groups was identical to the point of court processing (all youths were arrested, consequently arrest costs for all youths were identical), cost estimations begin after the point of diversion.

Presented in Table 7-18 are the estimated costs based on degree of penetration into the system. Estimates were calculated using cost events corresponding to client flow through the system and the number of penetration youths who moved through each of those steps. As noted in the table, estimated unit costs were obtained from the juvenile court and were calculated using time expenditures and salaries involved in handling each type of case. Based on these figures, the average cost per youth was \$178.54.

Table 7-19 provides the data used to calculate costs based on the total budget and number of youths processed through the Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County. The source of this information, as noted in Table 7-19, was the court's annual report for 1978. Costs associated with institutionalization have been added. Using these data, the average cost per youth processed was \$463.43.

Two factors help to explain the discrepancy between the two separately calculated estimates of costs. First, the penetration group of youths

Table 7-18
Costs Based on Degree of Penetration for Youths in Penetration Group
Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County¹

Cost Events	Estimated Cost per Youth	Number of Youths (N = 331)	Estimated Cost per Penetration Group
Court Intake			
Juvenile Summons, No Detention	\$ 35.80	215	\$ 7,697.00
Detention ²	\$212.44	116	\$24,643.04
Consent Decree			
Juvenile Summons, No Detention	\$120.53	51	\$ 6,147.03
Detention ²	\$265.02	27	\$ 7,155.54
Judicial Decree			
Juvenile Summons, No Detention	\$154.12	22	\$ 3,390.64
Detention ²	\$298.79	12	\$ 3,585.48
Dispositions			
Probation ³	0	109	0
Institutionali- zation ⁴	\$3,239.60	2	\$ 6,479.20
Total			\$59,097.93
Number of Youths Processed		331	
Average Cost per Youth			\$ 178.54

¹Cost estimates were provided on request by the Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County. Cost figures obtained were based on time expenditures and salaries, and have been adjusted to include some operating expenses. Additionally, costs have been adjusted to 1978 dollars using Consumer Price Index.

²Detention costs based on average stay of two days.

³The Juvenile Court used over 500 volunteer auxiliary probation officers and estimates no court costs for probation.

⁴The costs incurred by Tennessee State Department of Corrections. Estimated costs provided by that agency, based on six month average length of stay. Cost also adjusted to 1978 dollars using Consumer Price Index.

Table 7-19
Costs Based on Total Budget and Number of Youths Processed
Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County¹

Cost Events	Flow	Estimated Costs
Budget and Operating Costs		\$ 4,517,380
Institutionalization Costs ²		958,922
Total		\$ 5,476,302
Number of Youths Processed	11,817	
Average Cost per Youth		\$ 463.43

¹Based on 1978 budget, adjusted to include operating costs. Source: 1979 Annual Report of Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County.

²These costs incurred by Tennessee State Department of Corrections. Estimated cost provided by that agency, based on six month average length of stay. Number of youths committed, 296, in 1978 was obtained from annual report. Cost adjusted to 1978 dollars using Consumer Price Index.

obtained from the random assignment process were less likely to be institutionalized than other youths who enter the system, thereby incurring lower costs. It should be remembered from Chapter 2 that our data indicate that the penetration youths referred directly to the project by the court in Memphis tended to be more serious offenders than those kept by the court, lending credence to this point. Second, cost figures obtained for each cost event or processing step used in calculating penetration costs probably represent narrow and thus low estimates.

Review of the percentages of youths institutionalized in Memphis indicates that the youths in the penetration group were somewhat less likely to be committed than other youths. Nearly 3% of all youths processed were committed in 1978, compared with barely 1% of the experimental penetration group of youths. What effect does this discrepancy have on cost estimates? If we assume that 3% of the penetration group of youths were institutionalized rather than the 1% who actually were committed, the average cost based on degree of penetration increases from \$178.54 to \$256.84 per youth. While the cost estimates changed because of the proportion of youths institutionalized, a discrepancy between the two estimates of the cost of traditional processing remains.

It would appear that the cost estimates based on degree of penetration are low. The estimated cost per youth per processing step or event is inclusive only of time specifically involved in processing a case. Such estimates exclude the cost of supportive and management activities that are not excluded when using total budgets. In sum, we have concluded that each analytical method provides a useful way for viewing costs, but that the estimates using total budgets are more likely to correspond to the calculations associated with program cost estimates and thus represent better comparative information.

B. Jackson County Juvenile Court (Kansas City)

1. Client Flow through the Justice System

Step One: Evidence Review and Dismissal

Referrals to the Jackson County Juvenile Court come from parents, schools, and social service agencies, but the primary entry point into the justice system is an arrest by a police officer. The juvenile justice unit of the juvenile court reviews referrals to determine if there is sufficient evidence to sustain a petition beyond a reasonable doubt. Without such evidence, the court releases the youth.

Step Two: Arraignment and Dismissal

If there is sufficient evidence to sustain a petition, the youth is processed through either a consent or a judicial hearing. Prior to the hearing process, an arraignment hearing is held to allow the youth to make a statement about the charge, and to make provisions for legal counsel if a judicial hearing is warranted.

Step Three: Consent Hearing

A case placed on the consent docket results in an informal hearing before an administrative hearing officer of the court. A deputy juvenile officer is assigned to the case and prepares a social history by interviewing teachers, parents, and friends. Consent hearings are typically reserved for youths who are in need of court services, but who do not warrant a judicial hearing because of the nature of the offense and cooperative attitude of youths and parents.

Step Four: Judicial Hearing

If a case is placed on the judicial docket, the youth must appear at an official hearing presided over by the juvenile court judge or commissioner.

After the arraignment hearing process, a formal judicial hearing takes place in which both the youth and the deputy juvenile officer are represented by attorneys. If there is sufficient evidence to sustain a petition, the judge then determines case disposition based on his judgment and assisted by the social history and recommendations prepared by the juvenile officer.

Step Five: Disposition

Disposition options include formal probation or placement in foster care, group homes, or community-based residential facilities.

2. Estimated Costs of Traditional Processing

Basically, the same method has been used to estimate the costs of processing through the Jackson County Juvenile Court as was used for Memphis. Based on the steps involved in processing youths through the court, costs were calculated for the group of youths randomly assigned to penetrate the justice system. Again, cost estimations began after the point of diversion, since arrest costs for youths in the three dispositional groups were identical.

The estimated costs per youth based on degree of penetration into the system are presented in Table 7-20. Cost events corresponding to client flow through the Jackson County system have been used; estimates of costs associated with each of these events were obtained from the juvenile court, as described in the table. The estimates are based on time expenditures and salaries involved in handling each type of case. Based on these data, the average cost per youth was \$445.24.

Table 7-21 provides the data used to calculate costs based on the total budget and number of youths processed through the Jackson County Juvenile Court. This information was obtained from the court (costs associated with probation and residential care are included in the court's budget). Using

Table 7-20
Costs Based on Degree of Penetration for Youth in Penetration Group
Jackson County Juvenile Court (Kansas City)¹

Cost Events	Estimated Cost per Youth	Number of Youths (N = 110)	Estimated Cost
Evidence Review and Dismissal	\$ 2.79	7	\$ 19.53
Arraignment and Dismissal	\$ 12.14	67	\$ 813.38
Consent Hearing	\$ 84.34	3	\$ 253.02
Judicial Hearing No Detention	\$154.87	33	\$ 5,110.71
Detention ²	\$978.46	11	\$10,763.06
Dispositions Probation ³	\$245.94	17	\$ 4,180.98
Residential Care ⁴	\$6,958.80	4	\$27,835.20
Total			\$49,975.88
Number of Youths Processed		110	
Average Cost per Youth			\$ 445.24

¹Cost estimates were provided on request by the Jackson County Juvenile Court. Cost figures obtained were based on time expenditures and salaries, and have been adjusted to include some operating expenses. Additionally, costs have been adjusted to 1978 dollars using Consumer Price Index.

²Detention costs based on average stay of 28 days.

³Probation costs based on average length of 26 weeks.

⁴Residential care costs based on six month average length of stay.

Table 7-21
Costs Based on Total Budget and Number of Youths Processed
Jackson County Juvenile Court (Kansas City)¹

Cost Events	Flow	Estimated Costs
Budget and Operating Costs		\$5,897,026
Number of Youths Processed ²	5,590	
Number of Cases Processed ³	8,901	
Average Cost per Youth		\$ 1,054.92
Average Cost per Case		\$ 662.51

¹Budget and estimated additional operating costs provided on request by the Jackson County Juvenile Court; budget for 1979 adjusted to 1978 dollars using Consumer Price Index. Costs for residential care are included in this figure. It should be noted that this estimate includes services provided to some youths not included in count of the number of youths served (adoption cases, courtesy supervision, and supervision to youths from other states).

²This is the unduplicated count of youths. The total number of referrals was 8,901, which includes a duplicated count of youths who reenter the system.

³This represents the actual number of cases processed through the court.

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these data, the average cost per youth processed is between \$662.51 and \$1,054.92, depending upon how caseloads are defined.

As was the case with Memphis, there is a discrepancy between the two separately calculated estimates of traditional processing. For Jackson County, we have also concluded that the estimates based on degree of penetration are low. Again, the estimated cost for handling a given case through various processing points is inclusive only of time specifically involved with each case. Associated supportive activities related to the overall court operations are excluded from such estimates. The estimates using the court's total budget are, therefore, more likely to parallel the cost figures associated with the diversion programs in Kansas City.

C. Orange County Court Juvenile Division (Florida)

1. Client Flow through the Justice System

In Orange County, a youth's contact with the justice system begins with apprehension by a law enforcement officer. A regular patrol officer typically makes the arrest, and the duties of the juvenile division officers begin after apprehension. The arresting officer submits a written report of the incident, and the juvenile officer arranges for either the child's release to his or her parents or the child's admission to the county detention facility. Children are released unless their parents cannot be located or they appear to be a danger to themselves or the community.

The arrest affidavit, which is completed by the law enforcement agency, is forwarded via the clerk of the court to the juvenile division of the district state attorney's office and to the single intake branch of the Division of Youth Services (DYS). Single intake serves the function of court intake in Florida. It is a statewide agency, a part of the Department of Health and

Rehabilitative Services (HRS), which also administers the diversion project at the state level. Single intake is responsible for investigating all reports of juvenile delinquency and dependency.

After receiving the arrest affidavit, DYS counselors send a letter to the child's parents notifying them that they must come to an interview at a specified date and time. The result of that interview is a recommendation to the state attorney's office whether or not the case should be taken to court.

There are three assistant state attorneys in the juvenile division of the Ninth Judicial Circuit of Florida, of which Orange County is a part. The state attorney who is chief of that division reviews all juvenile arrest affidavits and decides which of those cases will be prosecuted. The decision is based on two independent factors. The first is whether or not the evidence gathered is sufficient for prosecution. The second, whether or not the offense and the offender merit prosecution. Before a case comes before the juvenile judge, the juvenile division chief of the state attorney's office is the only person with the authority to drop charges.

If a case is to be prosecuted, the state attorney's office must file a petition with the court clerk within 30 days of the signing of the arrest affidavit, and the case must be tried within 90 days. The assistant state attorney allows 15 days for the single intake workers to submit a report, and then decides whether or not to file a petition. After a petition is filed, an investigator in the state attorney's office gathers evidence and prepares the state's case.

There are three types of hearings in juvenile court; the first is an arraignment hearing, at which a plea is entered. If the defendant pleads innocent, an adjudicatory hearing follows. Those pleading guilty receive a

dispositional hearing. Finally, juveniles found guilty are issued sentences at a dispositional hearing. Single intake of DYS enters the process once again if the judge orders a predispositional report to aid his choice of a disposition. Probation, institutionalization, and after-care are all managed by HRS.

2. Estimated Costs of Traditional Processing

Unlike Memphis and Kansas City, we were unable to obtain cost estimates based on degree of penetration for Orange County. Data regarding the total court budget and number of youths processed were obtained from the Juvenile Division of the Orange County Court and Diversion of Youth Services, as indicated in Table 7-22. Cost for services provided through the Division of Youth Services, Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services were obtained through that agency on request.

Presented in Table 7-22 are the data related to traditional processing in Orange County. It should be noted that the extent of penetration of the youths randomly assigned to that group corresponds to overall county percentages. Based on these figures, the average cost of processing per youth was \$385.91.

D. Comparisons of Juvenile Justice System Cost Estimates from Other Studies

For the three impact sites included in this study, the average cost per youth for traditional justice system processing ranges from \$386 to \$662; the average across the three sites is \$469. These figures are based on estimates using total court budgets and number of cases processed through the courts, including court processing, detention, hearings, probation, and institutionalization costs.

Table 7-22
Costs Based on Total Budget and Number of Youths Processed
Juvenile Division Orange County Court and Division of Youth Services

Cost Events	Flow	Estimated Costs
Court Budget and Operating Costs ¹		\$162,032
Division of Youth Services ²		
Intake Process ³		360,407
Detention ⁴		426,453
Probation ⁵		359,885
Community Programs ⁶		295,233
Commitments ⁷		<u>659,765</u>
Total		\$2,263,775
Number of Youths Processed ⁸	5,866	
Average Cost per Youth		\$ 385.91

¹Court budget obtained on request from the Juvenile Division of the Orange County Court, and has been adjusted to 1978 dollars using Consumer Price Index.

²These costs obtained on request from the Division of Youth Services, Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, and have been adjusted to 1978 dollars.

³Provided to all cases, 5,866, at a cost of \$61.44 per case.

⁴Based on an average of 18.4% of youth detained, average length of stay of 11 days.

⁵Based on an average of 18% of youth placed on probation, average length of 284 days.

⁶Based on an average of 2% of youth placed in community programs at an average cost of \$2,523.

⁷Based on an average of 2% of youth committed, average length of stay 158 days, \$35.69 per day cost.

⁸Also obtained on request from the Juvenile Division of the Orange County Court.

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In the Palmer and Lewis (1980) review of 11 California counties the average reported cost of probation was \$477. The range across the counties included was from \$271 to \$761. National averages reported by Gemignani in 1972 were \$100 for cases closed at intake, and \$500 for cases processed beyond intake. Neither of these two estimates include institutionalization costs, as do our figures. Were we to exclude commitment costs, our estimates would be slightly lower.

The costs of traditional processing for the three impact sites in this report appear comparable with estimated costs of traditional processing in other studies. Direct comparisons are difficult, however; the two studies reviewed used different methodologies, included different costs, focused on different costs events, covered different time periods, and involved widely different systems. Nonetheless, a general comparison is possible, and indicates that the three sites included in this analysis are within the range of similar estimates for at least two other studies.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

A. Summary

To this point, program and justice cost estimates have been calculated in a variety of ways in an attempt to obtain some feeling for the relative fiscal merits of diversion programming and justice services without actually comparing the two. By way of summary, comparisons between justice system and diversion program costs will now be presented, but the limitations of such comparisons must be kept firmly in mind.

First, the comparisons are purely fiscal. That is to say, no assumptions relative to cost benefits are made. Second, the budget figures from which

alternative costs were derived were obtained from project and justice personnel; while the authenticity of the figures is not questioned, neither have they been established by audit or official declaration. Third and foremost, while the calculations for per case costs were completed using commonly accepted practices and procedures for this type of program evaluation, the thorough and detailed documentation of costs required for a rigorous cost evaluation was not proposed, was not intended, and was not accomplished.

Consequently, the cost data presented in this chapter represent best estimates based upon readily available information and thus only approximate real or actual costs. Given this understanding, there is some question as to the legitimacy of making cost distinctions between these youth service and juvenile service systems, as the errors in calculating costs within the different systems may be greater than the differences between them. What follows must be treated, therefore, as heuristic not definitive and should be carefully qualified in the mind of the reader.

The design of the National Evaluation to assess the impact of diversion involved the random assignment of juvenile offenders who would have penetrated the system had diversion not been an alternative. Procedures for randomly assigning eligible youths to each of three disposition groups were relatively similar at each site; the selection of dispositions was random and independent, and the probability of each disposition was approximately equal. Empirical evidence suggests that the random assignment procedures at the three sites produced groups with relatively equal characteristics at the outset, even in Memphis where large numbers of penetration youths were lost. This being the case, a comparison of the costs associated with each of the three

experimental groups of youths (those who penetrated the justice system, those who were diverted with services, and those who were diverted but were provided no services) constitutes a practical approach to summarizing the findings presented above.

Selection of total budget-based estimates for per client costs does limit our ability to specifically assess the costs that were incurred by the penetration group of youths. The random assignment procedure produced, however, a penetration control group that appears to be fairly representative of youths penetrating the justice in the system evaluation. Using the proportion of control youths who were institutionalized as an indicator of total penetration into the system, it appears that our penetration control groups were representative of all youths penetrating the system except in Memphis, where 1% of the penetration control group was committed, compared with 3% of all youths processed to court. Given this difference, it should be kept in mind that our estimates of per client costs in Memphis are low but vary less than 5% when applied specifically to the penetration group of youths. This variance does not, however, substantially alter conclusions based on subsequent comparisons.

For both project and the justice system estimates, only internal costs have been included. We have not included legal costs, public defender costs, or any other costs that would require any degree of speculation in order to assign a dollar value. Our estimates are limited to known, actual, incurred costs; as such, they generally represent a conservative assessment.

In Table 7-23, the average client costs incurred after the point of diversion for each of the dispositional alternatives are presented for Kansas City, Memphis, and Orange County. The least expensive of the three is

Table 7-23
Average Clients Costs Incurred after the Point of Diversion
by Dispositional Group and Site

	Diversion with Services	Penetration Justice System Costs ²	Diversion without Services
	Costs ¹		Costs
Kansas City			
Roles for Youth	\$3,060	\$652	0
Youth Services Unit	924	652	0
Memphis	467	463	0
Orange County (Florida)	298	386	0

¹Based on average cost per total number of youths referred to projects across 18 month evaluation period.

²Based on average cost per youth processed, calculated using court budgets and additional costs for detention, probation, and commitment, where applicable for one-year period.

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obviously diversion without services, where no costs were incurred after the point of diversion. Consequently, from a pure cost perspective, diversion without services is clearly the most cost efficient disposition for youths.

Comparing the costs of the diversion projects with those of the justice systems reviewed indicates that, two out of the three diversion projects were equal to or less expensive than traditional justice processing assuming that all cases diverted for services would have been processed to the next step in the justice system had the diversion projects not been present. There is evidence, however, that this assumption may be unwarranted. A California Youth Authority study (1976) of 15 juvenile diversion projects determined that, on the average, less than 50% of the youths diverted for services would have penetrated the justice system in the absence of the diversion projects. Blomberg is most persuasive in his analysis of the effects of diversion in accelerating social control and "widening the nets." After reviewing the literature on diversion he concludes (1978:8):

To date, the empirical literature has demonstrated that diversion practices are being applied to a large portion of youth who previously would have been released outright and without supervision. Further, ... diversion's whole family focus not only expands the overall number of youth receiving some form of informal or formal control but results in accelerated control for those youth whose families are unable to comply with family intervention methods.

Davidson (1980) reports that after employing extensive safeguards to prevent the diversion of youths typically screened out of the system, his diversion project still received youths who would have been released by the authorities in the absence of his program.

It appears that juvenile justice representatives routinely refer and that diversion programs routinely accept youths who, in the absence of a diversion

program, would have most certainly been lectured and released.¹ While we have no hard evidence bearing on this issue, we are of the opinion that "widening the nets" did occur, at least to some extent, in the projects of the National Evaluation. In the absence of hard data, however, all that we can do is alert the reader to the issue, present those data that are available, and be cautious in the kinds of conclusions drawn.

Keeping the above reservations in mind, our comparative data indicate that in Memphis, the average cost per client in the diversion projects was \$467, compared with an average cost of \$463 for the justice system. In Orange County, the average cost per diversion client was \$298, compared with \$386 for traditional processing. In Kansas City, both projects had higher costs (\$3,060 and \$924) than the justice system (\$652). Comparing costs for these three sites indicates that on one site the per referral costs for the projects were higher than those for the court; on another the costs were identical; and on the third the costs for the justice system were greater than for those of the diversion project. These comparisons are based, again, on the assumption that all project referrals would have penetrated the justice system in the absence of the diversion project and that both sets of cost calculations are comparable.

B. Conclusions

While cost reduction was not among the explicit goals outlined in the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in 1967, fiscal issues have nonetheless become a topic of growing concern. This chapter, completed as a part of the National Evaluation of Youth Diversion, has focused specifically on the question of

¹In all fairness, program administrators are often helpless in preventing all inappropriate justice referrals.

costs. Based on the 11 diversion projects included in the evaluation, this analysis has assessed the costs of the diversion projects, presented estimated costs of traditional juvenile justice system processing, and offered limited comparisons of diversion and traditional processing costs.

The major thrust of the cost analysis was descriptive. Program case flow and unit costs were calculated numerous ways for the purpose of describing costs from different perspectives. Comparisons between programs produced large differences that were only weakly related to differences in the number of referrals received by the projects. It was also observed that projects characterized by large expenditures over the cost periods in question tended to employ large numbers of people. It appears that total expenditures and total number of employees were only weakly related to the number of referrals passing through a project.

The calculations and description of justice costs were fraught with problems, creating concern about using them for comparative purposes. Nevertheless, comparisons among the justice systems of the National Evaluation, as well as with those of other studies, revealed a relatively stable cost pattern, lending some credibility to the justice cost figures.

The comparison of program and justice unit expenditures were based upon cost data from the randomly obtained experimental groups at three of the four impact sites. On the basis of these cost comparisons, diversion with no services was destined to be the least expensive justice disposition. The cost distinctions made between service and penetration groups were, however, qualified to the extreme and represent the most tenuous of conclusions.

In reviewing the data of this chapter, it should be remembered that the projects described are not necessarily typical of all diversion programs.

They were demonstration projects, purposely selected, and as a whole generously funded. Also, the cost data used for these comparisons were obtained within the first two years of operation and therefore reflect all of the expenses associated with start up and initial operation. Cost data associated with more austere and/or established programming may result in quite different findings. The considerations of costs for all types of programs provide an important dimension in the evaluation of social programs. As with any scientific endeavor, no single study should be the basis for generalization. Only with repetition will a sense of cost perspective and value be achieved.

Chapter 8

YOUTH TYPOLOGY AND OUTCOME

I. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to determine if different types of youths responded differently to the three random assignment dispositions. In Chapter 2 we ascertained that alternative dispositions did not affect outcomes as measured by an assortment of impact variables. But it is possible that disposition had an impact on some types of youths and not others, and that these effects cancelled each other when types were combined. In Chapter 2, age, sex, ethnicity, and social class were included in the analysis as independent variables to test the hypothesis that youths differing on these dimensions were differently affected by random assignment dispositions. No such differential effects were found. The analysis presented in this chapter parallels the assessment of differential impact in Chapter 2, but here, instead of demographic characteristics, an empirically derived typology of youths was used.

To determine the existence of youth types, cluster analysis was employed to group individuals with similar social-psychological characteristics. Then changes in the delinquent behavior of each derived type were compared by disposition.

Section II describes the sample used in the analysis and the variables used in the clustering process. Descriptions of the clustering techniques

and of the resulting clusters are given in Section III. Sections IV and V examine differences in delinquent behavior and recidivism among youth types across and within dispositions.

II. Measurement Space

To have a data set of manageable size (in terms of number of observations) for the cluster analysis and other analyses, the data from all four impact sites involved in the National Evaluation were combined, and a random sample of youths (with no missing data on social-psychological variables) was selected from this combined set. As Table 8-1 indicates, the resulting group sizes are approximately proportional to total site sample sizes, and each site is well-represented in the analyses.

The social-psychological variables used in the cluster analysis were in large part the same as those used in Chapter 2 (see Table 2-1), but excluded composite scales and measures of social disorganization. The variables used are listed again for convenience in Table 8-2. Because of the high intercorrelations between these variables, they were submitted to a factor analysis employing a varimax rotation. Using a scree criterion, the six factor solution was selected and rotated.¹ This factor solution was easily interpretable and explained 54% of the original variance. The rotated factor matrix is given in Table 8-3.

¹Other factor solutions were explored, but the basic structure implied by the six factor solution held for all higher level solutions. Factor analyses of the listed social-psychological variables together with the social disorganization variables also provided a similar structure.

Table 8-1
Sample Size by Site

Site	Total Site Sample	Number of Youths Included in Typology Sample
Kansas City	327	95
Memphis	474	139
Orange County	414	129
New York	<u>369</u>	<u>108</u>
Total	1,584	471

Table 8-2
Social Psychological Variables

Variable Number	Variable Name
1	Importance of Family Goals
2	Importance of School Goals
3	Importance of Peer Goals
4	Success of Family
5	Success in School
6	Success with Peers
7	Commitment to Parents
8	Normlessness-Long Version
9	Labeling-Parents-Conforming-Long
10	Labeling-Parents-Sick
11	Labeling-Parents-Bad
12	Labeling-Friends-Conforming
13	Labeling-Friends-Sick
14	Labeling-Friends-Bad
15	Labeling-Teachers-Conforming
16	Labeling-Teachers-Sick
17	Labeling-Teachers-Bad
18	Self Image-Conforming
19	Self Image-Sick
20	Self Image-Bad
21	Attitudes toward Deviance
22	Counterlabeling-Mother
23	Counterlabeling-Teachers
24	Counterlabeling-Friends
25	Social Isolation-Peers
26	Social Isolation-Family
27	Social Isolation-School
28	Student-Teacher Relations
29	Parents Disapproval of Deviance
30	Peer Disapproval of Deviance
31	Delinquency of Peers
32	Commitment to Peers
33	Negative Influence of Peers

Table 8-3
Factor Matrix of Rotated Factors of Social-Psychological Variables

Variable Number	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
1	.04958	.43759	.15447	.51549	-.10440	.18009
2	.06526	.53227	.27848	.21702	-.21205	.22408
3	-.01093	.02651	.09065	.05026	-.06286	.76404
4	-.17560	.10032	.12947	.79468	.05622	-.05545
5	-.12870	.15122	.31257	.40094	.09451	-.01981
6	-.03575	-.22194	.06258	.31078	.27948	.26582
7	-.08933	.30586	.22462	.65514	-.08038	.17964
8	-.43564	.38286	.19762	.14514	.11046	-.06010
9	-.16251	.15729	.69046	.29053	.08490	.13749
10	.78670	-.03450	-.01822	-.23653	-.06880	.01079
11	.62316	-.36925	-.29376	-.12505	-.05397	.18260
12	-.11156	-.03159	.74539	.12462	.14262	.20622
13	.79337	.02116	-.00718	-.13005	-.09933	-.16443
14	.57273	-.42562	-.32280	-.00888	-.00897	.09651
15	-.14888	.12067	.80291	.14230	.10497	.06670
16	.79998	.00760	-.15629	-.05493	-.03275	.02649
17	.55343	-.38505	-.40043	.01529	.00281	.14377
18	-.21804	.07635	.72874	.20679	.02854	.05896
19	.82674	.09725	-.06764	-.10891	-.02728	-.08496
20	.59752	-.38811	-.31291	-.00790	.06952	.19912
21	-.04715	.75869	-.03447	.25528	-.02043	.01629
22	-.13098	.12066	.15464	.40112	.52043	-.20053
23	-.04809	.25904	.33695	.13751	.50148	-.01825
24	-.10259	-.00856	.04136	-.12762	.73550	.24794
25	.43566	.02240	-.27357	.02792	-.36205	-.39479
26	.40077	-.11787	-.16358	-.57704	-.15678	-.01820
27	.47754	-.10670	-.66881	-.00878	-.17511	-.16258
28	-.21769	.29465	.55461	.06176	.12952	.08235
29	-.04399	.65270	-.04733	.14503	.01021	.19316
30	-.01223	.75109	.06212	.13473	.07247	-.03523
31	.17899	-.63385	-.25681	.06318	-.19499	.11005
32	-.00741	.15050	.23090	.04915	.19073	.67608
33	.21122	-.59315	-.25249	.00144	-.18937	.00652

Examination of the factor loadings indicates that Factor 1 is based on feeling labeled "sick" or "bad" by parents, peers, and teachers and on having a "sick" or "bad" self image.

Factor 2 is derived mainly from importance of school goals (negatively loaded), negative attitudes toward deviance, disapproval of deviance by parents and peers, perceived delinquency of peers, and the negative influence of peers. This factor represents negative attitudes toward deviance that are supported by respondent perceptions of parent and peer attitudes and behaviors.

Factor 3 is a composite of labeling as conforming by parents, peers, and teachers, together with self-image as conforming and good student teacher relations. As such, it represents a complement to Factor 1. Youths with high scores on Factor 3 have conventional self-images that are congruent with the conformist labels assigned to them by parents, friends, and teachers.

The variables making up Factor 4 consist of the importance of family goals, success in the family, commitment to parents, and social isolation from the family (negatively loaded). High scores on this factor represent the primacy of the family in the youth's life.

Factor 5 is based on the counterlabeling variables: counterlabeling by mother, teachers, and peers. (Father's counterlabeling was not included in the analysis because of the amount of missing data due to single parent families.) The counterlabeling measures were developed to assess the extent to which parents, teachers, and friends neutralize or counter the negative labels applied to youths.

Factor 6 is derived from two variables: importance of peer goals and commitment to peers. Obviously, this factor measures the importance of the peer group.

A brief description of the six factors is given in Table 8-4.

Based on the results of the factor analysis, scales were created, one for each factor, by summing the appropriate variable scores for the defining variables of each factor. In this way the factor analysis was used to create six social psychological scales for input to the clustering routines.

In addition to these scales, three other variables theoretically linked to delinquency were included in the clustering process: a composite of success in school and success with peers (variable 7), normlessness (variable 8), and a composite of social isolation from peers and social isolation at school (variable 9). The six scales resulting from the factor analysis and the three additional scales provided the measurement space used in the cluster analysis.

III. Typology of Youth Based on Social-Psychological Variables

A. Method

To create an empirical typology of youths based on the nine social-psychological variables, cluster analysis methods were used. As a general class, these methods involve various procedures for grouping individuals into homogeneous subsets. The K-means method, the primary technique employed, insures that individuals placed in the same group or cluster are similar to each other by iteratively partitioning the data until the within cluster variances are minimized. Descriptions of the K-means methods can be found in Anderberg (1973) and Hartigan (1975). The actual algorithm used is a modification of a procedure described by Sparks (1973).

The K-means technique requires a knowledge of the number of clusters existing in a data set and their approximate location in space. To obtain this initial information, a natural mode-seeking clustering algorithm was

Table 8-4
Factor Descriptions

Factor 1	Labeling as sick and bad and a self-image of being sick and bad.
Factor 2	Negative attitudes toward deviance supported by peer and parent attitudes and nondelinquent behavior of peer group.
Factor 3	Labeling as conforming, a self-image of conforming, having good student-teacher relations.
Factor 4	Importance of, commitment to, success in, integration with, the family.
Factor 5	Counterlabeling by mother, teachers, peers.
Factor 6	Importance of and commitment to peer group.

CONTINUED

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employed in a hierarchical manner. A description of this method and its use can be found in Huizinga (1978b).

The mode procedure indicated the existence of six areas of high density. Mode points of the six areas were used as seed points for the minimum variance K-means technique. In all analyses, the data were standardized to have a mean of zero and a variance of one. Because the similarity measure used by the clustering routines is Euclidean distance, standardization insures that the importance of particular variables in the creation of types is not dependent on the scale of measurement of the variables involved.

The K-means procedure used for the analysis employs an outlier algorithm so that points not within a minimum distance of one of the centroids is considered an outlier. This is important since extreme cases can strongly affect the resulting clustering. In the current clustering, 44 points were considered outliers and were removed from later analyses.

The cluster centroids and standard deviations (in both standardized and raw form) of the six derived clusters are contained in Table 8-5. Based on this information a brief description of each cluster or type is given below.

A major concern in any cluster analysis is a careful evaluation of the derived typology (see, e.g., Huizinga, 1978a). Because a lengthy discussion of such issues would detract from the presentation given here, the evaluation of the clustering is offered in Appendix E. Suffice it to say that the resulting clusters were neither homogeneous nor particularly distinct. Moreover, the cluster solution is not unique, since it appears that other typologies may attain the same minimum sum of squares, i.e., represent an equally optimum solution. Despite these shortcomings, the typology has considerable heuristic value. To the extent that the typology is

Table 8-5
Cluster and Total Sample Means and Standard Deviations

CLUSTER NUMBER 1				
43 Elements with Average Squared Deviation				4.626
Var	Standardized Cluster Mean	Standardized Cluster SD	Raw Cluster Mean	Raw Cluster SD
1	-1.413	.854	54.442	15.505
2	.989	.573	119.444	14.795
3	1.523	.866	105.151	8.782
4	1.167	.458	64.535	4.881
5	1.169	.645	42.163	4.364
6	.915	.792	38.116	4.447
7	1.103	.685	37.121	4.059
8	1.493	.704	60.979	5.363
9	-1.381	.843	17.767	4.932
CLUSTER NUMBER 2				
95 Elements with Average Squared Deviation				3.887
Var	Standardized Cluster Mean	Standardized Cluster SD	Raw Cluster Mean	Raw Cluster SD
1	-.509	.560	70.859	10.159
2	.544	.659	107.945	17.016
3	.348	.527	93.234	5.341
4	.352	.627	55.858	6.678
5	.813	.775	39.751	5.245
6	.359	.700	34.996	3.933
7	.252	.732	32.078	4.336
8	.248	.773	51.495	5.883
9	-.464	.535	23.137	3.131
CLUSTER NUMBER 3				
74 Elements with Average Squared Deviation				3.778
Var	Standardized Cluster Mean	Standardized Cluster SD	Raw Cluster Mean	Raw Cluster SD
1	-.465	.610	71.658	11.073
2	.129	.801	97.232	20.670
3	.269	.582	92.432	5.903
4	.385	.613	56.209	6.527
5	-.551	.672	30.518	4.551
6	-.979	.615	27.480	3.455
7	.094	.648	31.146	3.835
8	.241	.682	51.445	5.195
9	-.121	.622	25.142	3.641

Table 8-5 Continued

CLUSTER NUMBER 4				
89 Elements with Average Squared Deviation 4.275				
Var	Standardized Cluster Mean	Standardized Cluster SD	Raw Cluster Mean	Raw Cluster SD
1	.237	.672	84.390	12.200
2	.081	.630	95.999	16.245
3	-.350	.584	86.155	5.928
4	-.358	.680	48.294	7.241
5	-.236	.776	32.652	5.255
6	-.115	.737	32.329	4.141
7	-.775	.724	25.994	4.291
8	-.080	.665	49.000	5.065
9	.823	.745	30.670	4.360
CLUSTER NUMBER 5				
61 Elements with Average Squared Deviation 4.579				
Var	Standardized Cluster Mean	Standardized Cluster SD	Raw Cluster Mean	Raw Cluster SD
1	.743	.750	93.579	13.606
2	-.204	.802	83.656	20.692
3	-.051	.692	89.162	7.017
4	.115	.796	53.328	8.481
5	-.065	.722	33.803	4.885
6	.722	.566	37.033	3.178
7	.552	.684	33.854	4.048
8	-.732	.712	44.033	5.419
9	.025	.721	26.000	4.223
CLUSTER NUMBER 6				
65 Elements with Average Squared Deviation 4.964				
Var	Standardized Cluster Mean	Standardized Cluster SD	Raw Cluster Mean	Raw Cluster SD
1	.807	.658	94.749	11.938
2	-1.241	.819	61.891	21.139
3	-1.100	.785	78.546	7.959
4	-.983	.788	41.637	8.390
5	-.792	.698	28.888	4.724
6	-.503	.800	30.154	4.494
7	.720	.723	26.320	4.282
8	.799	.658	43.526	5.012
9	.364	.774	27.985	4.529

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interpretable, it provides another dimension across which we can test the generality of our findings.

B. Types

- Type 1 - Type 1 youths are not labeled sick or bad by others, and they see themselves as conformists. They have negative attitudes toward deviance, as do their parents and friends. These youths report close family and peer ties, high commitment to conventional norms, and success in school and in their peer group.
- Type 2 - These youths do not perceive themselves as being labeled sick or bad, and they generally maintain negative attitudes toward deviance that are supported by the beliefs and behaviors of their parents and friends. Type 2 youths experience positive counterlabeling by their mothers, friends, and teachers. In other respects, however, they do not differ much from other youths in the sample.
- Type 3 - Youths in this group have few distinguishing characteristics. Type 3 youths experience little counterlabeling by their mothers, friends, or teachers. Although they place little importance on and are relatively uncommitted to their friends, their overall social isolation and success at school and with peers are not atypical of youths in the total sample.
- Type 4 - Like Type 3 youths, Type 4 youths have few distinguishing characteristics. Their chief feature is their low scores on measures of school and peer success and their high scores on school and peer isolation.

Type 5 - Type 5 youths have low attachment to conventional norms and experience negative labeling as sick and bad by mothers, friends, and teachers. They are committed to their peers and report relatively good success in peer groups and school contexts.

Type 6 - These youths perceive themselves as being labeled sick or bad and have poor self images to match. They have positive attitudes toward deviance and believe that parents or friends share them. Their families are unimportant to them, and they perceive little counterlabeling from their mothers, friends, or teachers. Although they do not feel isolated at school or from their peers, they believe that they are unsuccessful in those contexts. Furthermore, Type 6 youths are relatively unattached to both their peers and to conventional norms.

In contrasting these six types, clearly Type 1 has the least deviant orientation and is strongly bonded to conventional society. Type 6, on the other hand, definitively represents the other end of the continuum with poor social adjustment, positive attitudes toward deviance, and weak bonds to the conventional order. The other four types tend to fall between these two polar extremes. Type 2 is generally conforming and experiences many of the same bonds to conventional society as Type 1, but is more typical of the sample as a whole. Type 3 youths are distinguished by their lack of commitment to their friends, but are otherwise typical. Type 4 youths are characterized by their lack of success in school and with peers and their feelings of isolation in these contexts. In contrast to Type 3, Type 5 is quite attached to his friends; in contrast to Type 4, he experiences success with his friends and in school. Type 5 youths, however, are similar to Type 6 youths in their

alienation from conventional norms and their feelings of being negatively labeled by others.

The distribution of youth types among categories of age, sex, ethnic, and social class are given in Table 8-6. While there are social class differences among types, the major distinctions are for Types 1 and 4, which have a disproportionally higher number of high status youths, and Types 2 and 3, which have a greater proportion of low status youths. The ethnic distribution also shows some differences between clusters. Types 4 and 6 both have large proportions of whites, Types 2 and 3 have a greater proportion of blacks, and Type 5 has a higher proportion of Hispanics. As in the discussion of social-psychological characteristics, Types 1 and 6 stand apart more than do any of the other types on these demographic variables.

It should also be noted that not all types are proportionately represented in each site. Type 3 is slightly overrepresented in Kansas City and Memphis, and Type 6 is underrepresented in New York City. Type 5 is overrepresented in Memphis and New York City, while Type 1 has almost no representation in Kansas City but is overrepresented in Orange County. The types are, however, proportionately represented in terms of disposition assignments, as would be expected from the random assignment procedure described in Chapter 2.

The six types were also compared on self-reported delinquency (SRD) for the six months prior to participating in the study. (The measurement and scoring of SRD were described in Chapter 2.) For the present purpose, three major scales were used: Minor Delinquency, Serious Delinquency, and Drug Use. A two-factor analysis of variance (types by disposition) was performed, using Time 1 SRD measures as dependent variables. (See Tables 8-7, 8-8, and 8-9.)

Table 8-6
Age, Sex, Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Status Disposition, and Site by Cluster
(Row Percents in Parentheses)

Variable	Outliers		Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4		Type 5		Type 6	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Age by Cluster														
12	3	(7.0)	4	(9.3)	3	(7.0)	7	(16.3)	13	(30.2)	9	(20.9)	4	(9.3)
13	9	(13.4)	4	(6.0)	14	(20.9)	9	(13.4)	13	(19.4)	7	(10.4)	11	(16.4)
14	9	(7.6)	14	(11.8)	28	(23.5)	19	(16.0)	18	(15.1)	15	(12.6)	16	(13.4)
15	9	(7.8)	11	(9.6)	26	(22.6)	21	(18.3)	19	(16.5)	15	(13.0)	14	(12.2)
16	9	(12.7)	5	(7.0)	15	(21.1)	9	(12.7)	12	(16.9)	8	(11.3)	13	(18.3)
17	5	(8.9)	5	(8.9)	9	(16.1)	9	(16.1)	14	(25.0)	7	(12.5)	7	(12.5)
Sex by Cluster														
Males	31	(8.2)	31	(8.2)	74	(19.7)	62	(16.5)	71	(18.9)	51	(13.6)	56	(14.9)
Females	13	(13.7)	12	(12.6)	21	(22.1)	12	(12.6)	18	(18.9)	10	(10.5)	9	(9.5)
Ethnicity by Cluster														
White			24	(14.4)	33	(19.8)	10	(6.0)	39	(23.4)	24	(14.4)	37	(22.2)
Black			16	(7.2)	54	(24.2)	61	(27.4)	42	(18.8)	28	(12.6)	22	(9.9)
Hispanic			3	(10.3)	6	(20.7)	2	(6.9)	5	(17.2)	9	(31.0)	4	(13.8)
Other			0	(0.0)	2	(25.0)	1	(12.5)	3	(37.5)	0	(0.0)	2	(25.0)
Socioeconomic Status by Cluster														
High II			7	(26.9)	3	(11.5)	2	(7.7)	6	(23.1)	3	(11.5)	5	(19.2)
III			15	(11.0)	34	(25.0)	19	(14.0)	25	(18.4)	19	(14.0)	24	(17.6)
IV			17	(9.3)	40	(22.0)	35	(19.2)	44	(24.2)	26	(14.3)	20	(11.0)
Low V			0	(0.0)	12	(23.5)	13	(25.5)	8	(15.7)	10	(19.6)	8	(15.7)

Table 8-6 Continued

Variable	Outliers		Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4		Type 5		Type 6	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Disposition by Cluster														
No Services			19	(12.8)	30	(20.1)	29	(19.5)	27	(18.1)	22	(14.8)	22	(14.8)
Services			9	(5.3)	37	(21.6)	27	(15.8)	39	(22.8)	27	(15.8)	32	(18.7)
Penetration			15	(14.0)	28	(26.2)	18	(16.8)	23	(21.5)	12	(11.2)	11	(10.3)
Site by Cluster														
Kansas City	9	(9.5)	2	(2.1)	16	(16.8)	22	(23.2)	19	(20.0)	8	(8.4)	19	(20.0)
Memphis	10	(7.2)	10	(7.2)	26	(18.7)	26	(18.7)	28	(20.1)	21	(15.1)	18	(12.9)
Orange County	12	(9.3)	19	(14.7)	32	(24.8)	11	(8.5)	27	(20.9)	11	(8.5)	17	(13.2)
New York	13	(12.0)	12	(11.1)	21	(19.4)	15	(13.9)	15	(13.9)	21	(19.4)	11	(10.2)

Table 8-7
Analysis of Variance for Minor SRD - Time 1

Cell Means							
Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.24	.20	.60	.47	.93	1.56	.64
Services	.18	.30	.42	.70	.78	1.21	.65
Penetration	.28	.32	.16	.40	1.00	1.39	.49
Total	.24	.27	.43	.55	.87	1.36	.61

Analysis of Variance					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	.462	2	.241	.429	.652
Cluster	58.781	5	11.756	20.903	.001
Disposition x Cluster	5.727	10	.578	1.018	.427
Residual	230.033	409	.562		
Total	296.491	426	.696		

Table 8-8
Analysis of Variance for Serious SRD - Time 1
Cluster by Disposition

Cell Means							
Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.70	.80	1.19	1.29	1.58	2.29	1.29
Services	.71	.95	1.14	1.36	1.81	1.94	1.37
Penetration	.80	.88	.91	1.20	1.92	2.31	1.21
Total	.74	.88	1.10	1.30	1.75	2.12	1.31

Analysis of Variance					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	.027	2	.014	.023	.978
Cluster	87.385	5	17.477	29.073	.001
Disposition x Cluster	4.835	10	.483	.804	.625
Residual	245.863	409	.601		
Total	340.229	426	.799		

Table 8-9
Analysis of Variance for Drug Use - Time 1
Cluster by Disposition

Cell Means							
Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.14	.57	.88	.66	.46	1.89	.74
Service	.37	.79	.51	.86	1.13	1.60	.95
Penetration	.46	.59	.71	.83	1.13	1.29	.77
Total	.30	.66	.77	.79	.89	1.58	.83

Analysis of Variance					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	1.466	2	.733	.971	.330
Cluster	50.295	5	10.069	13.330	.001
Disposition x Cluster	10.527	10	1.053	1.395	.180
Residual	308.639	409	.755		
Total	373.250	426	.876		

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As expected, no significant differences in pre-treatment SRD were found across dispositions; nor were any significant type by disposition interactions found. However, for each of the three delinquency measures, there were statistically significant differences among types ($p < .001$). The pattern of differences was highly consistent across measures and matches what might be anticipated from the social-psychological description of the types. The ranking was Type 1, Type 2, Type 3, Type 4, Type 5, Type 6, from lowest to highest self-reported delinquency.

Thus, despite the heterogeneity and lack of distinctiveness of the clusters, types can be differentiated on important variables other than those on which the cluster analysis was based. Differences in self-reported delinquency and, to a lesser extent ethnicity and social class, give additional practical significance to the typology.

IV. Relation of Empirical Types and Disposition to Self-Reported Delinquency

Two kinds of independent variables were used in the analysis of youth typology and outcome: SRD measures collected at the third-wave interviews (self-reports covering the period from the seventh to the twelfth month after random assignment) and changes in SRD measures from the first wave to the third wave. Again, three kinds of delinquency were considered - Minor Delinquency, Serious Delinquency, and Drug Use.

Time 3 SRD scores were entered into a two-factor (type by disposition) analysis of variance. As in Chapter 2, the hypothesis of interest was whether youths assigned to different dispositions had outcomes that varied across levels of an independent variable, in this case empirically derived

social-psychological types. Recall that analyses presented in Chapter 2 indicated that youth outcomes (including self-reported delinquency) did not depend on disposition. Nor did the relationship between outcome and disposition vary across age, sex, ethnicity, or social class. As Tables 8-10, 8-11, and 8-12 indicate, the relationship does not vary with empirical type either; i.e., the type by disposition interaction was nonsignificant for all three kinds of SRD.

Also, as in Chapter 2, outcomes for the sample as a whole were unaffected by disposition. However, the significant main effect for type shows that empirical types differed in SRD at Time 3. Inspection of means indicates the ranking of types on self-reported delinquency changed little from Time 1 to Time 3. Type 1 again had the lowest SRD and Type 6 the highest, with the other types falling in between.

Another measure of outcome is the change in SRD from Time 1 to Time 3. Tables 8-13, 8-14, and 8-15 present the analysis of variance for change scores on Serious Delinquency, Minor Delinquency, and Drug Use. As in the preceding analysis, the effect of main interest - the type by disposition interaction - was not statistically significant, indicating that different types of youths were not differently affected by disposition. That is, the finding of no impact of disposition generalizes across empirical types for both Time 3 delinquency scores and changes in delinquency scores from Time 1 to Time 3.

Also, as in the Time 3 analysis groups did not differ on SRD by disposition, but did differ by type. For both minor and serious SRD, all types had some decrease in the number of delinquent acts. Types 5 and 6 showed the greatest decrease, while Types 1 and 2 had the least change. Drug use increased among five of the six types; Type 6 was the exception.

Table 8-10
Analysis of Variance for Minor SRD - Time 3
Cluster by Disposition

Cell Means							
Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.26	.00	.18	.32	.17	.33	.20
Services	.05	.22	.17	.35	.35	.56	.32
Penetration	.03	.27	.10	.21	.50	.47	.23
Total	.14	.15	.15	.30	.32	.47	.25

Analysis of Variance					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	.661	2	.960	1.103	.336
Cluster	4.942	5	.988	3.301	.006
Disposition x Cluster	2.529	10	.253	.645	.586
Residual	112.277	376	.299		
Total	120.829	392	.308		

Table 8-11
Analysis of Variance for Serious SRD - Time 3
Cluster by Disposition

Cell Means							
Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.32	.35	.75	.96	.89	1.35	.75
Services	.42	.73	.69	.78	1.01	1.08	.83
Penetration	.45	.56	.54	.61	.76	1.10	.64
Total	.39	.56	.68	.80	.92	1.19	.75

Analysis of Variance					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	.882	2	.441	.619	.442
Cluster	19.888	5	3.978	7.987	.001
Disposition x Cluster	4.771	10	.477	.886	.546
Residual	201.915	375	.538		
Total	228.778	392	.564		

Table 8-12
Analysis of Variance for Drug Use - Time 3
Cluster by Disposition

Cell Means							
Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.47	.44	.80	1.05	.84	1.33	.81
Services	.49	.82	.65	.93	1.39	1.58	1.03
Penetration	.53	1.01	.81	.89	1.58	1.49	1.01
Total	.49	.75	.75	.96	1.24	1.50	.95

Analysis of Variance					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	2.990	2	1.496	1.944	.145
Cluster	36.202	5	7.240	9.415	.001
Disposition x Cluster	7.561	10	.756	.983	.457
Residual	288.381	375	.769		
Total	336.029	392	.857		

Table 8-13
Analysis of Variance for Minor SRD - Change Scores
(Time 3 - Time 1)

Cell Means

Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.02	-.21	-.44	-.15	-.84	-1.05	-.41
Services	-.13	-.09	-.27	-.37	-.40	-.65	-.33
Penetration	-.25	-.10	-.08	-.14	-.43	-.93	-.25
Total	-.10	-.13	-.29	-.24	-.55	-.83	-.34

Analysis of Variance

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	1.403	2	.702	1.042	.354
Cluster	23.878	5	4.776	7.091	.001
Disposition x Cluster	6.099	10	.610	.906	.528
Residual	252.561	375	.673		
Total	284.008	392	.725		

Table 8-14
Analysis of Variance for Serious SRD - Change Scores
(Time 3 - Time 1)

Cell Means

Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	-.38	-.47	-.44	-.35	-.82	-.82	-.52
Services	-.29	-.21	-.43	-.54	-.83	-.88	-.54
Penetration	-.35	-.28	-.42	-.58	-1.06	-1.21	-.57
Total	-.35	-.31	-.43	-.49	-.87	-.92	-.54

Analysis of Variance

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	.551	2	.275	.351	.704
Cluster	22.252	5	4.450	5.672	.001
Disposition x Cluster	2.986	10	.299	.380	.955
Residual	294.243	375	.785		
Total	319.600	392	.515		

Table 8-15
Analysis of Variance for Drug Use - Change Scores
(Time 3 - Time 1)

Cell Means							
Disposition	Cluster						Total
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	
No Services	.33	-.05	-.08	.45	.31	-.37	.10
Services	.12	.04	.16	.13	.32	-.04	.11
Penetration	.00	.39	.18	.04	.58	.20	.23
Total	.18	.11	.09	.21	.37	-.10	.14

Analysis of Variance					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Disposition	1.081	2	.540	.853	.427
Cluster	7.113	5	1.423	2.246	.049
Disposition x Cluster	8.925	10	.693	1.409	.174
Residual	237.543	375	.635		
Total	254.712	392	.650		

VI. Relation of Empirical Types and Disposition to Recidivism

To examine the differences in recidivism between the empirical types and the effect of different dispositions on different types of youths, a log-linear analysis of frequencies was conducted. An analytic method based on categorical data was preferred, because the majority of the youths in the study were not arrested in the year following assignment to a disposition and because very few youths had more than two arrests. The resulting skewed distribution in rearrests necessitated an analysis of frequencies (cf. the impact of diversion on rearrests in Chapter 2). The recidivism measure used was the number of rearrests for a felony, misdemeanor, or status offense in the 12 months following assignment to dispositions, rescored 0, 1, and 2 or more arrests.

Table 8-16 provides a crosstabulation of disposition by recidivism within each of the six social-psychological types. Notice that, as before, types differ in number of rearrests; but, also as before, there is no indication of a differential effect of the three dispositions on different types of youth. The three-way interaction among recidivism, type, and disposition was nonsignificant, suggesting that a particular kind of disposition did not affect the recidivism of any one type of youths more than any other. Thus, based on these several analyses, it can be concluded that the relationship between disposition and recidivism is not mediated by social-psychological type.

VII. Summary

For this chapter, typology of youths based on their social-psychological characteristics was created. The typology was empirically generated, using

Table 8-16
Crosstabulation of Disposition by Recidivism by Youth Type

TYPE 1 Disposition					TYPE 4 Disposition				
1 2 3					1 2 3				
Rearrests	0	18	1	13	Rearrests	0	26	25	18
	1	0	1	0		1	1	7	2
	2+	1	0	2		2+	0	7	2
TYPE 2 Disposition					TYPE 5 Disposition				
1 2 3					1 2 3				
Rearrests	0	20	24	25	Rearrests	0	14	19	10
	1	5	9	1		1	6	5	1
	2+	4	4	2		2+	2	3	1
TYPE 3 Disposition					TYPE 6 Disposition				
1 2 3					1 2 3				
Rearrests	0	21	19	12	Rearrests	0	14	19	7
	1	5	5	3		1	4	10	1
	2+	3	3	3		2+	4	3	3

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cluster analysis techniques, and resulted in the classification of youths into six types. It was hypothesized that the three different random assignment dispositions (lecture and release, diversion project, normal justice processing) would impact different types of youths in different ways.

As the above findings show, however, there is no evidence that the disposition assignments affected either the self-reported delinquency (SRD) or recidivism of one type of youths more than another. While there is clear evidence that there were differences between the types of youths on SRD and, to some extent, differences in recidivism, there was no indication of a type by disposition interaction. Also, it should be noted that there were no major differences in the SRD or recidivism rates of youths assigned to different dispositions.

Based on this taxonomy of youth, dispositional assignment did not differentially affect the SRD or recidivism of different social-psychological types of youths. These findings, although not conclusive, corroborate and strengthen the results presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 9

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly summarize the findings associated with the National Evaluation of Diversion Projects by reviewing the results of each of the major tasks of the evaluation. This review is not comprehensive and, therefore, does not contain the detail required to make judgments about reported outcomes, or to form opinions about the overall efficacy of the diversion programming of the communities reviewed. Nor can the conclusions reached as a result of this research be applied to all diversion programming everywhere. This review, rather, is an attempt to summarize and conclude.

I. Prior Research

A review of many of the better evaluations of diversion programming revealed that a number of common flaws tend to obscure and confuse our thinking about the effectiveness of this process. First, comparisons between groups of youths diverted for services and those handled in traditional modes are too often confounded by initial differences between experimental and control groups. This problem is probably responsible for more confusion than any other single evaluation weakness found in the diversion literature. Second, outcome or success variables tend to be limited to official measures of delinquency, i.e., official reactions to observed behavior. Assessments of

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self-reported delinquency, negative labeling, alienation, isolation, peer measures, and many other variables theoretically and empirically linked to delinquency are bypassed as possible success criteria. In the process, attention is focused on outcomes (official recidivism) that would not be expected to be immediately affected by diversion services, while those that would (self reported delinquency, negative labeling, etc.) are ignored.

A third flaw is that diversion programming evaluations too frequently focus upon issues not germane to the principles supportive of the diversion initiative. Left unaddressed are such hypotheses as: contact with the justice system stigmatizes youths and contributes to delinquent and acting out behavior; services rendered by community-based youth service agencies are more effective than those delivered by agencies of the justice system. Instead of comparing diversion and justice system clients, for example, services within a diversion program are compared. Fourth, program interventions are seldom systematically recorded, thus outcome cannot be traced to treatment strategies. The types, amounts, and duration of services are typically not documented and thus success or failure is uninterpretable. Finally, many of the weaknesses found in the diversion evaluation literature are attributable to the lack of theory to guide research efforts. Consequently, inappropriate measures are selected to assess outcomes, comparison groups are missing or biased at the outset, and faulty methodology confounds resulting findings.

II. Impact of Diversion with Services

Support for diversion programming is derived primarily from the assumptions that it curtails negative labeling, promotes positive social adjustment, and reduces delinquent and acting out behavior vis-a-vis

traditional justice processing practices. The impact assessments described in this research, therefore, address the questions: (1) Are youths who are diverted out of the justice system for services less stigmatized than those who are released with no services or who penetrate the justice system? (2) Do youths diverted out of the justice system for services experience more positive social adjustment than those released with no services or those who penetrate the justice system? (3) Do youths diverted out of the justice system for services engage in less delinquent activity than those released with no services or those who penetrate the justice system?

The results of a two-way analysis of variance (disposition x time) conducted on 19 labeling measures at four sites indicated that disposition had little differential effect upon the labeling experiences of youths. Comparable findings resulted from additional comparisons among dispositions at the last measurement period (12 months after the presenting offense) and on gain score comparisons ($t_3 - t_1$), controlling for age, sex, ethnicity, and SES. On the basis of these data, it would appear that disposition did not differentially affect the subsequent labeling experiences of the youths of this study. That is, youths diverted out of the justice system for services did not appear to be less stigmatized than those who were released with no services or those who penetrated the justice system.

Findings associated with analyses for the effects of disposition on social adjustment outcomes were similar to those for negative labeling. Dispositional comparisons across time on 22 social adjustment measures at four sites produced slightly more statistically significant interaction effects than would be expected by chance. The review of those instances in which significant effects were found revealed, however, that the differences

were more often associated with positive increases for Lectured and Released youths, or deteriorating scores for Diverted for Services youths, than they were for uniquely positive improvements for the Diverted for Services group. Similar conclusions were reached for the analysis of third wave data and gain scores. All of the analyses associated with assessing the differential impact of disposition on a variety of social adjustment variables point to one conclusion: youths diverted for services at the four impact sites studied did not experience more positive social adjustment on the variables measured than did youths in the other dispositions.

Delinquency, the third assessment context, involved two measurement approaches: self-reported measures of delinquent behavior and official measures of observed violations of the law. The first assessment for the effect of disposition on the delinquent activity of youths again involved two-way analyses of variance tests with disposition and time as the independent variables. No significant interaction effects were found for three of the four sites; on the fourth site, differences were due to the scores of the Penetration group. Analyses of third wave interview data and change scores ($t_3 - t_1$) revealed no differences supportive of the diversion hypothesis. The findings from the analyses of justice disposition and self-reported delinquency were consistent. Diversion from the juvenile justice system to services did not appear, on any of the sites, to result in less involvement in delinquent activities for Diverted for Services youths than it did for Lectured and Released or Penetration youths. The self-reported delinquency data suggest, rather, that diverting youths for community-based services in the systems surveyed had no more impact on reducing subsequent involvement in delinquent behavior than did referring

youths to the next step in the justice system or letting them go without liability.

Both the youths for whom all three interviews were obtained and the total population of youths randomly assigned to justice disposition were assessed for official reaction to delinquent behavior. Official measures were of two classes - simple recidivisms (a dichotomy of repeat and nonrepeat offenders) and multiple recidivisms (a trichotomy of offenders based upon frequency of violations, 0, 1, 2+).

Tests for differences between dispositions for simple and multiple recidivism for the total target population at each site revealed two significant effects for the six-month comparisons and none for the 12-month comparisons. An analysis of covariance with prior offense, age, sex, and ethnicity as the covariates resulted in the elimination of one of the differences. The same analyses for youths interviewed at all three time periods produced almost identical findings. For these two groups of youths, the results of the tests for the effects of disposition on recidivism (using official return rates) suggest that justice disposition had little effect in reducing recidivism.

The results of all of the impact analyses taken together were consistent and not supportive of the assumptions that diversion services are more effective in producing positive social adjustments, conforming behavior, and reducing negative labeling than are dispositions traditionally available to justice personnel.

III. Impact of Services

To assess the impact of services on youths, using project records of services as a data source, youths randomly assigned to services were divided

into groups receiving low (0-6 contacts), medium (7-14 contacts), and high (15 contacts and up) amounts of services at each of the four impact sites. These groups were then compared for differences on the impact measures and rearrest outcomes.

The results of multivariate analyses indicated no consistent differences in treatment outcomes (i.e., labeling, social adjustment, and self-reported delinquency) for clients receiving low, medium, or high amounts of project-recorded services at any of the four sites. Also, no statistically reliable differences were found among service groups for rearrest data at any of the four impact sites, although interpretable differences approached significance ($p < .10$) at one site, indicating an inverse relationship between services and arrests.

Similar analyses for type of recorded services received revealed that, for two sites, no differences in treatment outcomes were found among youths receiving different types of services; for the other two sites, recreational services seemed to have had a deleterious effect. No statistically reliable differences were found among youths receiving alternative types of services on the recidivism measures, although on one site comparisons of youths receiving job/education services with those who did not approached a statistically significant result.

Self-reported assessments of services received were obtained from all youths randomly assigned to any disposition. Information was collected, therefore, on services provided in three different settings: probation agencies, community-based agencies, and institutions.

To assess the impact of community-based services on youths, using self-reported data, youths who reported having received such services were

divided into three groups based on the total number of contacts reported: none, some (1-15 contacts), and many (16 contacts or more). No differences among groups on the treatment variables (labeling, social adjustment, self-reported delinquency) were found at three of the sites. A curvilinear relationship was found at the fourth site, leading to speculation that minimal and excessive services may do more harm than good. No significant differences among services groups were found on rearrest rates at any of the four sites.

Assessments for the effects of type of self-reported services received were completed by dichotomizing youths into groups on the basis of the number of counseling, job/education, and recreation contacts (none vs. some) reported. Twenty-four multivariate comparisons between groups revealed one statistically significant difference for one site, the interpretation of which was confounded by both positive and negative impact scores. No significant differences between types of service groups were found for comparisons on recidivism data.

All of the assessments for service effects, taken together, suggest that services were of little consequence in determining differential impact on either the treatment variables or recidivism measures (using project records or self-reported measures as a source for services received).

IV. Client Characteristics and Services

The review of a relatively large sample of youths participating in all 11 diversion programs across a 12 to 18 month period of project operation indicated that the majority of client referrals were males with considerable age and ethnic diversity. Almost all of the possible referral sources were represented across the sites, as were the types of offenses for which youths

could be referred. Not all youths referred for services received them, however, although enrollment rates were high, ranging from a low of 76% to a high of 98%. Interestingly, not all youths enrolled for services received services following the intake and enrollment process. Retention rates ranged from 58% to 96%. The number of service contacts for youths receiving services beyond intake varied from a median of 6 to 37 (mean number of contacts ranged from 10 to 53). The average length of the period in which youths actually received services fluctuated from three months to nine months, with youths in all but two projects averaging slightly less than five months of services.

Analyses designed to assess the distribution of types of services by age, sex, ethnicity, number of prior offenses, and seriousness of presenting offense revealed few differences across sites, although there was a tendency for nonwhites and younger clients to be retained for services more often than whites and older clients. The one exception involved job/education services, where older clients were more likely to be selected. Assessments for the effects of services on recidivism rates at all sites suggested that, by and large, recidivism was not impacted by the number of contacts or the kinds of services youths received.

V. Client and Service Provider Views of Services

Given the assumptions upon which diversion programming is based - that services provided outside of the justice system are less coercive, controlling, and stigmatic, as well as more effective in meeting the needs of youth - practitioners from the juvenile justice and community youth services systems for each of nine evaluation sites were assessed to determine their opinions about the youths and services with which they were associated. The

results indicated perfect consistency across sites and were supportive of the diversion rationale. Vis-a-vis justice personnel, diversion program personnel held less coercive and controlling opinions about their clients and services, were more needs-oriented, and were less prone to hold negative attitudes concerning the emotional and delinquent status of their clients. Comparisons of the attitudes of youths receiving justice and diversion services on these dimensions revealed similar trends favoring diversion services, although statistically significant differences were obtained on only one site.

Comparisons of service provider and client opinions concerning the extent to which programming was perceived as stigmatic, coercive, etc., again produced consistent findings across sites. Clients expressed less favorable views, compared with program personnel, relative to the attributes of their programs. That is, clients consistently described programs as being more coercive, more controlling, and less fulfilling in meeting their needs than did the service providers. Interestingly, client reports about service providers' views of clients were substantially more positive than were the sentiments expressed by the service providers themselves, suggesting that service providers communicate more client support than they may actually feel.

Overall, corroboration was acquired for the assumptions supportive of diversion, i.e., that community-based youth service providers are less controlling and less coercive in their orientation to youths than are agents of the juvenile justice system. Differences in labeling were less compelling, although the trend was in the hypothesized direction.

VI. Justice System Flow

The analysis of the flow of youths through the justice systems of the National Evaluation produced mixed, inconclusive findings. Although the data

were generally insufficient to make definitive judgments, on three of the sites the probability of referral to increased penetration, at the point of diversion, appears to have been reduced as a result of the diversion projects. The available evidence at a fourth site was negative, and the remaining sites were characterized by so much missing and ambiguous data that even speculation was prevented.

Some evidence emerged indicating that when diversion takes place early in the justice process, the probability of remaining in the system, once so referred, increases; this suggests that the system strains to maintain itself. It was also clear that changes in policies, historical events, or justice procedures so impact justice record systems as to seriously jeopardize their use as a source for assessing system impact.

VII. Cost

Project expenditures were calculated for the first 18 months for which clients were received by the projects for services. The costs associated with this expenditure period ranged from \$170,000 to \$633,000 across the 11 projects of the evaluation. The range of total number of referrals to the project for this period was also extreme, with a low of 137 to a high of 791. Roughly three-fourths of those referred were enrolled for services, and the length of time for which services were rendered across all projects averaged approximately five months. The average cost per referral (total expenditures divided by the number of referrals received) for the first 18 months of operation averaged \$1,302 and ranged from a low of \$298 to a high of \$3,060. The cost associated with actual enrollment (total expenditures divided by the number of referrals enrolled for services) increased to \$1,722 and ranged from a low of \$429 to a high of \$4,136.

On the basis of a set of highly qualified cost calculations for the juvenile courts of three of the impact sites, the average cost per court client was determined to be \$463, ranging from a low of \$298 to a high of \$652. Tentative comparisons of court costs with those of the diversion projects on these three sites indicated that, on one site, the per referral costs for the project were higher than those for the court; on another, the costs were identical; and on the third, the costs for the justice system were greater than those for the diversion projects.

It is difficult to draw hard, fast conclusions on the basis of comparing the costs findings of the projects of the National Evaluation with each other, with those of the court, or with those of other studies. Direct comparisons are troublesome, as missions and operations differ, methodologies vary, hidden costs are differentially identifiable and obtainable, and the scope, structure, and conduct of the programs are vastly divergent. Several things are clear, however: (1) The differences between sites are startling, irrespective of the unit of comparison. (2) The relationship between costs and number of referrals is weak. (3) While several of the projects of the National Evaluation fall within the cost range of the few outside cost studies revealed, more than half were well above the average costs reported in those studies. (4) The program expenditures associated with the projects of the National Evaluation appear to be high. (5) Diversion with no services was clearly the least costly justice disposition alternative.

VIII. Youth Typology

Although the development of a typology of offenders did not produce a set of unique clusters that were particularly homogeneous and distinct, analysis was extended for heuristic purposes to determine if different types of youths

(however imperfectly ascertained) were differentially impacted by justice disposition. It was hypothesized that the three different random assignment groups (lectured and released, diversion to services, penetration) would affect different types of youths in different ways. Comparisons of six offender types, empirically determined, across the three justice dispositions revealed no differences in either measures of self-reported delinquency or recidivism. While there is clear evidence that there were differences between youth types on self-reported delinquency and to some extent differences in recidivism rates, there was no indication of a type by disposition interaction. On the basis of these data no evidence was found to support the notion that different types of youths are differentially impacted by alternative justice dispositions.

IX. Conclusion

The data of the National Evaluation of Diversion Projects are not consistent, by and large, with the rationale supportive of diversion programming. Inasmuch as the projects of the evaluation were not randomly selected and thus are not representative of all diversion programming, it is not possible to generalize these findings to other diversion programs with any known level of confidence. Nevertheless, because the findings were relatively consistent across four replications of the same study at four different sites, each of which was different in point of diversion, type of clients, seriousness of offenders, ethnic distributions, etc., the findings presented above must not be dismissed as idiosyncratic and thus unimportant. To the contrary, the findings associated with this research are significant and have serious implications not only for the future of diversion programming, but for the conduct of the youth services industry as well.

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APPENDIX A

PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS

APPENDIX A
INTRODUCTION

The following project descriptions were prepared early in each project's life and represent the major emphases of their programming. While these descriptions provide a good overview of the diversion operations associated with each of the 11 projects, they do not detail the countless changes that occurred across time. Many of the more significant changes are noted in the text of the report, but an exhaustive account of process was prohibited due to the nature of the evaluation. More detailed chronologies of program evolution can be obtained from the projects themselves and through local evaluations where completed. The dates of the site visits on which the following profiles of program operations are based appear with the titles of the individual project descriptions.

CENTRAL DENVER YOUTH DIVERSION PROJECT

(January 9-31, 1978)

Overview

According to the director of court services, the Denver Juvenile Court has experienced, over the past two years, the greatest increase in court filings among juvenile courts in the State of Colorado. Comparison of total filings from 1973-74 to 1974-75 reveals an increase of 105.9%. In addition, Denver Juvenile Court handled 27% (1,658) of all juvenile delinquency petition filings in Colorado during fiscal year 1974-1975, more than twice as many as the county with the next highest rate.

An analysis of delinquent activity in Denver reveals that 50% of all youth-related crime is committed by multiple offenders. Seventy-three percent of these multiple offenders are from single family households, 84% are school dropouts or are chronically truant, and 73% live in two neighborhoods (the Northease and the West Side) with the majority living in public housing.

When BRI interviewers visited Denver in January, Central Denver Youth Diversion Project was accepting referrals from the police department, the district attorney's office, and the juvenile court; offering in-house diagnostic, counseling, and employment services to diverted youths; and securing a broad range of services for clients by making referrals to two cooperatively developed, but fiscally autonomous, service programs, the Ann D. Morgan Center for Learning Disabled Students (Morgan Center) and Project New Pride. In order to adequately describe the diversion project and the context

in which it operates, interviews were conducted with representatives of Central Denver, the Morgan Center, the Denver Police Department, the district attorney's office, and the probation department of the Denver Juvenile Court.

History

The idea for the diversion project grew out of the success of another youth services program, Project New Pride. About seven years ago, Central Denver's present director conducted a community needs assessment for the Red Cross that identified crime and delinquency as major areas of concern for the people of Denver. In particular, he perceived a need for programs outside of the justice system that would serve repeat offenders. Out of this work came proposals for the Northeast Denver Youth Service Bureau, a program developed to assist less serious offenders, and Project New Pride, a counseling and education program staffed largely by volunteers. When Project New Pride was funded, the present director of Central Denver became its director. Over the next few years he and his staff evolved the "system approach" to service delivery that became the prototype for Central Denver: their experience led to the creation of the Morgan Center to deal with the large number of learning disabled children in their client population and to the establishment of a diagnostic team to provide psychological and educational assessment services that were unavailable through the court and inaccessible through community agencies.

In an attempt to expand Project New Pride, the project director, the deputy director, and the director of the Morgan Center applied for LEAA Special Emphasis funds with the assistance of the Denver Anti-Crime Council and the budget and research unit of the juvenile court. Official notification of grant approval came in December, 1976, and project staff began work

immediately, despite the fact that project funds was not actually received until the following February. Thus, when the majority of the staff members were hired in April, the project director, deputy director, and job placement specialist were already being paid out of project funds.

The project began accepting clients in April, 1977. Referrals were received at the rate of almost 20 per month until September. At that time Central Denver was to begin full-scale operation, accepting approximately 40 clients per month and the national evaluation impact study was to begin. This study was to involve random assignment of cases to the project or to normal handling in the justice system. Though justice officials agreed to the study, it was never implemented. Instead of an increase in the flow rate to the project, it dropped to a trickle. The line staff of the justice system was unwilling to make referrals during random assignment, and the officials were unwilling to follow through on their agreements when positive action was required. The national evaluation staff at BRI was unable to remedy this problem by December, 1977, and plans for the study of impact on youth were abandoned. No youths were ever randomly assigned. There were many more referrals in December than there had been at any time before, but by April, 1978, the project was once again receiving about 20 clients per month. Despite hopes for an increase, the rate of flow has remained relatively constant for an entire year.

The first delay involved project plans to use money from the Denver Housing Authority as the 10% match for federal funds. LEAA was reluctant to accept this arrangement, since most of the Housing Authority's funds came from the federal government. Although the problem was resolved when project accountants determined that match funds could be supplied through state and

local contributions, the conflict caused considerable consternation among staff members in the months following project approval. Another early problem concerned project relations with other diversion programs in the Denver area. Staff time had to be spent assuring the other programs that Central Denver would not be competing with them for clients. Fortunately, meetings with justice system personnel and representatives of the other programs soon clarified the situation to everyone's satisfaction.

One continuing delay has been caused by LEAA's reluctance to approve a major component of the diversion project services: the construction training program. The original grant proposal called for formation of a profit-making corporation, managed by project staff, that would purchase older buildings in the inner city and renovate them, thereby providing job and training opportunities for diverted youths. Because of the novelty of this part of the proposal and the possibility of legal problems resulting from the creation of a profit-making corporation, full approval for the program had not yet been received at the time the interviews were conducted, one full year after the initial proposal was approved.

A second reason for the initially low referral rate also involves the delay in gaining approval for the construction program. Many of the persons who might have referred youths to the project said that the proposed program was Central Denver's chief attraction and that they would be reluctant to use the project until the construction program was underway. A third reason concerns the competition for clients among Denver diversion projects. Before a series of meetings was held to coordinate the referral process and a justice system screening committee was formed to manage the actual distribution of cases among diversion projects, Central Denver experienced some loss of clients to other projects.

The project director expressed concern and frustration with the events that have postponed full implementation of the project. Many of the research objectives of the project had to be abandoned because of the low referral rate during the period in which randomization was intended. According to the director, many of the problems with cash flow and program delays would have been avoided if project managers in Washington had moved with greater celerity.

Goals

The proposal originally submitted for funding contained an elaborate statement of project goals and objectives that included the following:

1. Diversion of multiple offenders from the juvenile justice system for treatment.
2. Diagnosis of diverted youths for identifying academic deficiencies, psychological, employment, and prevocational needs, and learning disabilities.
3. Random assignment of diverted youths to various treatment groups for the purpose of assessing the effects of project services, the diagnostic regimen, and other differentiating conditions.
4. Placement of selected youths in jobs and job training programs.
5. Provision of an academic remediation program to improve the reading, math, and spelling achievement of selected youths.
6. Provision of a learning disability program to improve auditory, visual, and motor skills of selected youths.
7. Assistance to diverted youths for re-enrollement in an appropriate educational program.
8. Reduction of recidivism among project youths.

In the interviews, an articulate project staff underscored the major goals of the project: diversion from the justice system and reduced recidivism for diverted youths through diagnostic screening and the provision of educational and vocational opportunities for clients. Staff members cited most of the proposed goals (except those related to random assignment to treatment groups

which had been abandoned before the BRI interviews were conducted) and a few added subsidiary goals that reflect the special interests of the project's individual teams. For example, one counselor felt it was important to provide youths with success experiences that had been unavailable to them in the past; another sought to give clients a chance to interact in a positive way with adults and develop interpersonal and coping skills; and a member of the diagnostic team said that educating justice system personnel about the value of diagnostic testing was part of the project's mission.

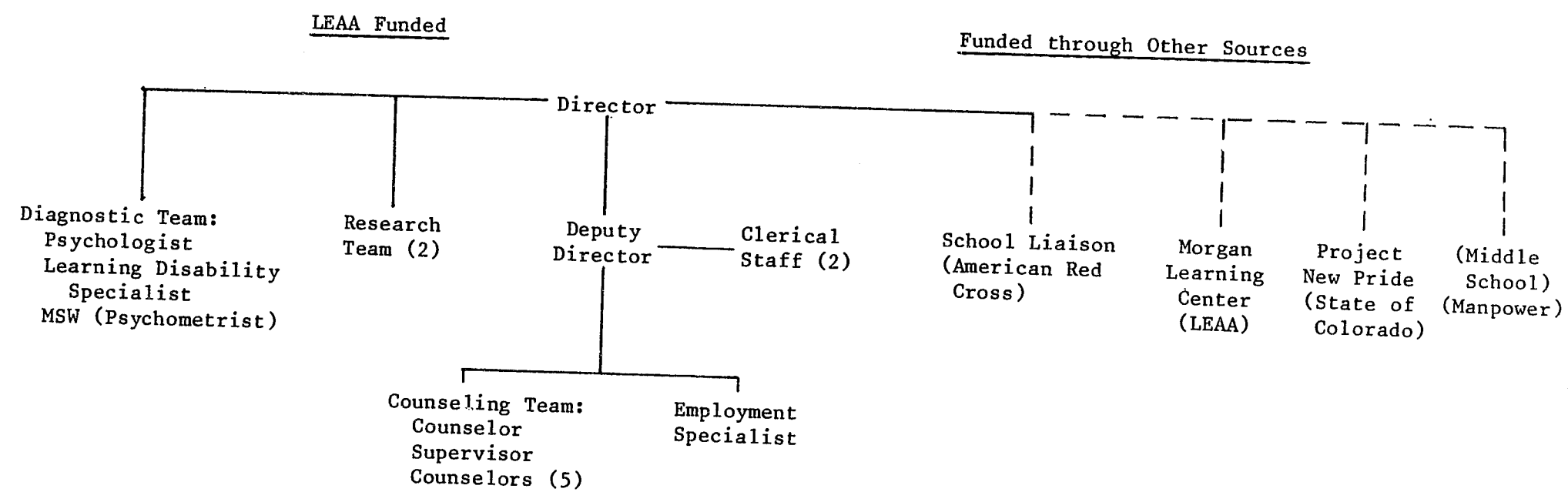
The project director elaborated on many of the points raised by his staff. He stressed the remaining research goals of the project (for example, examining the relationship between learning disabilities and delinquency), the primary role of the family in effecting change in clients, and the importance of teaching basic academic skills in educational remediation programs. He named education, pre-vocational training, and employment as the key strategies in reducing recidivism.

The director, and a number of staff members, also described the project's comprehensive approach to service delivery. Participating programs (i.e., Central Denver, Morgan Center, and Project New Pride) use a holistic concept in addressing the needs of their clients. Their experience has shown that the treatment provided to problem youths is often fragmented, that brokered service agencies are unreliable, and that service providers usually focus on a single problem instead of addressing the gamut of clients' needs. Moreover, attention to all aspects of the clients' functioning allows the diversion project staff to tailor treatment to the specific problems of the individual. Coordinated service delivery and individualized treatment plans were considered by many staff members to be the hallmarks of Central Denver's service philosophy.

Structure and Function

As has been mentioned, Central Denver is one of three interrelated components of what the project director has called a "youth service system." (A fourth component, still in the planning stage is described below.) Because the relationships among Central Denver, Morgan Center, and Project New Pride are often confusing (court personnel, and even some diversion project staff members, refer to all three as Central Denver), the organizational and funding arrangements of the system require some explanation. As Figure A-1 indicates, the constituent components of the youth service system are funded by different sources, yet all are operated under the leadership of the Central Denver project director. Although project directors of the components meet as equals in making joint decisions and in setting policy for the system, the director of Central Denver has prerogatives not accorded to the other two, because he was the motive force in establishing the system and because he has supervised the others, and much of the rest of the Morgan Center and Project New Pride staffs, in earlier stages of the system's development.

According to the director of Morgan Center, the grants for Morgan Center and Central Denver were written in such a way that each could operate independently if the other was not funded. This was never necessary, because both grants were approved at approximately the same time. At the time of the BRI interviews, Central Denver served a central intake function in receiving referrals from justice system agencies, evaluating them, and then either providing services in-house or referring them to Morgan Center and Project New Pride. Each component had its own eligibility criteria, and strictly speaking, not all referrals received by Central Denver were diversion cases because some youths on formal probation (i.e., youths whose cases had been



NOTE: The psychometrist position on the diagnostic team was vacant at the time of the BRI interviews, and the plans for the Middle School were not yet implemented.

Figure A-1
Organizational Chart for Central Denver Youth Diversion Project

adjudicated) were assigned to each of the three components. In fact, Project New Pride accepted only youths on formal probation and therefore its operation and services will not be considered in the same detail as those of the other components. The Morgan Center, because of its independent funding, is described below (see Diversion Project Service Options), while a description of those positions that are funded by the LEAA diversion grant follows immediately.

The Central Denver Youth Diversion Project staff consists of a director, a deputy director, two clerical workers, two researchers, a four-member diagnostic team, a five-member counseling team, and an employment specialist. Personnel with service or managerial duties include:

Project Director. Although the project director is paid by Central Denver and is by title the director of that component only, he in effect represents all three components in their common dealings with outside organizations such as the Denver Anti-Crime Council, the juvenile court, and other justice system and governmental agencies. In addition, he is responsible for project administration, public relations, budget management, and direct supervision of the diagnostic and research teams.

Deputy Director. The deputy director is responsible for directing the project's day-to-day operation and assisting the director with this administrative duties. Her tasks include screening referrals to the project, tracking the flow of clients through the system, managing the payroll, and supervising the counseling and employment teams.

Learning Disabilities Specialist. In her role as leader of the diagnostic team, the learning disabilities specialist is responsible for establishing testing and staffing schedules and coordinating the activities of the team.

By her own assessment, her function vis-a-vis the rest of the team is more consultative than supervisory. Additionally, she conducts and scores the Level II (learning disability) testing, participates in client staffings, and serves as a consultant to the other teams and components.

Social Worker. As a second member of the diagnostic team, the social worker is primarily responsible for Level I (screening) testing and for coordinating the project's efforts to meet the medical and mental health needs of clients. Her subsidiary duties include performing supplemental needs assessments, participating in client staffings, and serving as the project liaison to other service organizations in the community.

Psychologist. The third member of the diagnostic team administers the Level IV (in-depth psychological) testing, assisting in the Level I testing, and serves as project liaison to the psychological testing unit of the juvenile court. He also consults with other staff members and with probation officers in interpreting test results, participates in client staffings, and occasionally provides in-service training on the use of diagnostic testing to the diversion project staff. Unlike the other staff members, he is a paid consultant and works half time at Central Denver.

Other Diagnostic Team Members. Shortly before the BRI interviews were conducted, the diversion project lost one other diagnostic team member, a psychometrist who was responsible for administering test batteries. Also, the nurse practitioner position mentioned in the grant proposal was never filled. Project personnel reported that while candidates for the psychometrist position were being sought, the nurse practitioner position was to be eliminated.

Counselor Supervisor. The counselor supervisor conducts intakes, assigns cases to counselors, checks counselors' paperwork, and supervises their casework; she also carries a minimal caseload herself. She is the counseling team's representative in dealings with the other system components.

Counselors. The five counselors conduct intake interviews at clients' homes, set up appointments for screening tests, and attend the initial staffings. For those clients who are assigned to their caseloads (each counselor carries up to twenty clients), they hold counseling sessions, visit clients' homes and schools, maintain case files, prepare reports for the court, and often appear in court to present the reports.

Employment Specialist. In the original project plan, Central Denver was to have a two-member employment team: one staff person to supervise on-the-job training and the other to direct the construction program. Because funding for the construction program never materialized, only one staff member - the employment specialist - has been responsible for coordinating all employment services for clients. At the time of the BRI interviews, his duties included providing pre-vocational training to Central Denver clients, finding on-the-job training placements in the community, negotiating with employers and monitoring clients' work, and carrying a small caseload of clients.

Project Administration

A general staff meeting, attended by all personnel, is held weekly and lasts about an hour; its purpose is to exchange information, air problems, and discuss new programs and procedures. According to the project director, responsibility for conducting the meeting is shared by all participants, including the clerical staff. The chair rotates among staff members, and anyone can place an item on the agenda.

Individual teams have their own meetings to discuss issues specific to the teams, though these are not scheduled as regularly or as frequently as the general meetings. The diagnostic team, for example, meets every two to four weeks as needed. In addition, staffings, attended by all service providers, are held every Friday to develop service plans for clients and to place clients in the various service components.

Project personnel indicated that they are generally pleased with the amount of supervision they receive on the job and with the amount of input they have in determining how the project will operate. Most project policies are spelled out in a manual written by the director and deputy director before the rest of the staff was hired; however, suggestions are solicited from staff members when new policies are developed. Authority for decision making is well delineated within the organization: team decisions are usually made by the team leader and his or her staff; project management decisions by the director, deputy director, and team leaders; decisions that involve relations with other agencies by the director and deputy director. Interviews with project staff made it quite clear that the director can exercise considerable authority in setting policy for other service components of the system, even though he is technically responsible for only the Central Denver program.

Service workers voiced few complaints about project management; however, one suggested that there was a need for better coordination among teams, especially in dealing with the research team, and that the roles of various staff members were not adequately defined. She also reported that these problems had been solved for the most part by recent changes in personnel and by the appointment of team leaders.

Orientation and Training

The project director and deputy director, assisted by representatives of the juvenile court, BRI, the Denver Anti-Crime Council, Project New Pride, Morgan Center, and other community service agencies, organized ten full days of orientation. Project managers focused on their experiences in running programs for juvenile offenders and the expectations for the Central Denver program. Other topics included the organization and function of the juvenile justice system, description of the project's client population, interagency relationships, research issues, and discussion of the problems that might be encountered in implementing the project. The two weeks of training also provided an opportunity to gain input from new staff members. For example, counselors participated in designing project intake forms and diagnostic team members assisted in formulating the battery of evaluative tests. Some staff members missed the initial training because they were not hired in time to participate. However, a few of these late-comers were already familiar with the Denver juvenile justice system and the mission of the diversion project, because they had worked for Project New Pride before joining the Central Denver staff.

In-service training has been provided by both outside agencies and by the diversion project's own professional staff. The National Office of Social Responsibility (NOSR) sponsored a series of eight four-hour sessions on family therapy. Conducted by a psychologist from the University of Colorado Medical Center, the workshop was offered to 12 juvenile court probation officers as well as to the entire diversion project staff. Consultation has also been provided to individual project workers with special problems. For example, a testing psychologist was consulted about testing ethnic minorities and an

optometrist was consulted about the treatment of perceptual problems. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, requests had been made to obtain additional technical assistance from NOSR on a quarterly basis; management information systems and research on learning disabilities were suggested topics.

In describing the qualifications of his staff, the project director proudly pointed out the high level of training and professional experience that individual members brought with them to Central Denver. Staff members with special training often provide in-service instruction to the rest of the staff at regularly scheduled staff meetings. Members of the diagnostic team have been used extensively for this purpose.

Client Intake

Referrals to Central Denver are received by the counselor supervisor who reviews each case to assess the child's eligibility and assigns the case to a counselor. It is the counselor's responsibility to notify the referral source that the case has been received and to contact the child's family to arrange an intake appointment at the family's home. During this visit, which usually occurs within a day or two of referral, the counselor explains the program and its various components, the purpose of the diagnostic testing, and the requirements for participation. If the child and parents agree to participate, the counselor conducts a preliminary needs assessment and schedules a time for the youth to come to the Central Denver office for testing. The initial interview requires information on the youth's family, school and court history, employment, and health. There was some disagreement among project personnel about the extent to which the voluntary nature of the program is emphasized. Some said that participation is voluntary; others said

that clients have little choice given the status of their cases in the justice system.

The intake assessment continues when the child arrives for Level I (screening) testing. (Although the original proposal contained plans for establishing a comparison group of diverted youths who would not be tested, at the time of the BRI interviews, all diverted youths receive Level I testing.) At this time, a member of the diagnostic team asks a series of questions designed to evaluate the child's academic and psychological functioning and administers a battery of psychological, achievement, and perceptual tests (see Service Options for a detailed description of all levels of testing). After the testing, the team member computes the test scores and writes a summary statement of the results. Over the course of the next two weeks, the counselor assigned to the case collects additional information on the child's social life, school performance, employment experience, home life, drug history, and arrest record. These data are obtained through interviews with the youth's teachers, probation officer, family, and peers and are recorded on the appropriate project forms.

As a favor to the probation department, each month Central Denver evaluates several youths who are not eligible to participate in the diversion project programs. After the intake assessment, test scores and interview data are forwarded to the youth's probation officer, and the youth's contact with the project is terminated.

All of the information assembled in the course of the extensive evaluation is presented at a staffing attended by counselors, the counselor supervisor, diagnostic team members, the deputy director, and any other project staff member who has been involved in the case. Since many cases are staffed at the

same meeting, counseling and diagnostic team members contribute to the evaluation of each other's cases. The chief purpose of the staffing is to select one of three alternatives for each diverted youth based on the counselor's evaluation and the test results: (1) if the youth's performance on the Level I testing indicates the possibility of perceptual problems (low achievement scores and a deficit on the learning disabilities screening test are the chief determinants), the placement decision is postponed and the child is asked to return for further diagnostic (level II) testing; (2) if the youth has been arrested for a felony, does not manifest perceptual problems, is in need of academic remediation, and meets the other criteria for Project New Pride, the case will be referred to Project New Pride; or (3) if the youth has been arrested for a misdemeanor, does not manifest perceptual problems, is in need of counseling and pre-vocational training, and meets the other criteria for admission to Central Denver, the case will remain the responsibility of the counselor who completed the intake.

If further testing is indicated, the evaluation process continues. Diagnostic team members administer a second battery of tests - intelligence, visul-motor, and reading - to verify the results of the initial testing and to further determine if the child has a learning disability. Then a second staffing is held for the youth and, on the basis of this new information, staff members decide if the learning disabilities remediation program at the Morgan Center is an appropriate placement or if the youth can be placed in one of the other two components. When the final screening is completed, the intake counselor fills out the needs assessment portion of the intake observation form, and copies of the youth's test results are forwarded to the selected component. If the youth is to remain at Central Denver, the

diagnosis and goals for treatment are written up in some detail; otherwise further development of a service plan becomes the responsibility of the component to which the youth is assigned. Morgan Center is assisted in this task by members of the diagnostic team who conduct a third level of testing - a comprehensive, diagnostic learning disability (LD) evaluation in contrast to the screening test administered in Level I - after the youth has been contacted by the Morgan Center. Clients, and if possible their parents, are consulted in reaching an agreement on a service contract. Project workers make an effort to give an indepth rationale for assignment to a particular component.

Clients usually are not admitted to the Morgan Center and Project New Pride programs immediately after referral. Instead, they must wait until a new class is formed. In the case of Morgan Center, new clients begin the program in groups of five or ten; for Project New Pride, a class is started at the beginning of every Denver Public Schools semester. During the interim period, clients are kept in what one staff member described as a "holding pattern," that is, clients have minimal contact with their counselors and probation officers.

Staff members noted that referral sources occasionally recommend a service component when making a referral. Although these recommendations are considered in arriving at a decision, they are by no means considered binding by the project staff. If the staff's selection is different from the one suggested by the referral source, the youth's probation officer is notified.

Case Management

If the youth is assigned to the Central Denver component of the service system, the intake counselor will usually be responsible for case management

throughout the period of service delivery. Service delivery occurs in two phases: an intensive phase which lasts for three months, during which time maximum services are delivered, and a follow-up phase which lasts for seven to nine months. In the intensive phase, it is expected that counselors will contact their clients at least twice a week and their clients' families at least once a week. Counselor and client usually meet at the child's home unless family problems prohibit this arrangement. In the follow-up phase, contacts occur less frequently, twice a month on the average. The length of time the counselor and client spend together varies with the purpose of the meeting (counseling, field trip, sports activity, job interview, etc.).

Counselors formulate short-term and long-term goals for their clients that are recorded and placed in the client's case file. Day to day contacts with clients are also recorded and reviewed weekly by the counselor supervisor. Furthermore, counselors are expected to maintain contact with the child's teachers, employer, and probation officer in order to effectively monitor progress toward goals.

Clients are automatically terminated at the end of one year. If the child still needs assistance at the end of that period and if there is no other agency to which an appropriate referral can be made, the child's counselor can petition for an extension. Any decision to terminate must be approved by the counselor supervisor and the director or the deputy director.

Service Options

In-house services offered by Central Denver fall into three categories: diagnostic testing, counseling and supervision, and employment. In addition, a school liaison, paid by the American Red Cross and supervised by the project director, works full-time at Central Denver to advocate for project youths in

their dealings with the Denver Public Schools. Working with all three system components, she insures that project youths receive credit from the public schools for their work at Project New Pride or Morgan Center, she checks the attendance of project youths enrolled in public school programs and reports to counselors, and she negotiates with the schools to place project youths in their special education programs. When youngsters complete one of the Central Denver education programs she makes arrangements with the public schools to accept them back in regular classes.

Diagnostic testing. As mentioned above, diagnostic team members test all youths referred to Central Denver. All tests are administered individually, and although testing was originally conducted at juvenile hall, at the time of the interviews it was being done only at the diversion project office or the Morgan Center. Four levels of testing are available:

Level I: All diverted youths are given Level I testing as part of the diversion project intake procedure. It consists of measures of self-esteem and adjustment; an achievement test with reading, spelling, and arithmetic subscales; a short intelligence test; and a screening test for auditory, visual, and motor learning disabilities. The entire battery takes about two and one-half hours to administer.

Level II: If Level I test results indicate that the child may have perceptual processing problems, two hours of more extensive testing is ordered. Level II testing consists of longer and more comprehensive intelligence and reading tests and a test of visual-motor integration.

Level III: If remediation for learning disabilities is ordered, the child is assigned to the Morgan Center and contacted by one of their counselors. After an initial interview, but before classes begin, two hours of diagnostic

testing for learning disabilities is administered by the learning disabilities specialist. She writes a prescription based on the test results and attends a staffing at the Morgan Center in order to assist in developing a treatment plan for the child.

Level IV: Level IV testing consists of in-depth psychological tests (e.g., Rorschach, TAT) administered by the diagnostic team psychologist. It is ordered by staff members of any component or by agencies outside of Central Denver when it is suspected that a child has serious psychological problems. Only about 15% of Central Denver's client population is tested. Because the number of tests employed varies, the testing may last anywhere from two to four hours.

In addition to the initial administration of each test battery, diagnostic team members are responsible for follow-up testing to chart the progress of clients in the educational components and provide data for research and evaluation. All or part of Levels I, II, and III are re-administered at the end of three months at Morgan Center and at the end of the semester at Morgan Center and Project New Pride to assess changes in client performance.

Counseling and Supervision. Counselors carry a caseload of no more than twenty clients in the intensive phase, so that close and frequent contact with clients is possible (see Case Management above). No single approach is adhered to by project counselors, and the counselor supervisor suggested that counselors vary considerably in their personal styles. Sessions serve a wide range of purposes, for example, discussing personal and family problems, playing sports and games, or visiting a divorced parent. Most sessions have a task focus that is related to achieving one of the client's treatment goals. If a client has to appear in court, he or she is accompanied by the counselor

who serves as an advocate and may report on the youth's progress in the program.

Employment services. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, Central Denver was operating three employment-related programs: job preparatory training, on-the-job training, and direct job placement. If a need for employment experience is identified in diverted youths assigned to Central Denver, they are assigned to the job preparatory training program conducted by the employment specialist with the assistance of counselors whose clients are enrolled in it. The first two weeks of training consists of four sessions lasting two hours each. In classes of no more than six youths, clients receive basic instruction in completing a job application, practicing the job interview, obtaining a social security card, and other issues related to preparing for a job. Concurrently, the employment specialist and counselors conduct an informal assessment of their clients' attitudes toward work, job interests and experience, and participation in the training in order to select appropriate placements and identify problems that may need to be addressed in regular counseling sessions.

After about two weeks of training, the employment specialist begins trying to place his clients in jobs either directly or through on-the-job training arrangements with employers. Direct placements, which have been rare because they are difficult to find, involve placing a youth on a job he or she has obtained from an employer without the project's promise of a payment. The employment specialist assists the youth in finding the job and may help in completing the job application, but diversion project involvement ends when the youth is hired.

In contrast, the on-the-job training placement agreement requires the diversion project to pay the client's salary for his or her first month on the

job. After the youths complete the two week workshop, they are placed in the available job that best matches their interests and skills. Central Denver agrees to pay the employer \$2.65 an hour for up to 25 hours a week in return for the employer's agreement to pay this money to the youth as a salary, provide on-the-job training, and treat the youth as a regular employee. Although there is no written contract, the employment specialist obtains a verbal agreement from the employer that he will hire the youth at the end of the one month period if the youth is performing satisfactorily.

Because on-the-job placements, and to an even greater degree direct placements, were scarce at the time of the interviews, only a fraction of the project youths assigned to this option found jobs. When it became clear that the proposed construction program would be postponed, perhaps indefinitely, the diversion project staff began planning an alternative program, the Middle School. Supported by Manpower funds, the new program would offer pre-vocational training and instruction in basic skills taught in a vocational context. After three months in the program, project youths who met the age and unemployment criteria would be placed in jobs created with CETA funds. At the time of the BRI interviews, Central Denver and Morgan Center personnel were collaborating to develop the curriculum and procedures of the Middle School and they planned to implement the new project in the next few months.

Occasionally, project staff members found it necessary to refer clients to community agencies for services not offered by the diversion project or the other system components. Among the resources that were mentioned were Right to Read, local employment agencies, and various hospitals and mental health centers. Referrals were made by counselors or by staff members who had established relationships with particular agencies; for example, the

psychologist usually handled referrals to obtain long-term psychotherapy for clients, yet none of the persons interviewed had made more than a few.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

In Denver the juvenile justice system consists of the police department, the district attorney's office, and the juvenile court. Most important for this discussion is the Denver Juvenile Court. Jurisdiction of the court includes delinquency, children in need of supervision, child abuse and neglect dependency, relinquishments, adoptions, support and paternity, and judicial consent to marriage of minors. Its major divisions are the probation department, administrative agencies diversion, and clerk and trial court operations.

Under a July, 1976 reorganization, the probation department was divided into three divisions: administrative services, admissions and special services, and community services. The last two provide direct services to youths. The admissions and special services division is responsible for preparing preliminary investigations upon request of the district attorney, processing juveniles who enter the system up to determination of guilt or innocence, and monitoring child abuse and dependency cases. In contrast, the mandate of the community services division is to provide on-going formal case supervision to juveniles on probation, informal adjustment, or continued petition.

A total of 4,012 new petitions were filed during fiscal year 1975-76 in the Denver Juvenile Court; 1,546 were for delinquency or children in need of supervision.

Client Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

When a police officer in the field observes a juvenile violating the law or receives a complaint about a juvenile, he usually has the option of

lecturing and releasing the youth or referring the case to the district attorney (i.e., making an arrest). In the case of some serious offenses, for example, burglary, the officer is required to make the arrest. All cases referred to the district attorney must be processed through the police department's delinquency control division, where officials have the authority to divert certain misdemeanants from further penetration into the juvenile justice system by referring them to selected social service agencies.

If the case is referred to the district attorney, he too can exercise a number of options depending on the seriousness of the crime, the sufficiency of the evidence, and the youth's arrest record. First, he can dismiss the case if there is insufficient evidence or if the youth has committed a minor crime like violating curfew. Alternatively, when there is insufficient evidence but the district attorney feels that the youth would benefit from an official admonition, he may refer the case to the probation department with the recommendation that the youth be lectured and released.

Second, if the evidence in a case is sufficient to go to court and if the offense is not serious or is a first offense, the district attorney may refer the youth to the District Attorney Diversion Effort, a diversion program that provides minimal counseling and referral to community service agencies for 200 youths a year.

Finally, the district attorney has the option of filing the charge. He can do this before referring the case to the probation department for investigation if the charge is serious enough, or he can do it at the probation department's recommendation. If the case is referred to the admissions division of the probation department for assistance in determining whether or not a charge should be filed, line probation officers investigate

the delinquency complaint through interviews with the youth and parents, the victim of the offense, the child's teachers, school, and any other service agency with which the child has had contact. If the youth is already under the jurisdiction of the court, the investigation is performed by the community services division probation officer to which the cases had previously been assigned. On the basis of this additional information, the probation officer may recommend to the district attorney that he file the case in court, informally adjust the case (i.e., defer prosecution, perhaps with an order for restitution or other stipulation), or divert the youth to an appropriate community program without further legal action. The intake probation officer follows cases filed in court until there is a court determination of guilt or innocence. His preliminary investigation serves the additional purpose of providing the community services probation officer with resource information if the case is adjudicated and the youth is placed on formal probation.

When a charge is filed, the youth must obtain (or be provided with) counsel and must attend a plea hearing or arraignment. If the child pleads guilty, the case is set for disposition three weeks later. The probation officer prepares a dispositional report in which he recommends a treatment plan for the youth and presents the case to the court at the dispositional hearing. If the child pleads not guilty, a trial is held before a judge who must render a verdict; this process may take up to three months. A guilty verdict results in the preparation of a dispositional report as just described. At the dispositional hearing the treatment plan is evaluated and one or more of the following dispositional alternatives are ordered by the court: (1) formal probation for up to two years (this may include terms and conditions that require the youth to work, attend school, or participate in a

community service program), (2) continued petition for up to six months, after which the judge can dismiss the case entirely or dismiss the case and return it to the probation department for informal adjustment if the youth had met the terms of the agreement, (3) out-of-home placement, (4) fine, (5) restitution to victim, (6) commitment to the Department of Institutions for up to two years, and (7) jail sentence if the juvenile is 18 years old at the time of the disposition.

Eligibility Criteria and Referral to the Diversion Project

Referral to Central Denver can occur when (1) the case is informally adjusted at the police level, (2) the case is informally adjusted by the district attorney, (3) the youth's petition is continued at the dispositional hearing, or (4) the youth is placed on formal probation at the dispositional hearing. The policy for diverting juvenile offenders out of the justice system was set by representatives of each major party involved in diversion processing: the chief and the diversion coordinator of the police department delinquency control division, the senior deputy district attorney for the juvenile court, the presiding judge and the director of court services of the juvenile court, and the diversion project director. It was agreed that although the referral agency (police, district attorney, or court) has ultimate jurisdiction over the youth, the diversion project would assume supervisory responsibility for the duration of services. This agreement to assume responsibility for youngsters under the jurisdiction of the court carries certain stipulations with it. For example, the project director was required to sign a "commitment of confidentiality of juvenile records."

Shortly before the BRI interviews were conducted, the chief probation officer issued a memorandum to his staff describing the referral criteria

agreed to by the diversion project and the court. The following list contains both the criteria common to all program components and the criteria used by the Central Denver staff in selecting a particular component for a youth. Project staff emphasized, and justice system personnel agreed, that in all cases the diversion project is the final judge of the youth's eligibility.

Common Program Elements:

1. Common to all Central Denver programs (sic) is the requirement that the minor must have a multiple felony and/or misdemeanor arrest record. . . .
2. The minor cannot be concurrently enrolled in another juvenile diversion program.
3. The minor must be on informal adjustment, continued petition, or formal probation at the time of entry into the program.
4. Central Denver will accept referrals for evaluation prior to dispositional hearing and will give the probation officer conditional acceptance into the program provided the court makes the disposition being sought.

Specific Program Requirements:

1. Project New Pride - Minor must be at least 14 years of age and less than 18 years of age when entering the program; only formal probation cases will be accepted. Minor must have an arrest for a felony offense on the record.
2. Morgan Center for Learning Disabilities - Accepts referrals of informal adjustment (if minor is not more than one month into his/her informal adjustment at the time of intake), continued petition, and formal probation cases; must be at least 14 years of age and less than 18 years of age when entering the program.
3. Central Denver counseling and employment program - Youth must be at least 14 years of age and not more than 18 years of age when entering the program; must be on continued petition or informal adjustment; recent changes in policy have made it possible for the court to defer up to 72 cases annually in which the youth is on formal probation.

In an attempt to make the referral process more efficient, a screening committee composed of the diversion coordinator of the police department delinquency control division, the senior deputy district attorney for the

juvenile court, and a probation supervisor, was formed in December, 1976, to coordinate all referrals to the various diversion alternatives available to the court. Although all of the committee's decisions are negotiated by its members until a joint decision is reached, the district attorney has a greater influence in the decision since he has final authority for the disposition of the case.

Usually the district attorney informs the investigating probation officer of the committee's decision and the officer tells the youth that he or she is being diverted. At the diversion project's request, probation officers give their clients only an overview of the Central Denver system since a final determination of the component to which a youth is assigned is not made until the diagnostic process is complete. The probation officer completes the standard juvenile court referral form, the informal adjustment petition (if the case has been informally adjusted), and a release of information form (the last two must be signed by parent and child), and mails these to Central Denver.

Police referral proceeds somewhat differently. The diversion coordinator, who maintains files on all youths referred to Denver diversion projects, can divert youths arrested for petty crimes and first offenses to the four Youth Services Bureaus and youths arrested for more serious misdemeanors (that are not first offenses) to the Central Denver project. However, only a few cases (about five per month) are referred to Central Denver at the police level. The names of these youths are sent to the diversion project and a member of the research team is dispatched to the delinquency control division office to pick up their files. It is the diversion project counselor's responsibility to call the child, inform him or her that referral to the project has been

made, and arrange an initial interview. In both police and court referral, the diversion project is required to notify the referral source whether or not the youth has been accepted to services within 15 days of the referral.

Interviews with the court staff indicated that those who actually make the referrals to the project, that is, the members of the screening committee, had the best knowledge of the project's eligibility criteria, while the probation department generally seemed less well-informed. In fact, one probation officer said because Central Denver has a wide range of programs with varying eligibility criteria, she recommends the diversion project for many of her clients, and leaves determination of eligibility to the screening committee and the project itself. All parties agreed that the criteria for admission are adhered to strictly. The project director gave special emphasis to this point, stating that any "bending of the rules" would bring protests of unequal treatment from officers whose clients had been refused services.

At the time of the BRI interviews, most of the youths referred to the project had been on formal probation or had their petition continued, though the number of informal adjustments diverted to Central Denver was said to be increasing. Most probation officers try to present referral to the project as an offer of help rather than as a demand, but technically all referrals are under the jurisdiction of the court and, for many, enrollment in the project is a condition of deferred prosecution, so participation is voluntary only in a very limited sense.

Admission of guilt is a requirement of the informal adjustment agreement (but cannot be used against the youth in subsequent legal proceedings) and youths on formal probation or with continued petitions either have admitted guilt or have been found guilty by the court. None of those interviewed,

neither court nor diversion project personnel, felt that youths were coerced into admitting guilt in order to gain admission to the Central Denver program, yet the project director admitted to having some misgivings about these procedures at first. In fact, the original project proposal provided for a lawyer to represent potential diversion project clients in their dealings with the justice system. Although he was still sensitive to the possibility of abuses, the project director stated that he had gained considerable confidence in the probation department staff and the members of the screening committee since the inception of the project and felt that sufficient safeguards had been established to guarantee the rights of juvenile offenders. Some court staff members pointed out that all youths have legal counsel at least from the time of the plea hearing.

The legal status of diversion project clients is informal adjustment, continued petition, or formal probation, depending on the point in the system at which the youth is referred. If a child fails to perform satisfactorily in the Central Denver program, the child's probation officer is notified and a conference is set up to discuss a change in disposition or an assignment to a different social program. If the child continues to have problems, the probation officer can request the district attorney to return the child to the justice system at the point which he or she left it. According to the district attorney, most program failures are the result of rearrest rather than a failure to participate.

One feature of these referral arrangements that deserves mention is that Central Denver's clients, strictly speaking, are not diverted. Though these youths are receiving services outside of the formal justice system, their involvement in the justice system continues. With the exception of the few

clients referred by the police, every client at Central Denver is on the official case load of a probation officer; most are on a form of informal probation and the remainder have been adjudicated and are on formal probation. While the services provided at Central Denver may be an improvement over the service typically provided by the justice system, continued contact with the justice system violates the logic of diversion.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

The probation officers of the community services division provide on-going supervision for juveniles on probation, continued petition, informal adjustment, and in out-of-home placement. To facilitate the supervision of cases, the City and County of Denver has been divided into quadrants under the direction of a probation supervisor for each quadrant, and officers supervise an average of 45 cases apiece.

Three levels of case supervision are used. When a youth is first referred to the probation department for formal probation or with a continued petition, intensive supervision is necessary for a period of about a month. Probation officers are expected to meet with clients weekly or more frequently for that period. If the officer can establish rapport with the child and if no special problems are evident, standard supervision, or monthly client contacts will follow. Officers usually meet with their clients for individual counseling, though group counseling sessions are conducted when caseloads allow. Some officers share outreach offices that offer drop-in activities, and athletics activities are sometimes organized over the summer months.

Minimal supervision, consisting of little more than a monthly telephone call, is provided to youths whose cases have been informally adjusted. The amount of contact an officer has with a client depends on whether or not the

client has been placed in a social program. In general, the more intensive the program is, the less contact the officer will have with the client. Cases referred to the Central Denver diversion project, for example, may not have direct contact with an officer for the duration of the supervisory period.

Diagnostic services are available through the juvenile court's psychological services unit, though probation officers often try to refer clients to outside agencies (including Central Denver) for assessment because of the unit's workload. Other services are available on a limited basis from the court's JOIN program. JOIN attempts to relieve the probation staff of many non-counseling duties by matching the needs of juvenile offenders with community resources and, in some cases, by providing direct services. By using volunteer workers, JOIN can offer tutoring and job development, counseling, and placement. Existing community agencies provide recreation, transportation, clothing, emergency services and medical services through referral. However, many of these resources are limited. For example, since job placements are scarce, each of the court's seven probation units are allowed only two placements per month.

The length of the supervisory period varies with the youth's legal status. Informal adjustments last six months, continued petitions last six months to one year, and formal probation may last up to two years. The decision to terminate an informally adjusted case rests with the probation officer and the district attorney, but the termination of cases with the other two dispositions requires the intervention of a judge.

In fiscal year 1975-76, the Denver Juvenile Court placed 584 youths on probation and an additional 247 youths were placed with continued petitions.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

The Central Denver staff, and the project director in particular, enjoy relationships with court administrators and probation personnel that appear to be virtually unparalleled among diversion projects for their high levels of trust and confidence. However, the history of their relations has not been completely problem-free. As mentioned above, probation officers and supervisors did not refer clients to Central Denver during three months of operation because of disagreements over the proposed research design. It is interesting to note, however, that court personnel generally attribute these difficulties to deficiencies in the funding process, intergovernmental squabbling, and "bureaucratic red tape," rather than to the diversion project or the project director. The high praise accorded Central Denver by the juvenile court staff results in part from the project director's facility for public relations, and from his successful past efforts in developing and operating programs that serve as alternatives to juvenile justice processing.

On the other hand, the project director has accommodated the justice system in two specific ways that seem out of line with OJJDP project guidelines. The project's clients have not been fully removed from the justice system, and the diagnostic team tests youths who are not being considered for the project as a service to the justice system. In these ways, the project serves more as a resource for the justice system than an independent diversion project.

Court personnel reported that general meetings for the entire probation staff were held at the two probation department office locations. Many also said that diversion project staff members met individually with officers to further explain the program. Communication between the two groups appeared to

be good; counselors and probation officers meet frequently to discuss cases at staffings and over the phone.

Services provided by Central Denver compare favorably with both those provided by the probation department and those provided by past Denver diversion projects. Probation officers felt that a lack of manpower and funds prevents them from providing either the range or depth of services available through referrals to Central Denver. Specifically, officers pointed to usefulness of the project's diagnostic services in aiding their decision-making, the permanence and stability of Central Denver in providing services, the project's past success in dealing with "serious" cases, and the accountability built into the project's procedures for referral and service delivery.

Service quality was a recurrent theme in many of the interviews with both court and diversion project staff members. Some court officials, who decidedly prefer the use of probation services to diversion without services (i.e., release) or even voluntary participation in a service program, said that the Central Denver program is superior to probation because it combines needed services with the coercion necessary to insure that youths will participate. Virtually all parties agree that much of Central Denver's effectiveness could be traced to this combination of comprehensive services and authoritative intervention.

Several court officials pointedly compared the Central Denver project with other diversion projects used by the court since 1973. According to these officials, other diversion projects failed because of their voluntary nature, the lack of supervision provided to their clients, their use of untrained personnel, or the distrust engendered in the justice community as the result

of bogus research generated by the project. Evidently, Central Denver has not been criticized on any of these counts; it was termed by one court staff member as the "best" of the diversion projects to date.

Aside from the superiority of Central Denver over past diversion projects and the reputation of the project director as an effective administrator, probation officers and administrators appreciate the numerous ways in which Central Denver has strived to make their jobs easier. In addition to reducing officers' caseloads, the diversion project has occasionally provided diagnostic testing to youths who did not fit project criteria. Furthermore, probation officers get full credit for having project youths on their caseloads, because technically project youths are still under their supervision.

The probation officers who were interviewed were satisfied with the rate and the kind of referrals being made to the project, though one officer expressed a wish to divert somewhat younger youths than were allowed. Most court personnel seemed comfortable referring only fairly serious cases to Central Denver, perhaps because other diversion alternatives were available for less serious offenders and because they maintain their own jurisdiction over cases sent to Central Denver.

In sum, the relationship between the court and the diversion project was a cooperative one, based on the ability of each to fulfill the other's needs. Central Denver depended on court referrals, and, on the other hand, the diversion project had gone to great lengths to accommodate the court and reduce its caseloads.

Morgan Center

The Morgan Center originated as an experimental unit within Project New Pride, but as the need for services grew, it sought funds from the State of

Colorado and the Denver Anti-Crime Council to expand its operations. The Center accepts referrals exclusively from the Central Denver diversion project and works closely with the Central Denver staff to provide services to clients. As an independently funded component of the youth-service system, Morgan Center makes use of Central Denver's diagnostic screening, employment services, and research and evaluative capabilities. In exchange, Morgan Center provided counseling and learning disabilities remediation to 40 to 60 Central Denver youths per year.

The Morgan Center's therapeutic approach is based on the premise that one important factor contributing to academic failure, and consequently delinquency, is the child's

failure to develop an organized, efficient perceptual system. In many instances splinter skills have been developed which hamper the integration of stimuli perceived through the various sensory modalities (visual, auditory, tactile, kinesthetic). In order to achieve maximum benefit from the sensory system, a highly individualized, multidisciplinary approach must be taken which considers both client learning strengths and weaknesses, and how they affect not only the youth's academic performance, but also his social performance in general. Thus, the Morgan Center strives to help its clients build a "personal" learning system, which will help him to achieve successes in academics, employment, and in the community (Morgan Center Grant Proposal).

The Center's staff consists of the project director, the assistant director (who also serves as a counselor), a full-time counselor, a learning disabilities specialist, a learning disabilities teacher, a visual therapist, a teacher who specializes in auditory therapy, a half-time developmental therapist, and a variable number of student interns. Also, the Center regularly uses three consultants for additional assistance and supervision in counseling, learning disabilities, and visual therapy.

In general, counselors act as case managers and are responsible for providing individual and family counseling, attending clients' court hearings,

and coordinating any services provided outside the Center. The remaining staff members (except for interns) are state-certified teachers that plan lessons, informally assess clients, and give specialized help. The learning disabilities specialist and learning disabilities teacher spend most of their time in the classroom coordinating the specific therapies designed by the other specialists.

All youths accepted by the Morgan Center are enrolled in the program for a one-year period, six months in an intensive phase during which youths attend the Center daily and receive regularly scheduled treatment and six months in a follow-up phase during which they are placed in appropriate programs outside the center (vocational, employment, public school, community/education) and contact is reduced to a weekly basis. Clients are taken into the program during two consecutive months every six months in groups of five to ten in order to accommodate the extensive screening and diagnostic procedure conducted by the Central Denver diagnostic team. Unlike Project New Pride, which follows the Denver Public Schools' schedule, Morgan Center operates year-round. At the time of the interviews, the Center had received 23 referrals from Central Denver, 19 of which were active cases. Twenty-five referrals were expected in the next few weeks.

Central Denver provides all initial screening for Morgan Center clients as well as interim testing at the end of three months and post-testing at the end of the six-month intensive phase. Further formal assessment, optometric examination, medical, and motor assessment are conducted by the in-house staff and by project consultants following referral to Morgan Center.

Within seven to ten days following referral, Morgan Center counselors to contact youth and parents, explain the program to them, and obtain their

consent to participate. Informal assessment continues through the client's first month of participation in the program. Then a second in-depth staffing is conducted by the Center staff and the Central Denver diagnostic team to develop a prescriptive treatment plan that includes objectives for learning disability therapy, academic remediation, and counseling and social adjustment. Parents are invited to attend this staffing, but do not often come. Therefore a counselor usually visits the child's home shortly after the staffing to discuss the details of the treatment with them.

The following services are provided to all Morgan Center clients:

Counseling. Morgan Center's two counselors have much the same treatment philosophy as counselors in the other components of the system because nearly all of them worked previously for Project New Pride. When the program is operating at full capacity, each counselor will have a caseload of 15 to 20 youths. The amount of client contact varies with need, but it was expected that during the intensive phase counselors would see their clients daily merely be being present at the Center before and during classes. At least once a week, counselors conduct problem-oriented sessions with their clients for an hour or more. All counseling occurs on a one-to-one basis and an effort is made to integrate this service with educational remediation and employment services.

Counselors are also responsible for weaning their clients away from the program and facilitating adjustment to a public school or job program during the six-month follow-up phase. Morgan Center counselors act as advocates for their clients in the courts and schools; they are required to accompany clients to all court appearances with detailed case notes and reports.

Learning disability and academic remediation. Level III testing by Central Denver's diagnostic team is designed to pinpoint the perceptual

processing strengths and weaknesses of each client. Therapy is designed to raise each youth's visual, auditory, and developmental (motor) skills to full potential. Standard exercises are used that match the weaker sensory modalities with the stronger modalities to integrate the youth's functioning skills. After a minimum level of skill is attained, regular academic work is included in the child's treatment program.

In addition to classroom work, clients rotate among the various specialists for half hour sessions of individualized help. As the child progresses, there is less of a need to keep him or her isolated for specialized training. At the time of the interviews, about ten clients were attending classes conducted by three teachers with the assistance of four or five student interns. Interns, who are usually student teachers or volunteers, provide tutoring and the individual attention deemed necessary for successful learning.

Youths spend three hours per day (in the morning or in the afternoon) on four days each week in classes at Morgan Center. Teachers must meet the criteria set by the Denver Public Schools so that clients can receive public school credits for their participation in the Center's program. Similarly, curriculum is subject to the approval of the Denver Public Schools.

Recreation and cultural education are also part of the Center's school program. Weekly basketball games involving all the Center's clients and staff are considered part of the gross motor training offered to program youths. Field trips and guest speakers have been used to further expose clients to their community.

Referral Services. Morgan Center uses many of the community resources available to Central Denver, especially referral for medical and mental health

services. In addition, to a limited extent, counselors have referred clients to Central Denver for pre-vocational training and on-the-job placement.

Early termination from the Morgan Center program can occur for several reasons. Termination may occur because a client is committed to the Department of Institutions, since mandatory sentencing laws would apply to many of the Center's clients if they were rearrested. If a child fails to keep the commitment to attend class regularly (80% attendance is considered a minimum), a joint decision may be made by the child's probation officer and the Center staff to remove the child from the program. Only a few clients have left the program this way since its inception. Finally, the court may decide to place the child outside the home for reasons unrelated to program participation. This action, too, may result in early termination.

Feedback to Central Denver is provided at frequent staff meetings and in the form of statistical information required by project agreements. Data collected for research purposes are coordinated by the Central Denver research team through the Morgan Center secretary.

Project New Pride. Project New Pride is an alternative high school for serious juvenile offenders. The director of Central Denver initiated New Pride seven years ago, and by all accounts the program has been quite successful. The project is highly regarded by officials of all branches of the juvenile justice system and has been designated an exemplary project by LEAA.

BRI did not interview personnel at New Pride because the director of Central Denver had stated that client cases sent to New Pride do not fit program guidelines for Central Denver. This is true, since all New Pride clients are on formal probation. On the other hand, agreements with the

justice system allow a limited number of youths on formal probation to enter all of the programs associated with Central Denver. Furthermore, Central Denver's quarterly reports list the clients referred to New Pride as part of its caseload. These clients only have contact with Central Denver through the diagnostic and referral services offered by the diversion project.

KANSAS CITY YOUTH DIVERSION PROJECT

(December 12-16, 1977)

Overview

The Kansas City metropolitan area consists of seven counties centered on the Missouri-Kansas state line. Kansas City, Missouri, with a population of 407,087 (1970 census) is situated in three of the five counties that compose the Missouri side of the metropolitan area. The target jurisdiction of the Kansas City Youth Diversion Project is that portion of Kansas City which is in Jackson County, Missouri. The majority of Kansas City residents, 86.9% or 440,524 people, live in this area.

The Jackson County Juvenile Court has the largest volume of referrals in the metropolitan area: 5,408 in 1975 compared with about 850 referrals in the next largest county (Clay) in the Missouri portion of the city. Furthermore, the City, Missouri Police Department (KCPD) refers the largest number of youths to the juvenile court, accounting for approximately 70% of the court's intake. Until recently, it was believed that juvenile delinquency in Kansas City had peaked in 1969. However, an analysis in 1975 of the twelve-year history of juvenile delinquency confirmed that, after a few years of decline, delinquency returned to an arrest trend line that has been following an upward direction at a fairly steady rate since 1961. This increase in arrests is more serious when one considers that 40.1% of the juvenile arrests in 1975 were for aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, and auto theft. (Demographic

information and crime statistics were obtained from the project grant proposal.)

The Kansas City Youth Diversion Project is the cooperative effort of the Urban Affairs Department of the city and the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department. When BRI interviewers visited Kansas City in December, 1977, the police department was diverting youths from further penetration into the juvenile justice system and operating one of the project's social service units. The Urban Affairs Department was responsible for the project's overall administration and the operation of a second social service unit, which placed clients at ten community agencies throughout the city. In order to gain a complete picture of program operations, interviews were conducted with personnel from the Jackson County Juvenile Court, the city's service unit, the police department's service unit, each of the ten community service agencies, and other community service agencies to which the service units sometimes refer clients.

History

The diversion project proposal funded by LEAA was a product of the political forces at work in Kansas City in 1976. According to interviews with police and diversion project personnel, the initial idea for the project was suggested to the KCPD by a private attorney who believed that an effort should be made to replace the youth service bureau because its funding would soon be terminated. His idea found support from the commander of the juvenile division (who has since been promoted to chief of detectives). Under the commander's direction, a local evaluator and the present police department diversion coordinator began work on an initial draft of the proposal. Anticipating that LEAA would not fund a project exclusively operated by the

police, they approached the mayor of Kansas City and invited the city to collaborate.

At that point, a number of community organizations expressed their dissatisfaction with the plan. They formed a neighborhood coalition to protest the lack of community involvement in project planning and to direct the focus of the plan to the problems of the inner-city. As one interviewee suggested, "the proposal sounded like a group of white people making a plan to serve black kids." In September, 1976, with the deadline for submitting the proposal approaching, members of the Urban Affairs Department consulted coalition representatives and the police department grant writers and drafted a proposal that was satisfactory to each of the three groups involved. The city would administer the grant through its Department of Urban Affairs and operate one of the project's social service units, Roles for Youth (RFY). Direct services offered by the city unit would be minimal, however, with case management handled by service managers under contract to the city but located in community based service agencies, such as those operated by the neighborhood coalition. Rather than contracting for services per se, the city chose to pay the salary (and some expenses) or one additional staff member for each of ten youth-serving community agencies, so that diverted youths could be assigned to service providers near their homes. The Kansas City Police Department, an agency of the State of Missouri, would have a major subcontract with the city to operate a second service unit emphasizing the provision of short-term (30 days) crisis intervention services to diverted youths. The Youth Service Unit (YSU) would be run independently of RFY, with the two components sharing equally the cases referred by police intake. Both components would have the option of referring cases to other agencies for

additional services. With each of these major groups accommodated, the proposal was submitted. The city was notified of LEAA's intent to award the grant in December, 1976.

Despite the early availability of project funds (January, 1977) diversion project administrators spent very little money until April. Delays in the approval of the police department contract, discussed below, resulted in a postponement of YSU spending until August 1, 1977. In the first quarter of project operations (January through March), an RFP was distributed to thirty neighborhood agencies that were thought to be potential service contractors and a notice soliciting proposals was placed in local newspapers. These efforts produced proposals from more than twenty agencies from which nine of the proposed ten were selected. The tenth agency was not chosen for several more months because of the difficulty in finding a suitable contractor in the southeast part of the city. According to the project director, eight of the ten agencies that had contracts with the diversion project at the time of the BRI interviews were members of the neighborhood coalition. Staff recruitment had to be performed directly by the Urban Affairs Department because of the backlog of work in the city personnel department. This slowed the hiring process somewhat; the project director was hired on April 18 and four non-clerical RFY positions were filled on June 13.

The hiring of the Youth Service Unit staff was more protracted. Preparation and negotiation of the police department contract took longer than expected, and approval by the Board of Police Commissioners was delayed by the election of a new state governor. Because a new board would soon be appointed, the lame-duck board was reluctant to take the initiative in a project that required a three-year commitment. Thus, funds for the YSU

component did not become available until August, 1977, and the YSU staff was not hired until September - some ten months after the project was funded. Project start-up was further postponed by delays in the delivery of both the city's and the police department's computer equipment and by the difficulty of locating a tenth community agency to serve southeast Kansas City.

A pilot test of diversion project procedures began on September 19 and continued through the month of September. By the time the BRI interviews were conducted, over a hundred youths had been found eligible for diversion and assigned to one of four experimental groups: normal processing to juvenile court, the RFY service program, the YSU service program, and release without services.

Goals

According to the grant proposal, "the major goal of the program is to reduce by a significant number the adjudication of juveniles alleged to be delinquent." The primary strategy for accomplishing this goal was to be the diversion of juvenile offenders from two points in the justice system: immediately after booking at the police youth unit and at juvenile court intake. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, this plan had been amended to allow for diversion at police intake only. (For a more complete description, see Intake and Referral below.)

Virtually all YSU and RFY staff members who were interviewed acknowledged the pre-eminence of the goal of impact on the justice system and the importance of the research aspects of the project in assessing the effects of different dispositions. The police personnel, in particular, underscored the project's experimental nature and its potential impact on future policy-making and justice system practice. As might be expected, given the differing

treatment strategies adopted by the two components, personnel from the police and city service units disagreed on the means of changing the behavior of diverted youth and preventing recidivism. YSU staff emphasized a crisis intervention strategy aimed at teaching problem-solving skills to youths and their parents so that they can deal more effectively with their environment. Their clients are trained through role-playing techniques to consider all available alternatives and to choose among them on the basis of their consequences. On the other hand, the RFY component, as the name implies, attempts to "assist diverted youths (in developing) to their fullest capacities through placement in roles in which they may contribute their talents, interests, and energy to the community through work or service" (Diversion Project grant proposal). Such involvement in jobs, education, and community service would enhance self-esteem and foster commitment to constructive alternatives. In addition, RFY staff members stressed the opportunity their program offers for educating the community about the needs and problems of young offenders. Couching their arguments in the terms of labeling theory, they described the potential effects of their public relations effort for changing community attitudes through lectures, radio program discussions, and meetings with teachers and concerned citizenry. In sum, the goals and strategies of the two components seem to be sufficiently similar to permit cooperation in achieving common objectives, yet sufficiently different to make a comparison of the two approaches of interest.

Structure and Function

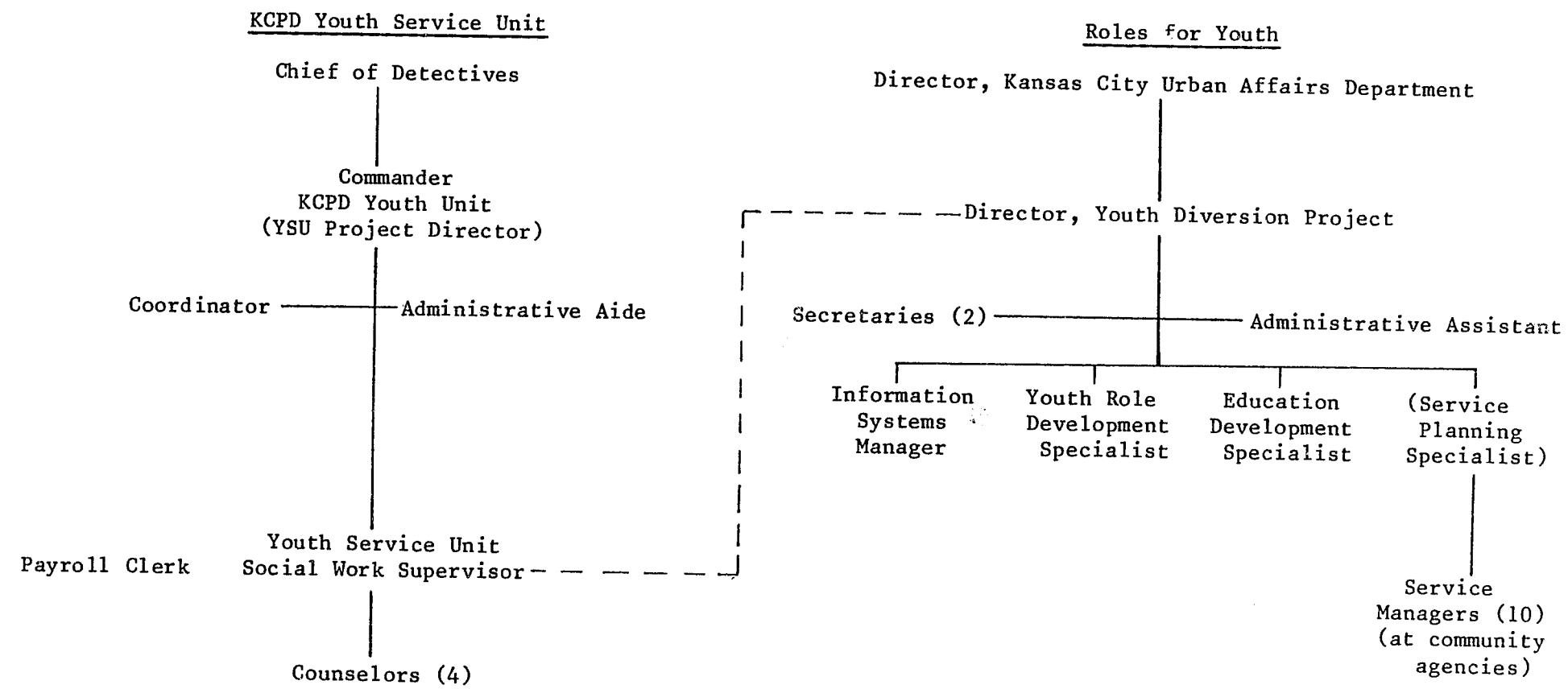
The Department of Urban Affairs is the social planning and administrative unit of the city government with responsibility for the development and management of human service programs. The department administers, directly or

by contract with community and public agencies, a wide variety of programs in the areas of employment and training, housing, economic development, early childhood education, services to the elderly, criminal justice, and social welfare. As stated previously, the Kansas City Youth Diversion project is administered by the Department of Urban Affairs with a major sub-contract to the Kansas City Police Department and additional contracts to ten youth-serving community agencies. Overall project management including planning and coordination of project activities, contract negotiation and monitoring, operation of the information and tracking system and program monitoring is the responsibility of the Roles for Youth staff. Housed in city hall and supervised by the director of the Department of Urban Affairs, the Roles for Youth staff also places diverted youths with service managers at the ten community agencies scattered throughout the city and coordinates services for youths assigned to their component.

The police youth services unit, on the other hand, is located in the youth unit at the police building. Its staff, which operates independently of the city component, consists of five service workers, paid by the diversion project but supervised by the commander of the police department's youth unit, and two police officers who coordinate and monitor service delivery in the police component and referral to both components on a full-time basis. Because the diversion project consists of two largely autonomous and physically separate entities, the function of personnel from each will be described separately.

The following administrative and service staff have responsibility for project management and the operation of the Roles for Youth component (See Figure A-2):

Project Director. The director represents the city in monitoring contractual arrangements with the police department and other agencies and



NOTE: Service Planning Specialist position was vacant at the time of the interviews.

Figure A-2
Organizational Chart for Kansas City Youth Diversion Project

works in concert with YSU supervisory staff in coordinating the activities of the two components. She is also responsible for supervising RFY staff, arranging training for them, setting RFY policies, writing project reports, and representing the diversion project in dealing with the community at large.

Information Systems Manager. The chief exception to the segregation of staffs for the police and city components is the information systems manager. His primary task - managing the automated data system shared by the two components - requires that he has frequent contact with staff and managers of both units. In addition to assisting in the system's development and its integration with the city's computer system, the information systems manager coordinates the collection of client data, performs required analyses, and prepares reports for project managers.

Education Development Specialist. One of four service specialists, the education development specialist provides educational testing and counseling, serves as an advocate for project clients in the school system, and refers them outside the project for further assessment or for supplemental services such as tutoring and alternative education.

Role Development Specialist. The responsibilities of the role development specialist fall into two major areas: (1) public relations or community education, and (2) job development with private businesses. The latter involves developing an inventory of placement opportunities for project youths, supervising payment for work done by clients, and monitoring the progress of clients on the job. At the time of the BRI interviews the role development specialist was actively engaged in developing Roles for Youth clubs. His plan was to establish clubs composed of project and non-project youths at each of the ten community agencies for the purpose of fostering a sense of belonging and positive commitment.

Service Planning Specialist. In many ways, the service planning specialist is the key to service delivery through the RFY component. He is responsible for making the initial contact with a diverted youth, conducting an assessment of individual problems and interests, developing a service plan, and serving as a resource for service managers with advice on counseling techniques, service availability, and general problem resolution.

Role Service Managers. The role service managers work at the ten community agencies. They are charged with finding new and constructive roles for diverted youngsters. Client progress is to be closely monitored by service managers throughout the length of their participation. Role service managers are also responsible for obtaining services for their clients through referrals to other agencies.

Under the overall direction of the juvenile division commander, the following personnel operate the Youth Service Unit component of the diversion project:

Diversion Coordinator. The police department's diversion coordinator (a police officer) is responsible for maintaining quality control over project procedures, trouble-shooting for the numerous problems that arise between the service unit and regular police staffs, and sharing administrative responsibility for YSU with the counselor supervisor. Although the coordinator was devoting all of his time to YSU operation, he expected to receive a new assignment once the project was running smoothly.

Administrative Aide (civilian). The YSU administrative aide is a thirty-year veteran of the police department who spent four years as supervisor of the youth unit. He is the liaison between YSU service staff and the police department. In addition to developing the filing system for the

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youth unit, the administrative aide has worked closely with the coordinator in monitoring project documentation and the randomization procedure. An increasingly important part of his job involves following up on youths who are rearrested or somehow fail to make contact with a referral agency.

Counselor Supervisor. The counselor supervisor directs the service activities of the Youth Service Unit and has primary responsibility for case assignment, inservice training, and public relations. Although he devoted about half of his time to casework when the program first began, at the time of the interviews, the counselor supervisor was chiefly involved in conducting group counseling sessions and supervising the casework of the four counselors.

Counselors. The four counselors work as a team to provide 24-hour crisis counseling and intensive short-term social services to diverted youths. They serve both intake and service delivery functions. Their tasks include needs assessment, intensive counseling, referral to community agencies, and youth advocacy in the schools.

Administrative Concerns

As noted above, the diversion project's two service components operate independently and are for the most part administratively separate as well. The coordination of project activities, however, requires a number of regularly scheduled meetings in addition to the RFY information system manager's daily contact with YSU staff and frequent consultation by component managers via telephone. Mutual concerns are shared on the first Monday of every month in a meeting attended by community center directors, service managers, RFY staff, and the YSU counselor supervisor. The youth unit commander, police diversion coordinator, director of the juvenile justice center, diversion project director, and representatives from LEAA and the

board of education meet on the second Monday of every month to review data summaries and discuss problems. According to the project directors, these meetings were to be combined into one monthly meeting.

Additional meetings are held within the components. YSU counselors and supervisor meet every Friday for three or four hours. Administrative matters are often discussed, but the meeting's main purpose is case review and service plan development. Although YSU counselors have frequent contact with police department personnel in performing their daily tasks, the counselor supervisor usually represents all of the component's service providers in informal meetings with the diversion coordinator, administrative aide, and division commander. Because the project had been operational for only a few months when the BRI interviews were conducted, consultation among these program managers occurred almost daily.

Among RFY staff at city hall, meetings are held more frequently. Some personnel attend a monthly Urban Affairs Department meeting and all attend a one hour meeting every other Friday for RFY staff alone. The latter meeting provides an opportunity to discuss project management, ventilate feelings, and offer feedback to the project director. Finally, on alternate Fridays, the program specialists and service managers attend a two-hour staffing to develop and revise service plans and to discuss the progress of individual clients.

Orientation and In-Service Training

The RFY project director and program specialists organized a two-week orientation covering communication skills, interview techniques, crisis intervention, youth development, and diversion project history, theory and goals. They were assisted in presenting these materials by BRI staff, local consultants, and representatives of the Office of Juvenile Justice and

Delinquency Prevention, state and local LEAA, and the National Office for Social Responsibility. Although all RFY service staff and service managers attended, and many of the agency directors as well, only one member of the YSU component participated because none of the others had been hired at the time. One special two-hour session conducted by the police coordinator was held for all youth unit detectives to discuss diversion project procedures and their responsibilities in project operation. Following the ten days of training, a two-day session was held for RFY staff alone on effective team building.

Initial orientation for YSU staff consisted of four days of training conducted by the counselor supervisor and police coordinator. Social work techniques and skills development were presented through role-playing and lecture formats, but the chief emphasis was on component procedures and the use of project forms. One YSU staff member suggested that each counselor came to the project with somewhat different skills and that the orientation provided an opportunity for them to share their knowledge in a systematic way.

Staffs of both components stated that supervisors periodically provide additional training at staff meetings and that personnel often attend workshops and conferences and report back to their colleagues. Just before the BRI interviews were conducted, a one-day meeting had been held with the staffs of both components and youth unit detectives to discuss problems with project documentation to consider means of resolving them. Furthermore, since the project began operating, local and NOSR consultants had been used on a monthly to lecture to joint meetings of RFY and YSU staff on topics of special interest, such as drug use and adolescent development. Future sessions were planned for training in career development, community relations, and team building.

Because client intake procedures, case management, and service options differ almost completely for the two service components, the operation of Roles for Youth and Youth Service Unit programs will be considered separately.

YSU Intake

Once a juvenile unit detective has determined that a youth is to be referred to YSU, he contacts the counselor on duty and arranges to introduce the family to the counselor in the YSU office, which is located in the juvenile unit at police headquarters. Immediate client intake and crisis intervention are the hallmarks of the YSU service philosophy. The length of time from apprehension to referral for services may be as little as a few hours, depending on how long it takes the detective to complete the necessary paperwork and how long it takes the youth's parents to arrive. If the arrest has caused an unusual dislocation in family relations or if an immediate problem is present, the counselor attempts to intercede. Two other purposes are served by this initial meeting: the counselor begins the assessment process by which the client's problems are identified and the counselor interviews the family to determine when and where future meetings can be held. The client's problems must be defined and treatment goals must be established within five days of referral. Problem identification may involve obtaining information from the client, family, school, peers, and any social service agencies with which the client has had contact. Whether or not problem areas can be addressed within the 30-day treatment period, they are documented and recorded. Service goals are chosen for those problems which can be resolved within the service period. With the agreement of child and family, problems, goals, and the sequence of services necessary to accomplish the goals are integrated in a service plan that must be approved by the counselor supervisor and placed in the client's case file.

YSU Case Management

In order to assure continuity of service delivery, the intake counselor maintains responsibility for a case throughout the service period. Counselors must insure that all planned services are delivered, including those offered to clients by outside agencies. A minimum of two contacts per week are required for each client in a counselor's caseload. These may include counseling sessions, home visits, advocacy at the child's school, and visits to other agencies providing services to a client. Service delivery lasts a maximum of thirty days from the date of referral, though this applies only to services provided by YSU; placement with a community service agency may continue after termination. Each service contract, whether it is provided through YSU or through a community agency, is documented on two sets of forms. Because the forms provided by the city require only coded information and offer no means of measuring progress toward a service goal, YSU supervisory staff developed their own set of forms that include space for narrative descriptions of client contacts and goal attainment. As a consequence, service plans and progress reports are extensively documented.

Termination from YSU services will occur before the end of the 30-day period when a parent or child requests it (though this had not happened at the time of the interviews) or when planned goals have been attained. The counselor supervisor must approve all early terminations. According to the contractual agreement with the city, under no circumstances will a client receive services from YSU staff after the service period has expired. Recidivists who had originally been assigned to the YSU component are readmitted into the program and assigned to the same counselor.

YSU Service Options

In-house services provided by YSU counselors consist basically of group,

family, and individual counseling, referral to community service agencies, and some youth advocacy in the court and the schools. The relative amounts of group, family, and individual counseling clients receive depend in large part on the nature of their problems; most clients receive all three. Counselors share a problem-solving model that guides their work with clients. In group therapy youths are encouraged to present current problems to the group, so that the group as a whole can practice the application of problem-solving principles. Group activities and role-playing are used to understand obstacles to problem resolution and to encourage participation. YSU counselors suggested that by teaching project youths to apply these skills themselves, the YSU program would continue to have an impact beyond the 30-day limit. About two-thirds of the program's youths attend group counseling sessions on a weekly basis. The counselor supervisor and one or two counselors lead ninety minute sessions for eight to ten youths at a time. Occasionally, a project youth is accompanied by a curious friend or sibling, but most participants are from the diversion project.

All clients are involved in individual counseling which is used to address personal problems and, again, often stresses decision-making skills. Counselors typically contact each of their clients several times a week, either via telephone or in person, for periods lasting from fifteen minutes to an hour. Special attention can be given to family problems by arranging family counseling sessions with youth and parents. Most project youths require between one and four such sessions in the course of the treatment period. On occasion, counselors find it necessary to intercede on a client's behalf for some school-related problem, for example, assisting a youth in re-entering the school system. Counselors may appear in court when a client

is rearrested to report on the youth's progress in the program and appeal for reinstatement if that is appropriate.

In contrast to the Roles for Youth component, YSU does not have funds for purchasing services from outside agencies. Thus, referrals can only be made to agencies that donate services or in situations in which the client is willing and able to purchase them. During the initial weeks of YSU operation, the counselor supervisor conducted a survey of youth serving agencies in metropolitan Kansas City to assess their reliability, accessibility, and effectiveness. Although some of the agencies were found to be unsuitable for referrals and others have since proven to be unreliable, a number of them are being used by YSU counselors. They include alternative schools, recreation programs, a community mental health center, a job placement program, and a community-supported outreach program. Despite these successes, project staff reported that adequate foster care, big brother programs with immediate enrollment, reliable drug abuse programs, and sufficiently extensive outreach programs are lacking in Kansas City.

RFY Intake

Client's initial contact with the Roles for Youth component occurs somewhat later than with YSU. Youth unit detectives initially notify staff members by telephone when a case is assigned to RFY. Each weekday morning, the information system manager crosses the street to police headquarters and picks up the intake forms of youths who have been assigned to RFY in the last 24 hours. He relays this information to the service planning specialist who calls the family, briefly discusses the program, and arranges an appointment with child and family, usually at the child's home. Every effort is made to schedule the initial appointment within 48 hours of the apprehension. In the

initial assessment - which is conducted by the service planning specialist, a service manager, or both - the child and parents are interviewed to determine the child's problems, needs, and interests. The interviewer also requests that consent-to-participate and release-of-information forms be completed so that educational and social services records can be acquired.

Once the intake interview is completed, RFY staff construct a social history for the youth based on interviews and records from the child's school, friends, and any agencies with which he or she has had contact. The service planning specialist may be assisted in this task by the other specialists, for example, the education development specialist may contact the school in his or her stead. Similarly, the education development specialist may conduct educational testing or refer the child for psychological testing if these are deemed necessary for formulating a diagnosis. When the project first started, the service planning specialist had primary responsibility for gathering the information used in developing the social history. However, as time passed, he delegated more and more of this responsibility to the service managers. In her interview, the project director stated that when a new service planning specialist is hired, social histories will be developed as they had been originally, since many of the service managers are unqualified to perform this task.

The end product of the information gathering and staff consultation is a service plan formulated at the bi-weekly staffing. Once a service plan is completed, the assigned service manager meets with child and parents to discuss it in some detail. If all parties are in agreement, the service manager and the child sign a contract that is placed in the child's case file.

RFY Case Management

Each diverted youngster is assigned to the community service agency

closest to his or her home. The role service manager at each agency is responsible for case management, that is, the manager must see that services are delivered properly to individual clients, whether by RFY or by other youth serving agencies. In addition to meeting with clients for a minimum of three, 20-minute sessions per week, service managers are expected to spend time in conference with parents, friends, employers, and school representatives.

Service managers keep daily contact logs to record client activities; these must be submitted to supervisors weekly. Service managers also submit monthly narratives describing the types of services rendered, number of referrals, client progress, problems encountered and their probable solutions, and community reactions to RFY efforts. At any time, service managers may file a special report with the service planning specialist requesting changes in service plans or assistance with difficult cases. In response, the service planning specialist must recommend a course of action that will be acceptable to both the project's central office and the petitioning service manager.

Caseloads were small at the time of the BRI interviews, falling far short of the twenty client limit set by the project: caseloads ranged from seven clients to none. RFY personnel were optimistic, however, that the flow of clients would increase as the project moved out of its start-up phase. Firm guidelines for client termination had not been established since none of the project's clients had reached this stage, although it was expected that participants would be terminated (1) if they or their parents fail to respond to project efforts or (2) if they have achieved their goals. Service managers recognized the service planning specialist's authority in making the final decision to terminate a client, but felt that they should have considerable input to the decision.

RFY Service Options

The following are the major service options offered by the Roles for Youth Component:

Tutoring. Upon the recommendations of the RFY education planning specialist, some project youngsters are placed in a tutoring program operated by the University of Missouri-Kansas City Education Department. The service manager is responsible for getting the student to and from the place of tutoring. In addition, the service manager speaks with teachers, counselors, and principals in order to assess the effects of tutoring on client academic performance and behavior. Since participants had just started their studies at the time of BRI's visit, it was impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of this service option.

Employment Counseling. Employment counseling appears to be one of the major emphasis points. Participants are instructed in finding and applying for jobs; the youth's reasons for wanting a job and what the youth would like to get out of a particular job are discussed. Clients are asked to think about fringe benefits, mobility, and how readily their acquired skills can be transferred to different settings. Some service managers have formalized their counseling in weekly or bi-weekly "career exploration" sessions. Recognizing that other family members can often benefit from such discussions, some service managers have elected to open their employment counseling sessions to all interested parties.

Job Placement. RFY has budgeted monies to be used as a "scholarship" fund to subsidize part-time employment for RFY clients. Each of the project's ten service managers is responsible for finding one job slot per month and registering these prospects with the role development specialist. Project

youths can submit job applications to the role development specialist, who interviews applicants in the presence of their service managers. Placement is dependent upon the needs of the youth (as assessed by the role development specialist) and availability of the desired job. Following placement, the service manager is expected to contact the youth's immediate supervisor once or twice a week for feedback on client attendance and performance and maintain close contact with the youngster - providing vocational guidance, collecting time sheets, distributing paychecks, and so on.

Medical Services. Occasionally youngsters will be referred to community hospitals, clinics, or local physicians for testing or medical treatment. Learning disabilities can be identified through testing by the RFY educational development specialist; the most common disabilities are correctable deficiencies in vision and hearing. RFY has also made use of Planned Parenthood and local professionals offering dental instruction and care. Service managers follow-up each referral, checking to see that clients and parents show up for appointments and that services are indeed delivered.

Alternative Education. The RFY staff had the option of enrolling clients in alternative education programs operated by public schools or in programs run by private agencies under contract to the diversion project (two such private agencies are described below). The educational development specialist is primarily responsible for placement and monitoring of these services. Generally, efforts are made to solve a youngster's problems within the public school setting before seeking solutions elsewhere. In response to the special needs of some of its students, the Board of Education sponsors three alternatives to traditional public school programming: (1) Project Hold, (2) Special Education, and (3) COE Work-Study Program. Project Hold is aimed at

providing learning disabled youngsters with testing and compensatory skill training. Students enrolled in Project Hold are dismissed from regular classes for one hour a day to work closely with trained personnel. The Special Education program is a remedial program addressing the needs of the mentally handicapped student; degree and length of involvement vary with the individual. Finally, students 16 years and older may enroll in the COE Work-Study Program. Here students attend regular classes for part of the day and then are released to employers. In addition to nominal wages, youngsters receive class credit for their work.

If school programs are unavailable or inappropriate, RFY can purchase services from a number of private agencies such as the Genesis and St. Vincent's schools. Genesis School is operated by the Westport cooperative Mission, Inc., a local, non-profit church and community organization that manages a variety of social programs (daycare, nursing homes, counseling). In addressing the problems encountered by high school dropouts, Genesis School offers a program of academic, vocational, and personal growth. A maximum enrollment of 50 students allows for small classes and individualized instruction. The program has a core curriculum designed to improve student's math, reading and language arts skills. Teachers attempt to raise basic skills to a level at which students are successfully able to re-enter the public school system, if they so desire, but G.E.D. preparation courses are also available. In addition to academic development, Genesis students participate in a comprehensive job preparation program that emphasizes the development and pursuit of long-term career goals.

St. Vincent's School provided an alternative for younger students having learning or adjustment problems in the traditional public school setting. St.

Vincent's is managed by a non-profit corporation, Operation Breakthrough, Inc., and provides individualized instruction to students from preschool through fourteen years of age. The school, which has an enrollment of 165, subscribes to an "open-space" approach to education. Students contract for courses and move around freely, spending a minimum of 45 minutes in each class. Students are expected to organize their daily rounds to include the fundamentals of math, reading, and language arts. Social studies, art, physical education and a learning center make up the school's available electives. Once a week regular classes are suspended and time is spent in such "special events" as films, arts, crafts, etc.

No homework is assigned at St. Vincent's; student performance is rated on a scale of poor to excellent. Class schedules recording classes attended, time spent in each, and instructors' comments are sent home weekly for parent signatures. In addition, there are three parent-teacher-student conferences per year. The diversion project receives feedback on client attendance and, upon request, information on client progress. St. Vincent's insists on close association with the diversion project once a youth has been placed.

RFY Community Agencies

The ten community agencies involved in RFY seem to play an important role in RFY's planning and policy-making, but the main obligation for which they have contracted is to provide a work place for a service manager. Though all of the agencies are involved to at least some degree in social services, not all specialize in services to youth. RFY administrators expect the service managers to make use of the services offered at their agency whenever called for by a client's service plan. Nevertheless, the agencies were not selected because their services were those most needed by project clients, for it was

always intended that service resources would be developed by the RFY staff and through contracts with specialized agencies. We shall not, therefore, describe these agencies in detail, but rather give a brief overview of their origins and activities.

Della C. Lamb. A Methodist mission in the settlement-house tradition, Della C. Lamb Neighborhood House, Inc., was established in 1896. In addition to daycare, community outreach, and services for the elderly, Della C. Lamb sponsors a variety of activities for adolescents including cultural events, clubs, arts and crafts courses, and teams for competitive sports. Each year the agency leases two camps so that approximately 750 inner-city residents have the opportunity to enjoy a wilderness experience by enrolling in day camping, weekend camping, and family camping programs.

Guadalupe Center. The Guadalupe Center, Inc., is a multi-purpose center providing services to 1200 of Kansas city's westside residents monthly. Programs at the Guadalupe Center reflect the most pressing concerns of the community and are directed toward the problems of housing, youth, and the elderly. In addition to the diversion program, Guadalupe has its own youth program staff with a youth coordinator, athletic director, two recreation leaders, and an arts and crafts instructor. Energies are focused on providing youth recreation, cultural events, and employment counseling and training.

Northeast Owl Center. The Northeast Owl Center began in 1973 as a late night drop-in center; it later expanded its program to include counseling and educational opportunities. Roughly 350 youngsters participate in the center's activities during a six-month period. Aside from RFY youths (for which the service manager is responsible), the Northeast Owl Center accepts referrals from the probation department and social service agencies.

Clymer Center. Operating out of a facility built in 1973, the Clymer Center provides comprehensive recreational, cultural, and educational services to the surrounding community. Although the center had not received any referrals from RFY at the time of the interviews, diversion clients would be eligible to participate in all of the center's city-funded programs including arts and crafts, dance, dramatics, sports, and field trips.

Urban Services YMCA. The Urban Services YMCA is a special services office and does not provide the sports and recreation activities usually associated with the YMCA. Currently, the Urban Services YMCA has two programs - Rebound and Career Awareness - directed toward solving the problems of youth. Diversion clients' participation will be modeled after the Rebound program in which volunteers establish a positive relationship with youngsters referred by the court. In the case of diversion clients, the service manager would assume the role played by volunteers in the other programs, but on a full-time basis. At the time of the BRI interviews, three RFY clients had been referred.

Minute Circle Friendly House. In 1923, Minute Circle Friendly House (MCFH) was formed through the combination of two older Kansas City community centers. Current programs include informal education, recreation, and social group activities for all ages. MCFH sponsors an athletic program, a teen town, a program for the blind and handicapped, and also offers counseling and referral services. No diversion clients had been referred to the agency at the time of the interviews, but it was expected that clients would be integrated into MCFH's ongoing activities, do odd jobs around the agency to gain work experiences, and receive regular counseling from the resident service manager.

Linwood YMCA. YMCA's were among the first social service agencies in the black neighborhoods of Kansas City. The Linwood YMCA offers counseling,

tutoring, values education, recreation, field trips, health education, cultural activities, and a career readiness program to high school students; a special summer program includes swimming and soft ball. Although five clients had been referred to the Linwood YMCA by the diversion project, it was unclear to what extent they were participating in the various Linwood YMCA programs.

Blue Hills Homes Corporation. Blue Hills Homes Corporation was organized by neighborhood residents in July, 1974. Its original purpose was to purchase and repair homes in the surrounding area, but more recently the agency has begun administering federally funded remedial reading and other special education programs at private schools. The resident service manager will provide counseling and referral services to diversion clients, but no other services are offered in-house since Blue Hills Homes does not provide direct services to youth.

Boys' Clubs of Greater Kansas City. Two Boys' Clubs - 39th Street and John Thornberry - have contractual arrangements with RFY to provide services to diverted youths. The first Kansas City Boys' Club branch was founded in 1935 to assist farm boys who came to the city. Since that time, the agency has grown to include three centers, opened its doors to girls, and most recently, directed an outreach program for first offenders referred by the court. Current services include physical education and personal hygiene, social recreation and cultural arts, group clubs and vocational training, social rehabilitation and adjustment, and supplementary education. The few diversion project clients who had been referred were eligible for all of the clubs' programs.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

The judge of the Jackson County Juvenile Court is selected from among

circuit court judges of the 16th judicial circuit and appointed for a one year term. Within his jurisdiction are all cases of law violations involving juveniles: delinquency, status offenses, traffic violations, and referrals for child abuse, neglect and protective custody. The director of juvenile court services is responsible for the courts' budget and general administration, while the assistant director supervises the operation of the courts' major division: probation, institutions, and manager services. The probation department is divided into ten treatment units staffed by deputy juvenile officers, six for delinquency cases and one each for Family Attention (status offenders), Foster Homes, Crisis Intervention, and Aftercare. Most of these units are centrally located at the juvenile court building in Independence, Missouri. In addition, juvenile court services operates six residential treatment facilities and makes extensive use of foster home placement with the Division of Family Services and commitments to private institutions and the Divisions of Mental Health and Youth Services.

Client Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

Referrals to the Jackson County Juvenile Court can come from parents, schools, and social service agencies (primarily the county mental health centers), but the chief entrance point for the juvenile justice system is arrest by a field police officer. Under KCPD procedures, arresting officers are given the option of releasing a juvenile offender if the offense committed is not a felony and the child has no history of criminal behavior. Youths not released by the field officer are brought to the youth unit at police headquarters. Youth unit detectives, under the direction of the sergeant on duty, must determine whether there is sufficient probable cause to book the youth for the offense and send him or her to court or to further investigate

the offense. Without a determination of probable cause, youth unit staff must release the youth.

The juvenile justice unit of the juvenile court (JJU) reviews the referral to determine if there is evidence to sustain a petition beyond a reasonable doubt. Without such evidence, the court will render no service and will release the youth or return the case to the referral source with a notification that more evidence is required. If there is sufficient evidence to sustain a petition, the unit will process the youth through one of three alternatives: release (settled out of court), consent docket, or judicial docket. If either of the last two options is chosen, a deputy juvenile officer of JJU is assigned to the case. This officer's job is to develop a social history for the child by talking to teachers, parents, and friends so that the court can have additional information on which to base a judgment.

Placing a case on the consent docket results in an informal hearing before an administrative hearing officer of the court. This option is reserved for youths who are in need of court services, but who do not warrant an adjudicatory hearing because of the nature of the offense and the cooperative attitude of the youth and parents. To be placed on the consent docket, the child must admit to the charge and, with the parents, consent to court supervision not exceeding one year. If the case is placed on the judicial docket, the child must appear at an official hearing presided over by the juvenile court judge or commissioner. Prior to the formal hearing, the youth and parents are required to attend an arraignment hearing for the purpose of allowing the youth to make a statement about the charge and insuring that provisions for legal counsel are made.

Thirty to sixty days after the arraignment hearing, the case is heard at a formal judicial hearing in which both the deputy juvenile officer and the child are represented by attorneys. The judge decides whether or not to sustain the petition after considering the evidence of the case. Then, assisted by the recommendations and social history prepared by the juvenile officer, the judge determines the case's final disposition based on his own interpretation of the facts. His options include formal probation under the supervision of a deputy juvenile officer, foster care placement, group home placement, and placement in a community-based residential treatment school/home. Aftercare is provided to youths released from the court's schools by deputy juvenile officers in order to facilitate adjustment to a normal life style.

Eligibility Criteria and Referral to the Diversion Project

Because ultimate authority for the disposition of every juvenile arrest case in Jackson County rests with the juvenile court, project planners consulted with the juvenile court judge and, to an even greater extent, his representative, the juvenile court director, in establishing diversion project procedures and eligibility criteria. Furthermore, a variety of other justice system personnel were interviewed by the police department's diversion coordinator in planning diversion procedures; these included the juvenile division commander, district juvenile officers, and youth unit detectives. Final authority for changes in police operations is, of course, the responsibility of the chief of police.

All referrals to both components of the diversion project come from the police department's youth unit located at police headquarters. When an arresting officer brings a juvenile to the youth unit for booking, he turns

the case over to a detective assigned by the youth unit sergeant on duty. After the booking is completed and the child's parents are called and asked to come to the youth unit, the detective prepares a contact form (which is completed for all alleged juvenile offenders, whether diversion-eligible or not) and makes an initial determination of eligibility for the random assignment pool based on probable cause or the evidence surrounding the case, the seriousness of the offense, and the youth's prior police contact. Juvenile arrest records are maintained in a card file at the youth unit.

The official criteria for eligibility, according to a police department description of program operations, specifically include: (a) cases involving relatively serious offenses (minor aggravated assault, non-aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft, etc.) and (b) cases for which there is sufficient evidence for court presentation. The guidelines specifically exclude: (a) dangerous offenders (homicide, rape, robbery and serious aggravated assault), (b) first offenders charged with a minor offense, (c) cases lacking sufficient evidence to support a court petition, (d) offenders already under the juvenile court's jurisdiction, (e) status offenders, and (f) youth arrested in Clay or Platte counties (i.e., within Kansas City, but outside the jurisdiction of the Jackson County Juvenile Court). Finally, youth unit detectives are urged to disregard the attitude of parents and child in making the eligibility decision and reminded that probable cause is a critical determinant for inclusion in the target population. Despite their professed reluctance to participate in the diversion program, the youth unit detectives who were interviewed demonstrated a thorough knowledge of the eligibility criteria and, in fact, a number of them reported that they pride themselves on their strict adherence to the guidelines. YSU supervisors have

gone to great lengths to insure that every eligible case is included in the random assignment pool.

Once an eligible youth has been identified and the youth's parents have arrived (or unit staff are reasonably certain that they are on their way), the on-duty youth unit sergeant reviews the detective's paperwork and eligibility decision. Then he enters the youth's birthdate and initials into a computer terminal located at the youth unit (a manual system is available if the automated procedure fails) to obtain a random assignment to one of four program alternatives: (1) the juvenile court, (2) the police department Youth Services Unit, (3) the Roles for Youth program, or (4) release without services. Arrangements for a number of special circumstances have been worked out among police, diversion project, and court staff. First, because youths are automatically referred to court if their parents do not respond to the detective's call, youth unit staff are required to hold a youth for an extended period of time (one detective said up to five hours) when parents cannot be located. Second, when siblings are apprehended together and both meet the eligibility criteria, they are both assigned to the same treatment alternative. Third, although diversion project youths who recidivate are returned to their originally assigned treatment alternative after two rearrests, a third rearrest necessitates a review by juvenile court personnel. They have the option of returning the youth to the same treatment alternative or referring the child to court.

The youth unit detectives who were interviewed said that they tell the youth and parents about the four alternatives before the random assignment is performed, even though the manner in which each case is disposed depends on the alternative selected. If the youth is assigned to the juvenile court, the

case is processed in the usual manner. One police staff member stated that detectives are asked to keep their descriptions of the service programs to a minimum since the adversary role that the police officer must necessarily play could negatively influence the youth or parent's decision to participate. Assignment to the Youth Service Unit program during normal working hours requires that the detective introduce the family to the YSU counselor on duty. Since the YSU offices are situated down the hall from the booking room, referral occurs immediately after randomization. If the youth is assigned to the YSU program at any other time, the youth unit detective or sergeant must call the counselor on standby and tell him to report for intake. In both cases, consent is obtained by the counselor. Participation is completely voluntary: should the youth or parents refuse to participate, the youth is released.

If the youth is assigned to the Roles for Youth program, the family is told that RFY is a counseling program where they can obtain help and that they will be contacted by a counselor in a few days. Then, they are presented with a brochure describing the program and asked to listen to a brief cassette tape, prepared by the RFY staff, inviting the youth to join the program. Again, the voluntary nature of the program is stressed and no attempt is made to obtain the family's consent. A detective is required to notify RFY of a referral in two ways. He must call the RFY office and give them a basic description of the youth who has been referred (RFY uses a phone recorder to receive messages after regular office hours), and he must send them a copy of the intake form which is completed for each case regardless of disposition.

Finally, if release without service is the selected alternative, the youth is released to his or her parents. Detectives are cautioned not to counsel

the youth prior to release. For each of the four dispositions, detectives must ask parents and youth to sign consent forms for the national evaluation. Refusal to sign in no way affects eligibility for diversion or random assignment to the four alternatives. Interviews with police personnel revealed that there is some variation among detectives in what they tell the family about the alternatives, yet all detectives agreed that participation is voluntary and that guilt is not a prerequisite for eligibility. In fact, one detective reported that since these cases are developed in the usual manner, discussion of guilt may be construed as a violation of the youth's rights. Furthermore, supervisory staff reported that they monitor refusal rates closely to detect evidence of mishandling. When a youth is randomly assigned to release without services or one of the two service components, the court is notified of the disposition, but subsequent rearrests have no effect on how a case is processed until the youth is arrested a third time. Because the service programs are voluntary and there is no penalty for nonparticipation, police staff felt that for most youths assignment to these alternatives is effectively the equivalent of release. Service component counselors have most of the responsibility for persuading the family to participate, so justice system personnel are relieved of this task.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

Most deputy juvenile officers (DJO) serve a dual function; they are both investigative and supervisory officers. When the judge orders a social history for a youth, the case is assigned to a DJO according to the geographical location of the child's residence. If the child is placed on probation, the DJO who conducted the initial investigation becomes the child's supervisor.

Probation department services consist primarily of individual and family counseling and referral to community agencies. According to departmental policy, 50% of a DJO's time must be spent with his clients; every effort is made to manage caseloads in such a way that this remains possible. DJOs are required to see clients once a week and clients' parents every other week. Typically, an officer will meet with the child alone at the juvenile court one week and then meet with the child and parents at their home the next, although meetings are sometimes arranged at a community center, school, or other mutually convenient place. Contacts, which average thirty minutes to an hour in length, are usually problem-oriented, but may occasionally be recreational. More intensive family counseling is offered in addition to these regular meetings; selected families attend six weekly counseling sessions conducted by DJOs.

A few subsidiary services are offered by the court. DJOs may organize volleyball or basketball games when a local gym is available, and the court runs a school staffed by the Kansas City Board of Education and located across the street from the court. About 5% of the youths on probation, usually chronic truants or those with other serious school problems, attend school as a stipulation of probation and receive instruction, tutoring, and job counseling.

Finally, DJOs make extensive use of community resources in obtaining services for clients. Most frequently used are medical services and psychological services offered by Western Missouri Mental Health Center, including inpatient and outpatient evaluation, group therapy, and individual counseling.

DJOs must submit weekly reports of client contacts, which are reviewed by probation supervisors. Every three months, DJOs must submit diagnostic

summaries or progress reports for each client. These contain information on (a) client status (the nature and disposition of any new referrals to the court), (b) contacts (frequency of meetings for the last three month period), (c) client adjustment (progress toward personal and social adjustment), and (d) goals and plan of treatment for the next three month period. In the Jackson County Juvenile Court, youths are placed on probation for an indefinite period with a six month minimum, but cases remain on probation for an average of only nine months. Although the judge has ultimate authority for terminating probation, he usually follows the recommendation of the DJO and the probation supervisor.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

In order to better understand the relationships among the major groups that affect diversion project operations, opinions were solicited from youth unit detectives and supervisors and the director of the juvenile court regarding their attitudes toward diversion and the diversion project, and from RFY and YSU staffs regarding their attitudes toward the justice and each other. Police department personnel directly connected to the project (viz., the youth unit commander, his administrative aide, and the diversion coordinator) expressed their respect for the dedication and professionalism of the YSU service staff, yet maintain some skepticism about the project's ultimate success. They agreed that services available through the court were lacking, largely because of a lack of manpower, but at the same time, they elected to reserve judgment on the effect of the project until the evaluation has been completed. Furthermore, these police officers described themselves as ideally suited to conducting a fair evaluation of the project because, first, they have no vested interest in the success of counseling as a

treatment strategy ("as a police officer, it doesn't affect the value of my occupation") and, second, they are members of a department that is comfortable with experimentation and eager to question the basic assumptions of law enforcement practice. In fact, one staff member contrasted his dedication to maintaining the integrity of the experimental design with that of the RFY staff members whose social work background may make them reluctant to "bring counseling out of its magic box."

The fact that even these YSU project managers could describe the RFY component only in broad outline is testament to the separateness of the two components. Despite this lack of knowledge, their stake in the Youth Service Unit was evident in their comparison of the two components. One staff member commented on the propriety of directly comparing a program with fourteen service providers and no service time limit to one with five service providers and a thirty day limit. Another suggested that the police component was not getting the same media exposure as RFY, even though they serve the same number of youths.

The youth unit detectives and sergeants who were interviewed knew very little about the RFY component and expressed a broad range of opinion regarding the impact of the diversion project as a whole. As might be expected, their opinions were based on experiences with YSU staff members, since contact with RFY personnel has been limited to telephone notification of referrals and a few general meetings. Attitudes toward the diversion project ranged from cautious optimism to blatant hostility. Some thought that project services would be more intensive than those offered by the court, but one detective astutely observed that one could not assess promised project services. One youth unit staff member suggested that the project would only

be successful if participation were mandatory. Many detectives were skeptical about the impact of a program that lasts only four weeks and does not deal with the environmental forces that contribute to delinquency. On the other hand, most seemed willing to wait for the results to pass judgment, and one detective touted the project's experimental nature and its capability for demonstrating its effectiveness.

Youth Unit detectives had a number of complaints about the diversion project. Nearly everyone interviewed mentioned the extra paperwork that referral to the project requires and the hostility that this extra work has engendered among the youth unit staff. Also, most detectives objected to their loss of discretionary power in deciding the disposition of a case since the advent of the project. A third major complaint concerned the failure of city and police administrators to consult field officers and detectives in designing diversion project referral procedures. Not only has the project's establishment by fiat created ill-feeling among the detectives, but also, as one respondent suggested, it has led to defects in the project's planning and operation, for example, the police administrators' unrealistic estimate of the flow rate through the youth unit (see below). Another detective suggested that the diversion project may undermine the work of the youth unit staff, since detectives might not take the time to build a case and collect statements from witnesses when only one case in four is processed to court. Still others complained about the arbitrariness of random assignment and the project's disregard for the victims of juvenile crime.

Most police personnel, line staff and managers approved of the kind of referrals being made to the diversion project, though a few thought that the criteria should be relaxed to permit the participation of less serious

offenders. In defense of this position, one sergeant pointed out that a youth has probably committed a number of undetected offenses before the first time he is picked up. Both youth unit and diversion project staff members expressed disappointment over the rate of referrals to the project. Evidently, estimates of the referral rate cited in the project proposal were grossly inaccurate. Planners failed to take into account a declining crime rate and the exclusion of large groups of youngsters who would not meet project guidelines, such as youths already under the jurisdiction of the court, youths whose parents would not be present to consent to diversion, and some youths who commit minor offenses and are lectured and released. Such discrepancies created unrealistic expectations on the part of service providers and, according to youth unit staff members, the slow rate led to accusations that detectives were "not doing their jobs." This conflict was resolved to some degree when youth unit detectives agreed to hold divertable youths whose parents could not be located for a longer period before processing them to court. Finally, nearly everyone who was interviewed believed that the continued contact of police and YSU personnel has had a salutary effect on their working relationship.

Although the juvenile court representative who was interviewed acknowledged many of the diversion project's potential benefits, he also described some of its undesirable effects. Over the first three months of project operation, referrals to the juvenile court dropped 25 percent. Whether this decline is totally the result of the diversion project's operation or a generally decreasing crime rate he would not speculate. However, he did suggest that a continuation of a low referral rate to the court would probably result in a reduction in the size of the court staff that

provided services to youth. His concern was that when the project stops diverting youths at the police level and referrals to the court again increase, he will find it very difficult to replace his service staff.

Another issue concerned the use of referral agencies by the RFY component. Apparently, Roles for Youth staff members had been referring project youths to a court-operated alternative school. Thus, many of the youngsters referred there by the diversion project may well have received the same treatment had they been placed under the jurisdiction of the court. A more serious problem involves project referrals to an alternative school, Genesis, that probation officers have used as a resource free-of-charge in the past. Genesis recently notified the court that because the diversion project is able to pay for their services, their referrals would be given priority over those received from the court. Paradoxically, the court's support of the diversion project might result in the loss of a referral resource for probation officers.

Diversion project personnel acknowledged the cooperation of the court and the police department in establishing the project and the assistance of the latter in reducing the number of youths who were processed to court because their parents could not be located. The staff of RFY, the component with primary responsibility for the information system, also presented their side of the forms controversy. While they admitted that police officers were not ordinarily required to obtain confidential information such as annual income from the families of juvenile offenders, project staff interpreted the detectives' reluctance to do so as a form of resistance to the diversion project. All parties agreed that great strides had been made toward resolving this issue at a recent joint meeting, and the project director reported that

she has encouraged her staff to continue to build rapport with police staff by such steps as riding with them on patrol. YSU service workers stated that although they were at first regarded as "bleeding hearts" by police staff, their relationship has steadily improved.

While the YSU and RFY components share goals and funding sources, a number of service providers noted a degree of competitiveness and jealousy between the two. YSU staff, in particular, said that they often felt slighted by the diversion project administration. One staff member suggested that they are the "black sheep" of the project because project administrators have a greater investment in the success of Roles for Youth. Some of their concerns seemed relatively unimportant, for example, not being introduced as diversion project personnel at public meetings or not getting equal media exposure. However, other complaints were clearly of some consequence, for instance, YSU personnel were not consulted when project data collection forms were developed and, consequently, had to design some of their own. It should be noted in RFY's defense, however, that the police department was much later in hiring their service workers than had been expected and the forms were developed during the period before they were hired. Staff members of both components agreed that some of these problems have been resolved and that increased communication can facilitate the resolution of others. Some competitiveness is likely to remain since, as a number of interviewees noted, the two programs are being directly compared in the program evaluation.

MEMPHIS-METRO YOUTH DIVERSION PROJECT

(July 18-21, 1977)

Overview

Memphis is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River halfway between St. Louis and New Orleans in the extreme southwest corner of Tennessee. Eighty-nine percent of the population of Shelby County resides within the Memphis city limits. Although Shelby County is the largest urban population center in Tennessee (total population exceeds 722,000), the counties surrounding Memphis are rural and among the poorest in the nation. Over 40% of the federally-designated "low income" population of the state lives in Memphis.

The crime index for Memphis has steadily risen, with increases of 19% in 1972, 15% in 1973, 17% in 1974, and 8% in 1975. Juvenile arrests numbered almost 16,000 in 1975, and the recidivist rate for juveniles rose from 52% in 1974 to 61% in 1975. (Demographic information and crime statistics were obtained from the project grant proposal.)

In 1976, the Community Day Care and Comprehensive Social Services Association of Memphis (CDC/CSSA) created the Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project (MMYDP) in response to LEAA's request for proposals to divert youths from official juvenile justice system processing. CDC/CSSA is a chartered, non-profit organization designated by the state of Tennessee as an administering agency for public funds for social services. Rather than create new administrative mechanisms for dispersing funds and monitoring programs,

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CDC/CSSA serves as prime contractor, grant monitor, and consultant for the diversion project and twenty-five other social service organizations. Although MMYDP is self-sustaining and fiscally autonomous, it receives technical support, fiscal services, and overall supervision from CDC/CSSA's Board of Directors and staff.

The following description of the Memphis program is derived from interviews conducted by BRI staff in July, 1977. At that time, MMYDP was accepting diverted youths referred by the Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County and placing them in service programs operated by social service agencies in the Memphis area. In order to gain a complete picture of program operation, interviews were conducted with representatives of CDC/CSSA, the Juvenile Court, brokered service agencies including Boys' Club, Family Service, Youth Service, and the YMCA, and four members of the MMYDP staff.

History

A chronology of the events leading to the inception of MMYDP must begin with the establishment of its parent organization, CDC/CSSA. With the passage of certain amendments to the Social Security Act of 1968, it became possible for the Tennessee State Departments of Human Services and Welfare to contract social services to private non-profit organizations. Shortly thereafter, a group of twelve United Way agencies with child-care-related functions saw the advantage of forming an umbrella agency to centralize their common activities and represent their collective interests. Approval of their proposal resulted in the establishment of CDC as a federal demonstration project in May, 1970.

In June, 1976, the Board of CDC/CSSA responded to the LEAA Program Announcement with a proposal drafted with the assistance of the Memphis Housing Authority, local Juvenile Court officials, and a variety of human

service providers in the community. Although they had little experience with juvenile diversion, CDC/CSSA staff felt that their expertise in administration, broad-based community support, and experience with other youth-related programs recommended their involvement in this area. The proposal was accepted in December, 1976, yet official approval of the MMYDP Revised Work Plan did not come from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention until April, 1977. The Project Director began work in January of that year, with the remainder of the staff being hired the following March and June. Also in March, a survey of existing community youth-serving agencies was conducted to assess the availability of such services and to inform interested parties about the project. One important consequence of that survey is that several agencies expressed an interest in dealing with youths referred through the diversion project on a no-cost basis. Agreements with these agencies permitted earlier delivery of services without waiting for completion of the purchase-of-service process. Thus, the diversion project began referring diverted youths on April 25, 1977, in accordance with the provisions of the Revised Work Plan.

The program start-up was not without its difficulties, and at the time the BRI interviews were conducted MMYDP was not operating at its expected capacity. Program staff mentioned three problem areas in getting underway. First, a change in the CDC/CSSA board presidency in January, 1977, produced some ambiguity in the role that the diversion advisory committee would play in planning the new project. Second, because it took longer than had been anticipated to place diverted youths in no-cost services (placement in purchased services would not begin for some months), MMYDP staff found it necessary to provide some direct counseling services to clients. Direct

service delivery was instituted as a stop-gap measure only and had largely been phased out by the time the BRI interviews were conducted. Some confusion remained, however, among diverted youths and their parents as to which agency - the diversion project or the brokered service agencies - was the primary service provider. To further complicate the situation, some project staff appeared reluctant to abandon the direct service role. Another departure from the original plan for service placement was noted. Initially, it was thought that referring a child to more than one agency at a time would be disruptive and confusing. It soon became evident, however, that many youths had multiple needs that could not easily be prioritized. Consequently, the original procedure has been changed to allow for multiple placements.

A final start-up problem concerns the rate of flow of diverted youths from the juvenile court to the diversion project. In its initial month of operation MMYDP did not receive the planned number of referrals, in part because original projections were based on 1975 court statistics. In 1976 juvenile arrests were down 12% from 1975, and juvenile arrests for the first four months of 1977 were down 16% from the same months in 1976. This unforeseen change led to a re-examination of the eligibility criteria established by the court and to the addition of simple assault as an offense for which youths could be considered for diversion (see Eligibility Criteria below).

Program Goals

As stated in the CDC/CSSA proposal submitted to LEAA, the goals of the Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project are:

- (1) to reduce the adjudication of Memphis and Shelby County juveniles who are alleged to be delinquent and unruly;
- (2) to achieve, through redirection, expansion, and provision of more cost-effective services, a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to the diversion process; and

- (3) to provide services to diverted youths who are in need of services and thus reduce their delinquent behavior.

Interviews with project staff indicated that these goals were shared, with some differences in emphasis, by staff members at all levels of the organization. For instance, Project Workers, while acknowledging the program's impact on the justice system, assigned greater importance to providing services to diverted youth. Similar consensus existed in identifying some form of labeling theory as the philosophical orientation of the project, though staff varied in the sophistication of their explanations. One Project Worker reported that the entire staff was skeptical about the usefulness of traditional counseling in dealing with this population and suggested that finding new, more meaningful experiences for youths was a project goal.

The Project Director described in some detail additional goals which reflect his personal objectives for the program. Of primary importance is his commitment to empirically evaluating the program's success as an alternative to justice system processing and comparing the effectiveness of various service options for helping diverted youths. A related, but more long-term, goal concerns establishing an on-going unit within CDC to deal with juvenile justice services after the present grant has expired. One overriding strategy that the Project Director has used to assure the program's acceptance by the justice system and the community consists of making all involved parties feel that they have a stake in the success of the program. By enlisting broad support for decisions and program changes he has attempted to create an atmosphere of shared responsibility. In discussing the delivery of services, the Project Director gave special emphasis to working closely with youths,

first, to determine that a problem actually exists and, second, to achieve a good match between youth needs and project services.

Project Administration

Staff meetings are attended by all six non-clerical project members (see Figure A-3) and are held on an ad hoc basis, roughly every two weeks. Lasting anywhere from twenty minutes to two hours, these meetings provide opportunities for discussing administrative concerns, procedural problems, case management and, perhaps most importantly, from the viewpoint of the Project Workers, venting feelings about interpersonal issues such as staff communication. All parties agreed that the general staff meetings were extremely useful, and there was some feeling that it would be advantageous to hold them regularly.

Despite the Project Director's attempts to conduct staff meetings democratically and to involve project staff in decision making, staff members agreed that for the most part policy is determined by the Project Director with some help from the Assistant Director. Although Project Workers were generally satisfied with the amount of input they have into project operations and felt they get proper recognition for their work, one expressed concern about a lack of supervision and a feeling of being "pretty much on your own." Whether this situation resulted from ambiguity in supervisor relationships or the Director's emphasis on staff independence was not apparent. On the whole, staff members were satisfied with their jobs and were optimistic that existing difficulties could be resolved.

Structure and Personnel

The organizational chart depicted in Figure A-3 reflects supervisory relationships among service personnel as of July, 1977. Although the

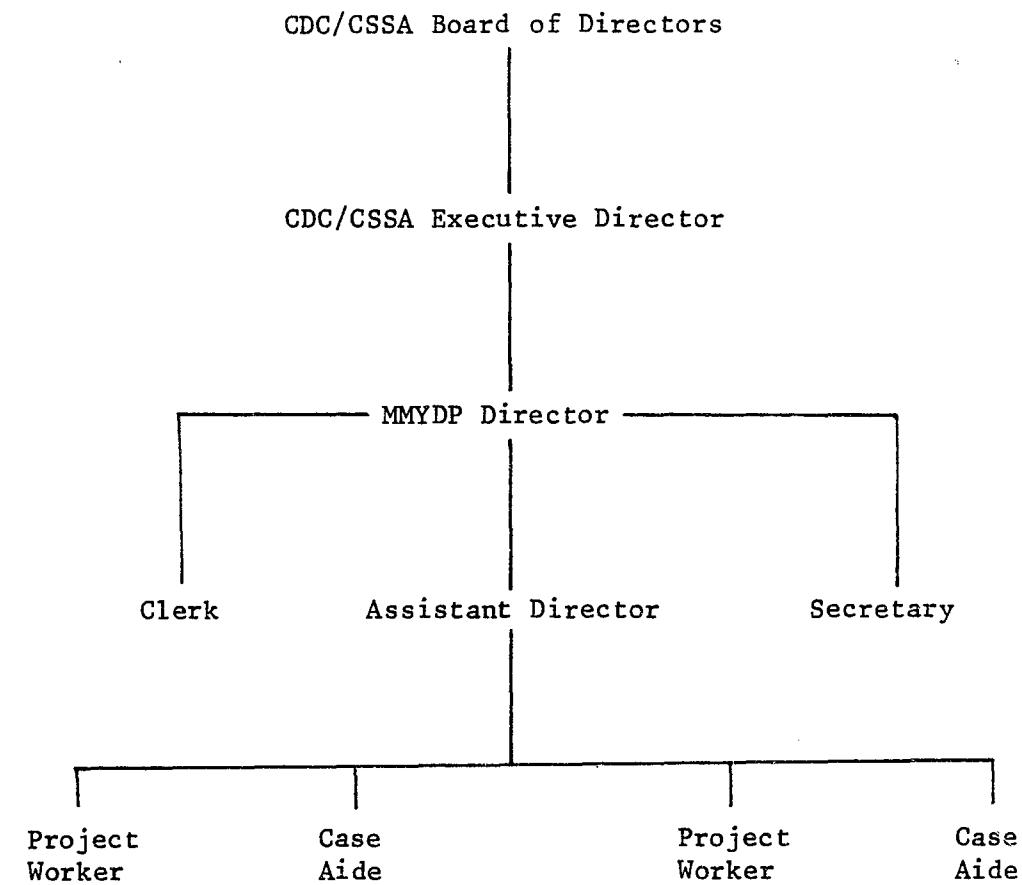


Figure A-3
Organizational Chart for Memphis-Metro Youth Diversion Project

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secretary and the clerk shown in the chart are paid through the MMYDP grant, they are actually part of a general pool of CDC clerical and accounting staff. In return for sharing these workers with other CDC agencies, the project has access to the entire pool. Brief descriptions of each service or supervisory position and of current project personnel follow:

MMYDP Director. The Director is charged with the overall administrative, budget, and staffing responsibilities for the project. He also represents MMYDP in its dealings with the CDC/CSSA Executive Director and Board of Directors, the Juvenile Court, and the brokered service agencies.

Assistant Director. In contrast to the Director, whose activities often bring him contact with organizations outside the project, the Assistant Director is responsible for coordinating the day-to-day operation of the project, monitoring services provided to youth, and supervising the Project Workers and Case Aides.

Project Workers. The two Project Workers are responsible for handling the daily random assignment processes at the court, assessing the needs of diverted youth, selecting an appropriate service agency for placement, monitoring the youth's progress via communication with the agency, and recording the services the youth actually receives.

Case Aides. Each Project Worker is assigned a Case Aide to assist in maintaining contact with the youth throughout service delivery. In contrast to the Project Worker, who monitors the child's progress through phone contact with the agencies, the Case Aide visits the various agencies and meets with the child at the agency site. The Case Aide is responsible for identifying any problems that arise during service delivery and bringing them to the attention of the Project Worker.

Orientation and Training

A three-day general orientation was conducted by the Project Director for the Assistant Director and two Project Workers. Topics included the history of CDC/CSSA and previous attempts at juvenile diversion in Memphis, the processing of juveniles through the justice system, and the role of staff members in implementing the Memphis project. Additional background information was provided to project staff in a two-day training session conducted by a member of the National Office of Social Responsibility (NOSR) staff, a state-level juvenile justice planner, and the executive director of CDC/CSSA. The purpose of these meetings was to discuss the Memphis project in relation to the LEAA program guidelines; specific components included the history of juvenile justice, assessment and evaluation, and training resources. This initial training seems to have been successful in that project staff were conversant with the theoretical justification for diversion and all report that the sessions were "very helpful."

In-service training was less well organized and for the most part consisted of administrative and technical training for the Director and the Assistant Director. Additional training for Project Workers was provided by NOSR and consisted of a one-day workshop on management information systems, a one-day training session on youth employment, and some training films on counseling styles. Although no regular in-service training had been planned, the Project Director anticipates instruction on a monthly basis. Project staff felt that they were adequately trained for their jobs, yet some expressed a need for additional training in family counseling, or, at a minimum, guidance in conducting the initial interviews with children and parents.

Intake and Referral

MMYDP receives all of its referrals from the Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County. Diversion project involvement in a case begins with the Project Worker's daily trip to the Summons and Diversion Unit at the Juvenile Court. There, one of the Project Workers, assisted by a Case Aide, receives from the Supervisor of the Summons and Diversion Unit the files of those cases recommended for diversion. After a review of the relevant information, all cases that meet the project's criteria for eligibility (see Eligibility Criteria below) are randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups - diversion with services, diversion without services and penetration into the court system.

Random assignment is accomplished by, first, shuffling the eligible files and then consulting the list of dispositions in the random assignment log prepared by BRI. To avoid potential bias in assignment, Project Workers are required to go through the list in strict order and dispositions are hidden by a tab that is torn off when the assignment is made. If two or more youths are apprehended in the same incident, their files are treated as one (i.e., they are banded together when the eligible files are shuffled) and a single disposition is made. Project Workers record identifying information (name, age, booking number, etc.) in the random assignment log; more detailed information, necessary for locating and identifying the youth at a later time, is entered on another form.

Cases that do not meet the eligibility criteria and cases that are assigned to the "penetration" group are returned to the supervisor of the Summons and Diversion Unit for processing through the juvenile justice system. Information from the files of cases diverted with or without services

is used to complete the following documents: (1) a letter (written on juvenile court letterhead) advising the child's parents that MMYDP has been directed by the court to investigate the case and a separate form describing the time and place of the initial diversion project interviews, and (2) a letter informing the complainant of the disposition of the case. The materials sent to the child's parents say nothing about the diversion project or the legal status of the child's case, only that the court has received a complaint and that the diversion project has been asked to investigate it. Parents are advised to visit the project offices at the appointed date and time and are told that by doing so their child can avoid having an official court record. Youths from both the "diverted with services" and the "diverted without services" groups have their first contact with the project (and often their first contact with any agency after apprehension) when they arrive for the initial interview. (The ambiguity of this procedure has resulted in a number of pre-interview phone calls from confused parents, so phone contact with the child's family may occur earlier.)

Approximately one week after the child's arrest, interviews are conducted by the Project Worker who has been assigned to the case by the Assistant Project Director. For youths in both the "diverted with services" and the "diverted without services" groups, the Project Worker must establish that the child was involved in the charges of which he or she is accused and obtain from the child an agreement to participate in the program. If, after a reasonable discussion of the matter, the youth or parents remain adamant in asserting that the youth was not involved as charged or if the youth refuses to participate, the case is returned to the Summons and Diversion Unit for normal processing. Once participation is assured, the Project Worker must

notify the juvenile court of the disposition of the case by completing a form that lists the charge on which the youth was referred and the disposition "diverted," without comment concerning the group to which the youth was assigned or the extent to which he or she admitted involvement in the alleged offense.

From this point on, youths in the two groups are treated differently. Youths in the "diverted without services" group are told that their cases will not be processed because the youth and his family can solve the problems by themselves; no offer of immediate or future services is extended. One Project Worker said that he cautions the child and parents that if the child is rearrested, a second referral to the diversion project is unlikely. The entire procedure for a youth in the no services group takes about fifteen minutes.

Youths who have been "diverted with services" are told about the purpose of the diversion project and about their option to terminate at any time. Then, the child and parents are interviewed both separately and together to identify problems and discuss various service options. There are apparently no formal guidelines for conducting the assessment, and no formal service plan is drawn up. After the Project Worker has decided on the appropriate service option and obtained the approval of the Assistant Director, the child and the service agency are informed of the decision. The interview may last up to an hour and a half; the child's first contact with the designated service agency reportedly occurs within one week of the interview.

Case Management

The contracted service agencies have primary responsibility for case management and service delivery, though project staff are expected to monitor

each youth's participation and progress. After placement in the program, the child meets with a Case Aide approximately once a week for short periods of time (10-20 minutes) to discuss his or her participation in the program and any problems that may have developed. The Case Aide is also expected to monitor the child's attendance and progress and relay this information to the Project Worker as a supplement to the service agency's progress reports. The amount of time that a diverted youth spends at the service agency and the duration of service varies greatly from agency to agency, though one staff member estimated that contacts average six to eight hours per week over a period of four to five months.

Court and diversion project personnel agreed that once a youth completes the initial diversion project interview, he is no longer under the jurisdiction of the court and is free to terminate his participation without penalty. On the other hand, if the diverted youth fails to contact the diversion project, his file is sent back to the court for normal processing. In either case, a description of the child's participation (or lack of it) is included in the case file for use in future decision making.

Although firm procedures have not yet been established, termination of services will occur if the youth (1) changes his legal residence from Shelby County, (2) successfully reaches the goals that have been set for him, (3) disobeys the program rules and is asked to leave, or (4) decides to leave the program himself.

Service Options

Although the project staff has occasionally found it necessary to counsel youths in crisis, they would not ordinarily provide direct services to clients. Instead, services would be brokered to a variety of existing

community agencies through contractual agreements, with the diversion project functioning as a point of assessment and referral. In April, 1977, the contractual process began with a pre-bid conference attended by representatives of 78 community agencies. At that time, project objectives and goals were discussed, as well as the criteria to be used in selecting brokered service agencies and the process for requesting participation. In order to provide MMYDP staff with an idea of the community's capabilities, interested agencies were asked to submit a pre-application describing the services they planned to offer. As a result, 36 pre-applications were received.

Since contracted services would not begin for some months, the service options described below (see Brokered Service Agencies) represent those offered to the project on a no-cost basis. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted a total of eighteen community agencies had accepted referrals from the diversion project. Of those, four had submitted proposals for subcontracting with the diversion project or were about to do so (Youth Services, Boy's Club, Family Services, and Y.M.C.A.), and fourteen had agreed to continue providing services free of charge. The cooperation of the latter group had encouraged the diversion project to continue making referrals to agencies that provide no-cost services whenever possible and appropriate.

Although recreational and counseling services predominated, it was expected that the diversion project would have a broad range of service options when fully operative. In addition to options that were available at that time, project staff expressed a need for tutoring, drug and alcohol abuse counseling, vocational and employment counseling, training, and placement.

Justice System Structure and Function

The juvenile justice system in Shelby County consists of several police departments and the Juvenile Court of Memphis and Shelby County. Because the geographical boundaries of Memphis and Shelby County overlap to a great extent, city and county police have pooled their resources to form the Memphis Metropolitan Juvenile Unit for handling juvenile cases. The police departments of smaller jurisdictions within the county make far fewer juvenile arrests and do not participate in this joint program.

The juvenile court employs over 200 persons and has responsibility for adjudicating all cases that involve dependent, neglected, unruly, or delinquent children. Termination of parental rights, appointment of guardians, legitimation and support of illegitimate children, and all offenses committed against children also fall under the court's jurisdiction. In 1976, the court processed 13,609 cases; of these, 7,886 were juvenile complaints. The juvenile court judge, in addition to his judicial duties, is the director of a sizeable administrative organization and exerts considerable influence in all phases of juvenile justice policy making and operations.

There are four critical decision points in processing youths through the juvenile justice system: at the time of apprehension, at court intake, at the interview with a court counselor, and at a court adjudicatory hearing. When a youth is apprehended, the police officer has three options: he can warn and release the youth; he can issue a summons, which may or may not require the youth to appear in court; or he can take the youth into custody, i.e., deliver him or her to court intake for detention. When a summons is issued, a copy is forwarded to the Summons and Diversion Unit staff. They must decide whether to send a letter to the child's parents informing them that their child has

been involved in an offense or to forward the case to the Intake Unit for further processing. The last option, taking the youth into custody, is chosen in serious cases only and requires that court officials in the Intake Unit decide whether to informally adjust the case, release the youth to the custody of his or her parents, or hold the youth. For most cases involving capital offenses or juveniles under the jurisdiction of the court (i.e., on probation or in after-care), youths must remain in detention until their cases can be heard (usually within seven days); the rest are regularly released to their parents and contacted for a conference with a court counselor within thirty days.

The court counselor, after interviewing the youth and parents, makes a decision whether or not to proceed with adjudication. The counselor has the authority to release the youth with a warning, seek a consent decree, or proceed with a court hearing. The consent decree results in judicial probation and assignment of a volunteer Auxiliary Probation Officer who provides probationary supervision. If the counselor decides that a court hearing is warranted, an adjudicatory hearing is scheduled. The judge may release the youth, perhaps with a referral to a community agency, or if the alleged offense is sufficiently serious and supported by the evidence, he may take the case under advisement for an extended period of time. If the youth meets the terms of advisement of the prescribed period and is not brought before the court on a new complaint, the case is dismissed. Finally, if the judge decides to carry through the adjudication process and the youth is adjudicated delinquent, he or she can either be placed on formal probation or committed to a correctional facility of the State Department of Corrections for an indefinite period of time. In either case, law prescribes that the youth is on probation until the age of majority.

Eligibility and Referral to the Diversion Program

Although there are provisions that allow probation officers and the juvenile court judge to directly refer youths to MMYDP for services, almost all referrals come as a result of random assignment through the Summons and Diversion Unit. Each weekday, the Supervisor of the Intake Unit and the Supervisor of the Summons and Diversion Unit screen the cases that come into their respective offices to identify youths who meet the criteria for diversion. Cases selected for diversion at the Intake Unit are then sent to the Summons and Diversion Unit for additional screening, combined with cases selected at Summons and Diversion, and referred in a group to the diversion project. Project staff make one final eligibility check and then process the cases in the manner described above.

The juvenile court judge, chief probation officer, the Supervisor of the Summons and Diversion Unit, and the Director of MMYDP were all involved in the initial formulation of eligibility criteria for diversion to the project. Although the criteria had undergone a number of changes in the early phases of the project, the aim throughout has been to divert those cases likely to result in adjudication without commitment. Such a prescription excludes youths who would normally be warned and released, screened and referred to community services, or released by the court prior to adjudication. Initially, it also excluded more serious crimes against property, all crimes against persons, and all offenses of notoriety (e.g. homicide, rape); though at the time the interviews were conducted, simple assault had been added to the list of crimes for which a youth could be diverted. Youths on probation, under commitment to the Tennessee Department of Corrections, or whose cases are under advisement to the court are generally excluded from consideration

for diversion. Youths previously diverted through the diversion project who are again referred to the court are not eligible for entry through the randomization process, but may be referred to the project for services at the discretion of the court staff.

When the procedures were first established, a fairly specific formula - based on the number of prior referrals to the court and the seriousness of the current offense - was used to determine eligibility. For example, a youth referred for burglary could be diverted only if he or she had no prior referrals, while a youth referred for shoplifting could be diverted only if he or she had one prior referral. The assumption was that without diversion a first arrest for burglary or a second arrest for shoplifting would reach adjudication, while a second arrest for burglary or a third arrest for shoplifting would result in commitment. Upon closer examination of the court process (partly in response to the low diversion flow rate during the first few months of the project), it was decided that the formula did not accurately reflect actual court practice. In May, 1977, the stringent formula was replaced by more flexible guidelines which described eligible youths as those who have a "high probability" of being placed on a consent decree or of being adjudicated. (Youths who commit the serious crimes listed above or who are under court jurisdiction were, of course, still excluded.) Interviews with court staff indicated that under the new guidelines the decision to divert depends less on the number of prior arrests and more on the circumstances of the offense and the intent of the youth in committing it. There was also some evidence that the reformulation has resulted in increased judicial discretion.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

In Memphis, juveniles placed on probation by court counselors (via a

consent decree) or by the juvenile court judge (via adjudication) may be referred to the Auxiliary Probation Service for probationary supervision. The orientation of this volunteer organization is toward public service; its goal is to rehabilitate the child, while "upholding the dignity of the law." Last year, 628 volunteer Auxiliary Probation Officers (APOs) provided services to 1,503 new juvenile referrals.

APOs are generally lay persons, drawn from all socioeconomic strata of the city, and predominantly middle-aged. Their training consists of a three-hour orientation, close supervision on their first case, and monthly division meetings which may include case discussion and lectures on relevant topics. When a juvenile is referred to the Auxiliary Probation Service, a District Chief assigns the case to an APO and may accompany him or her on an initial home visit. At that time, the APO discusses the rules of probation with the child and parents and obtains their signatures as an indication that they understand the rules. During the probationary period, the APO supervises the child's conduct and may provide informal counseling. No special programs or organized activities are offered. In fact, Auxiliary Probation Service personnel feel that it is important for APOs to maintain some emotional distance from the child in order to be effective. Although the amount of actual contact with the child varies depending on the case, the child's behavior, and the length of time he has been on probation, the APO is expected to spend an average of two hours per week on a case. Probation lasts a minimum of six months, but may, at the discretion of the APO and his district chief, be extended until the youth's eighteenth birthday.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

The juvenile justice system, largely through the juvenile court judge and

chief probation officer, was actively involved in writing the original proposal and formulating the diversion procedures. Although the highest juvenile court officials had supported the project from the beginning, the court staff who are actually involved in diverting most youths to the project, namely, the supervisors of the Intake Unit and the Summons and Diversion Unit, were apprehensive at first about the effects diversion would have on the court and on the youths they serve. The diversion project held several sessions for the purpose of briefing the supervisory staff of the court on the details of diversion programming; it was their responsibility to pass this information along to the rest of the court staff. Although the briefings did not convey the theoretical aspects of diversion, they did serve the useful purpose of allaying the supervisor's fears about the project and convincing them of the diversion project staff's sincerity. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted court staff still expressed some trepidation about diverting youths without services; however, their initial opposition had changed to cautious support and most were optimistic about the project's chances for success.

Despite their pride in the court's large, volunteer probation service, court staff felt that services offered by MMYDP are more professional and more intensive. The juvenile court judge and probation officers had been referring youths to community agencies for many years, yet court personnel seemed to welcome the comprehensiveness of the diversion project's approach and seemed to appreciate their assistance in relieving an overburdened court staff. As part of their agreement with the court, MMYDP had taken over some of the court's routine paperwork in processing diverted youth.

Court staff and diversion project staff had little personal contact aside from the Project Workers' daily trip to pick up the files of youths referred

for random assignment. Supervisors, however, might communicate by phone several times a day to discuss matters of mutual concern. Problems between the two organizations seemed limited to disagreements over the handling of particular cases, rather than any major issues. Neither group was satisfied with the rate at which youths were being diverted; on the other hand, neither group felt the problem was insurmountable. While the court staff seemed pleased with the assistance offered by MMYDP, they were in no way dependent on them for their success. In contrast, the diversion project was entirely dependent on the court for referrals. Overall, the relationship seemed sufficiently cooperative to allow the diversion project to conduct its programs.

Brokered Service Agencies

Interviews were conducted with representatives for four community agencies that had informal agreements to provide services free of charge to diverted youth. Each of the four agencies planned to contract services to MMYDP when purchased service agreements were finalized.

Youth Service in Memphis, Inc. Supported by the Episcopal church and Memphis United Way, Youth Service attempts to help young people with "personal problems, school planning, job planning and placement, and social adjustment" through a broad range of recreational, educational, and counseling programs. At the time of the interviews, Youth Service employed four full-time and two part-time counselors, each with a minimum of a bachelor's degree and one with a master's degree in social work. When a child is referred to Youth Services, the intake director assigns the youth to one of the counselors. Agency policy requires that the counselor visit the child at home and conduct a need assessment interview to determine which programs are appropriate. The

counselor continues to have responsibility for the case and sees the child informally on a weekly basis, though the frequency of this kind of contact generally decreases over time. A counselor will have more frequent contact with clients if they participate in activities that the counselor is supervising. As long as parents give permission, clients can continue to participate in Youth Service programs until they reach the age of eighteen.

In 1976, Youth Services assisted 3,286 boys and girls; approximately 70% were between the ages of 13 and 15, and 55% were members of minority groups. Although referral sources include churches, the school system, other social service agencies, and walk-ins solicited through their weekly radio program, staff are firmly committed to treating diverted youths no differently from others. Youth Service expected to make about twenty slots available to youths referred from MMYDP. When contracts are finalized, income from these referrals should constitute less than 5% of their total budget.

The following are the primary services in which diverted youths would be placed:

(a) Counseling. Nearly all youths participate in individual, family, or group counseling; some are involved in more than one at a time. Individual counseling conducted by the child's case manager is the most flexible form and may last from a few weeks to a year. A smaller percentage, primarily those with problems in social adjustment, participate in group counseling. Two counselors lead weekly groups that run for eight to ten weeks, each session lasting about ninety minutes. Family counseling is arranged on a more informal basis. If there is a need for more regular or extensive family counseling, cases are referred to Family Service of Memphis.

(b) Saturday Program. Through cooperation with the local USO, each Saturday fifteen servicemen serve as "big brothers" to thirty boys from Youth

Service. Activities such as hiking, sightseeing, sports and movies, vary weekly and usually last all day. Boys ages thirteen and older are encouraged to participate; unfortunately, many cannot participate as often as they wish due to the size of the program.

(c) Arts and Crafts. Volunteers and counselors provide instruction in cooking, gardening, macrame, leather work, and so on, on a weekly basis for interested youth. Classes last an hour and one-half and meet in church basements or fire stations. About half of Youth Service's clients participate in some kind of craft activity.

(d) Swimming and Other Recreational Activities. Youth Service hires a lifeguard and provides swimming instruction four hours a week. On a regular basis, youths are invited to participate in bowling, horseback riding, skating and other activities. Counselors provide transportation.

Boys' Club of Memphis. Since 1962, Boys' Clubs has been serving boys ages eight to eighteen years through programs of "participatory recreation, social adjustment, and social development." Two thousand youngsters participate in fourteen different groups (athletic, crafts, and science clubs) and take part in counseling and other special programs. Boys' Clubs is divided into five physically separate operating units (including a summer camp) each of which is staffed by a club director, project director, counselors, and college students who work part-time as staff aides; typically a dozen or so staff work at each location. Responsibility for case management is shared by all staff members who come in contact with the child. They fill out guidance reports that are reviewed weekly by the club director and the program director.

Youths are occasionally referred to Boys' Clubs by the Department of Human Services and local schools, but most new members join at the suggestion of

parents or friends who are members. When a youth joins he is assigned to a staff member for orientation and later recruited to join other ongoing activities. Participation lasts an average of one year, but may last much longer. Though it varies with the number and kind of activities in which they are engaged, youths spend an average of ten hours per week at the Boys' Club. Popular activities include: (a) sports teams - baseball, basketball, and soccer teams practice about four hours per week and require at least average grades in school for membership; (b) arts and crafts - classes meet for one hour a week and offer painting, photography, wood shop, general crafts, etc.; (c) science club - this club meets regularly to go on field trips, perform lab experiments, grow vegetables in their own garden, and engage in other activities that supplement the normal school science program. The agency also provides family services, health care, and counseling.

Boys' Clubs expected about forty youths from the diversion project to be placed in their program at any one time. It was estimated the income from the MMYDP contract, when it is finalized, would amount to approximately 13% of the total budget. Boys' Club representatives said that it would be important for agency staff to know which youths had been diverted so that "special attention" could be given to them when needed. They emphasized, however, that diverted youths would not be identified as such and, in general, not be treated differently from others. At the time of the interviews, feedback on the progress of diverted youths had been informally provided to Case Aides, and attendance and counselor reports were available upon request.

Family Service of Memphis. In 1976, Family Service's staff of twelve provided counseling services to 2,045 families referred to them by attorneys, ministers, schools, and private and public agencies including the Juvenile

Court. In addition, they operated a number of family life education programs for interested families and family therapy training programs for other professionals.

Referrals from MMYDP would come directly to one of four social workers (all with master's degrees) assigned to working with families of diverted youths. The only other difference between the handling of diverted youths and the handling of other clients would be that most clients pay fees on a sliding scale, while MMYDP would pay for services provided to diverted youths. Counselors practice an eclectic form of family therapy that begins with entering into a verbal contract with clients that specifies goals for counseling and a period of time in which to accomplish them. Many families require only short-term counseling (one to six interviews), while others may continue for as long as a year. Weekly sessions last one to one and one-half hours, though frequently a child will receive additional individual counseling on a weekly basis. Feedback on diverted youths has been communicated via phone contact; however Family Service staff suggested that more formal meetings may be necessary when the anticipated level of referrals (fifteen per month) is reached.

YMCA of Memphis and Shelby County. The YMCA program for serving diverted youths was still in the planning stage at the time the interviews were conducted, although a few had been placed in ongoing recreation programs. Because the YMCA had only limited experience in social action programs, an individual was hired for the specific task of developing such programs. His plan was to establish a comprehensive program for disadvantaged youths before referrals from the diversion project began, and then integrate diverted youths into the program as they arrived. Agency staff envisioned a program of

counseling, employment training, tutoring, cultural enrichment, camping, and recreation for fifteen hours a week (week days and weekends) over a period of six to nine months. Diverted youths and their families would be interviewed by a YMCA professional to ascertain the child's interests and needs. Although services would be mainly provided by other staff, the professional would be responsible for monitoring the child's progress in the various programs.

ORANGE COUNTY, FLORIDA YOUTH DIVERSION PROJECT

(August 1-4, 1977)

Orange County, which is located in central Florida, had 344,311 residents. Much of the population is concentrated in the city of Orlando (population 99,006), but there are many smaller municipalities. In recent years, the tourist industry has expanded rapidly, becoming a major part of the economy. One result of this economic development has been rapid population growth.

The diversion project is a program of the Human Services Planning Council of Orange County, Incorporated (HSPC). Though HSPC is an independent organization, it is jointly supported by Orange County and the United Way. The major mission of HSPC is to coordinate and improve human services in Orange County. Since HSPC is not a service-providing agency, services for diverted youths are obtained by referral to other agencies.

Unlike other diversion projects funded by the diversion initiative of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), the Orange County project is part of a statewide program. Three separate diversion projects compose the Florida program: one is the Orange County project, another is located in Broward County, and a third is administered by the University of Florida and serves seven counties. Because Florida's Department of Health and Rehabilitation Services (HRS) is the agency directly funded by OJJDP, it is technically responsible for all three projects. Nevertheless,

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the three projects are largely independent of each other and HRS. Because of the complexity of the statewide program, the national evaluation includes, with the approval of the National Institute of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention, only one of the three Florida projects, the one serving Orange County.

The present document describes the Orange County diversion project as of the first week in August, 1977, approximately one month after the project began accepting clients. Two main sources of information were used in compiling this report. Documents produced by HSPC included the proposal and revised work-plan for the project as well as material intended to describe the project to local organizations. Additional information was obtained through interviews of individuals involved in the diversion program. The sample interviewed included representatives of the HSPC diversion project staff, youth serving agencies (Boys' Clubs of Central Florida; Citizens' Dispute Settlement of Orange County; the Green House; Orlando School of Black Performing Arts; Professional Evaluation, Diagnosis and Intervention; and YMCA of Central Florida), and juvenile justice agencies (HRS; Orange County Sheriff's Department; Orlando Police Department; and State Attorney's Office, Ninth District, Juvenile Division).

THE DIVERSION PROJECT

History

Throughout the 1960's, the need for an agency to plan and coordinate social services was increasingly felt by the people involved in these services in Orange County. As a response to that need, members of the board of the local United Way incorporated HSPC in 1968. HSPC operated on a small scale until 1971, when the United Way and Orange County agreed to jointly fund its

activities and hire a full-time director. HSPC is governed by a board of trustees, half of whom are appointed by Orange County and half by the United Way. The trustees represent a variety of professions; few of them are employed in social services.

Aside from the diversion project, HSPC has three major programs. The first of these is an information and referral center, the purpose of which is to maintain an up-to-date and exhaustive directory of social services in Orange County. Any person in need of services can call the center for referral to an appropriate service provider. In addition, the center's directory is available to interested organizations as a referral resource.

HSPC also operates a volunteer service bureau. This bureau attempts to expand volunteerism in several ways. By working closely with organizations that use volunteers, the bureau is able to keep extensive listings of volunteer opportunities and place interested individuals in appropriate roles. The bureau also offers training in the operation of volunteer programs. In order to heighten public awareness about volunteerism, the bureau is developing curricula for use in high schools and colleges.

As its name would imply, the planning council is also involved in planning human services in Orange County. HSPC's primary activity in this area is reviewing new applications for funds from the United Way and Orange County Government. The council's recommendation to the United Way and Orange County Government focuses on the extent to which the proposed programs would increase the range of human services in Orange County. In this way HSPC helps to avoid duplication of effort and directs available funds toward urgent needs.

Though HSPC has not been primarily responsible for the operation of juvenile justice programs, it was involved in a capacity building effort for

youth services in Orlando. The project, conducted in cooperation with the Center for Action Research, had as its main focus studies of youth needs and youth services. In comparing the available resources with youth needs, HSPC has had contact with all youth-serving agencies and juvenile justice agencies in the county. Because of their work in the capacity building project, the director and trustees of HSPC thought that their organization would be able to successfully coordinate a diversion project in Orange County, and they decided to apply to become the sponsoring agency in Orange County for the statewide program being organized by HRS.

Orange County's juvenile justice agencies and various organizations which serve youth worked together with HSPC and HRS in formulating the Orange County diversion project. The proposal for the project was written by the HSPC staff member who had been responsible for the capacity building program and who was to become the diversion project director. It included letters from justice agencies indicating their willingness to cooperate with the project. Several agencies were chosen to provide services to diverted youths. It was decided that HSPC would receive youths from the justice system, and then refer them to the agencies which would best suit their needs. In addition, HSPC would be responsible for monitoring clients' progress and coordinating the activities of the various organizations.

In November, 1976, HSPC first received word that the diversion project would be funded. Though they were informed that they would be reimbursed for activities after January 1, 1977, expenditures were held to a minimum until cashflow to the project began. Although the contract between HSPC and HRS for regular funding of the project was not completed until June, work began in earnest when Orange County advanced HSPC financial support in April. The

project staff was selected during April and they began work on May 23. By that time the project director had laid much of the groundwork and the project was able to begin taking clients on a full scale basis on July 1. Contracts with the service providing agencies also began at this time. Since the same individuals who designed the project implemented it, no major changes in philosophy occurred during implementation.

Goals

The goals, strategies, objectives, and methods of the Orange County diversion project are listed in a document that was developed for the project's public information programs.

Goals:

1. To develop and strengthen community-based services which encourage youth employment and youth participation in decision making.
2. To reduce delinquent behavior of diverted young people by providing them effective services where needed.
3. To achieve a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to the diversion process through the expansion and redirection of existing community resources.
4. To reduce by a significant number adjudication of youth alleged to be delinquent over a three year period.
5. To enable the Juvenile Justice System to concentrate more of its resources on the juvenile offender whose offenses preclude consideration for diversion. This is to be accomplished by the diversion of the less serious offender from the system.
6. To improve the quality and efficiency of Juvenile Justice decision making.

Strategy:

The specific functions of the Orange County Youth Diversion Project are as follows:

1. To increase the probability that youth who commit offenses will be diverted without prejudice from the Juvenile Justice System.

2. To provide diverted youth access, on a voluntary basis, to a variety of services provided by local (subcontractee) community service agencies in a non-stigmatizing environment.
3. To provide a variety of opportunities supporting assumption or resumption of a divertee's course toward satisfactory development and growth in the community.

Objectives:

1. To reduce the rate at which youth who come in contact with the Justice System commit delinquent acts, and to reduce the rates of repeat arrests.
2. To produce replicable, transferable findings about the methods and effects of diversion with sufficient detail, reliability and validity that they can be used to guide subsequent programming at the local, state and national level.

Methods:

1. Development of a training module and a public information component to instruct law enforcement personnel, HRS Youth Services Intake personnel, and court personnel in the concept, policies, and practices of diversion and to develop community understanding for contemporary youth behavior and the potential of diversion as a means to reduce delinquent acts.
2. Provision of access to a network of alternative resources within the community to the processing of a youthful offender through the Juvenile Justice System.
3. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the diversion project activities in providing youthful offenders an opportunity to resume satisfactory development.
4. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the training module and community awareness component in effecting change in the Juvenile Justice System and in increasing community tolerance for juvenile delinquency.

These goals are taken almost verbatim from the program announcement for OJJDP's diversion initiative. The strategy, objectives and method are intended to be compatible with these goals, and also are influenced strongly

by the national strategy for youth development of the Office of Youth Development (OYD) which sponsored HSPC during its capacity building work. HSPC adopted this strategy, which emphasizes avoiding negative labeling, increasing access to desirable roles, and providing services through a coordinated network of community-based agencies.

The goals and strategy presented above appeared to be accepted by all of the project staff, though individuals differed in their ability to state them explicitly. The national strategy was also mentioned as guiding the project's philosophy about providing services. In addition, various staff members named less formal goals such as making diversion so much a part of the local social service system that it would continue when the funding ceases and the central administration no longer exists. Several members of the project staff indicated that they hoped to bring about changes throughout the entire community in the treatment of juvenile offenders. They felt that juveniles are treated harshly by the justice system, and that such treatment is supported by the prevalence of conservative attitudes among the public. Staff members hoped that they might be able to bring about change in several ways. These included influencing public opinion through a public information program, bringing about new legislation concerning the processing of juvenile cases, and affecting the actions of key individuals in the juvenile justice system.

Diversion Project Structure

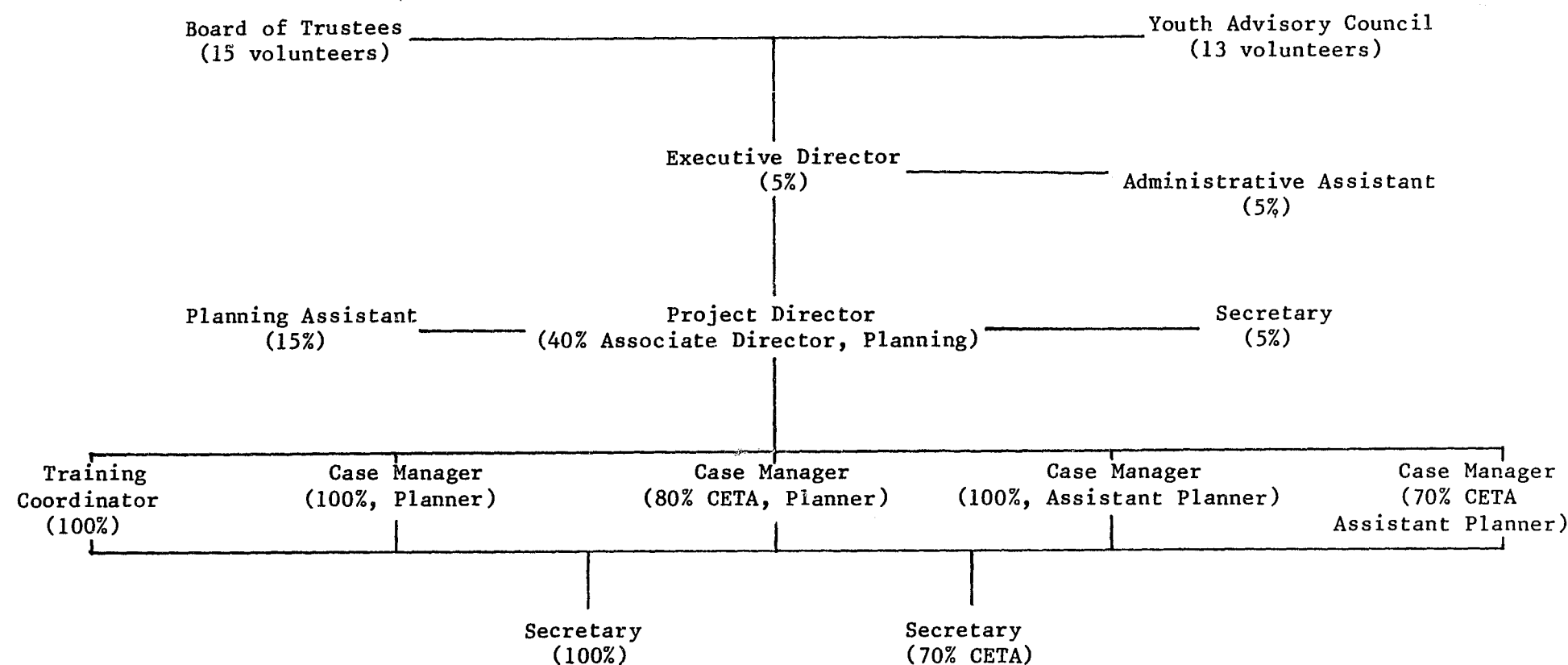
The Orange County diversion project is administered by a staff employed by HSPC. In its role of insuring the smooth operation of the total diversion effort, this staff has many responsibilities. Clients are referred to the project by the assistant state attorney in charge of the juvenile division for

Orange County. The diversion project staff must make sure that as many cases as possible are diverted and that those cases diverted are, in fact, eligible for the program. Toward that end, they maintain close contact with the assistant state attorney and keep records of all cases placed in the program's eligible pool.

The HSPC staff is responsible for placing youngsters who are diverted for services in appropriate service-providing agencies. Thus, staff members must interview clients and gather information about them in order to determine their needs. Monitoring the services that clients receive is another aspect of HSPC's role. Not only is this monitoring intended to insure that diverted youths obtain the help they need, but it is also used to determine the amount of reimbursement given to the service-providing agencies. In addition to its involvement with diversion clients, HSPC operates a public information program. The aim of this program is to aid the project by mustering public support for its goals.

An organizational chart of HSPC's diversion project is presented in Figure A-4. Fifteen trustees form the board of trustees that is the governing body of HSPC. They are ultimately responsible for setting the policies and guiding the activities of HSPC. The youth advisory council is a volunteer group whose functions are limited to the diversion project. The 16 council members have all been involved in youth work and include the assistant state attorney, a former juvenile court judge, the county sheriff, and representatives of schools and social service agencies. Four youth members of the council represent the youth's point of view.

The diversion project's first progress report describe the purpose of the council as follows:



NOTE: Percentages in parentheses represent the amount of time assigned to the project.

Figure A-4
Organizational Chart of Orange County Youth Diversion Project

The purpose of the Youth Advisory Council shall be to provide to the Human Services Planning Council, units of government, community agencies, and the community-at-large advice regarding the implementation of the LEAA Diversion Project and to determine objectives and program components of the project for the last two years of operation. The accomplishment of this program will include:

1. overseeing and advising about the negotiation and implementation of contracts with direct service providers.
2. assisting in the arbitration and resolution of any grievances relative to this project; and
3. advising community decision-makers about the allocation of financial and human resources in the Youth Service System.

The organizational chart shows all positions assigned to the diversion project and the percentage of time which is assigned. Though most of these positions are funded by LEAA, some are funded through the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) (funding source is also indicated in the chart). The project director's job title in HSPC is assistant director, planning, and the case managers are designated as planners and assistant planners. As can be seen in the chart, several positions have only small time commitments to the project. As might be expected, these people have played minor roles in the project. Such is not the case for the project director, however, since the diversion project has actually occupied almost 100% of her time, rather than 40% as indicated in the organizational chart. The responsibilities of the more important, non-clerical positions are described below as are the backgrounds of the individuals filling those positions.

Personnel

Project Director. As the assistant director, planning, of HSPC, the project director must set annual goals and objectives for the planning department and then see that they are met. The work of the planning

department most frequently involves studies of social services in Orange County. Though the operation of the diversion project is, by and large, neither planning nor research, it is a planning department program and is therefore within the project director's domain. The director supervises the diversion project staff and has served as the project's major representative in negotiations with both justice and service agencies.

Case Managers. The case managers supervise the involvement of individual clients in the diversion project. After being referred from the state attorney's office, clients are first contacted by a case manager. At this initial interview, the program is explained to the family, parent and youth consent are obtained, and the client's needs are assessed. Together with the family, the case manager decides which of the service options is most appropriate for the client. The case manager calls the chosen agency to arrange the client's participation, and then monitors the client's progress through continued contact with both the client and the agency. Most of the record keeping for clients is done by the case managers as well.

The case management duties are shared by all four case managers, but the duties of the two planners differ in some ways from the duties of the two assistant planners. The planners are expected to be leaders in developing project procedures and they play a larger role in coordinating the activities of the group.

Training Coordinator. This person is in charge of the project's public information program. The job involves developing material about the program and presenting it to the public. Several types of presentations will be used, including pamphlets, papers, talks, slide presentations, and press releases. In addition to the public information program, the training coordinator prepares material for training the project staff.

Project Administration

The staff enjoys a good deal of independence in its work. The various tasks that arise are assigned to staff members by the project director. These individuals then work on their own, consulting the director or other staff members if additional input is needed. Rather than continuously supervising the staff's work, the project director asks for products that must meet her approval. On the whole, the staff seemed pleased with this arrangement. They indicated satisfaction with the amount of input they had about the project, with the recognition and feedback they receive for their efforts, and with the amount of supervision they receive.

HSPC's board of trustees has ultimate responsibility for the policies of all HSPC activities, and the project's youth advisory council also exercises some authority over the project. The guidance of these bodies seems to be at a very general level. So actual operation of the project is largely determined by the project staff. While the project director has the greatest influence in policies and procedures, all staff members have input. Though he has not been directly involved in the specifics of the diversion project's work, the executive director must approve all HSPC activities.

The non-clerical staff of the project meets frequently; at the time of the interviews they were meeting about twice a week for an average of an hour and one-half per meeting. These meetings were usually work sessions concerning the operation of the project. The staff members inform each other of their activities and work together to solve project problems.

The project's caseload at the time of the BRI interviews consisted of 42 youths who had been assigned to diversion with services during the first month of project operation. The director offered no projections about the maximum

caseload that the project could carry. She felt that the project would be able to serve as many youths as were referred, but that new arrangements for services might be needed if the caseload became too large.

Though she believed the project's budget provided adequately for services, the project director indicated that additional funds for HSPC activities would be useful. She felt that some administrative costs were underestimated in the original proposal and that there is a need for additional case managers.

Orientation and Training

No specific time period was set aside for initial training of the staff. When first hired, the non-clerical staff members were asked to read the project's proposal and revised work plan, and a paper concerning the OYD national strategy for youth development. Later, the group discussed the rationale for diversion in general and for the Orange County diversion project in particular. Most of the staff's training has come through their work; from the beginning they have been involved in developing the project's procedures. Though many of the projects funded through OJJDP's diversion initiative have received training from the technical assistance contractors, the National Office of Social Responsibility, the Orange County project has made no use of training from outside sources. Staff members felt that they were adequately trained for their jobs, and there were no plans for formal in-service training.

CLIENT FLOW AND SERVICE OPTIONS AT THE DIVERSION PROJECT

Client Intake and Choice of Service Agency

The only source of clients for the diversion project is the juvenile division of the local state attorney's office; there are no referral sources

outside of the justice system. After a client is selected for the diversion project, he or she is assigned a case manager. The client and family first learn of the diversion project from the case manager who telephones to arrange an interview with them. The project staff tries to conduct initial interviews within three days of receiving referrals. At the initial interview, the case manager must gain the family's consent to participate in the program. The family is given a form that enumerates their legal rights. This form, which must be signed by the client, both parents and the interviewer, explains that upon successful completion of the program all charges against the child will be dropped and that participation in the program is voluntary. It further indicates that a participant gives up the right to a trial and that prosecution may be deferred for up to a year. By signing the form, the client also agrees to be a cooperative participant in the diversion project.

Another purpose of the initial visit is to choose the service agency that the client will attend. In most cases the agency is chosen during the initial interview. Since all families have also been interviewed by a counselor from the "single intake" division of HRS (the division that serves the function of court intake), the HRS counselor is available as an additional source of information. Nevertheless, the case managers feel that this source is usually unneeded.

During the initial interview, the case manager completes a form titled "Family Information Sheet." This form provides some general background on the client and family, but it does not seem to be important in the choice of a service agency. Staff members indicated that the case manager describes the various service options to the family, and suggests which options seem most appropriate. Nevertheless, the family is allowed to make the final choice.

Factors that have the most bearing on this choice are the age of the child (some agencies are less appropriate for older youths), the sex of the child (several agencies serve only boys), location (transportation might be a problem), and felt needs or interests (for example, if the family feels it would benefit from family counseling or if the client is interested in the arts).

It can be seen that there is no formal diagnostic procedure. The case manager does not explicitly attempt to determine needs, choose treatment goals and devise an appropriate service plan. The entire assessment process is completed in a single visit with the family. Other than the forms discussed above, there is no record of an assessment unless the case manager chooses to enter a narrative in the client's file.

Once an agency has been chosen, the parent, child, and case manager all sign an agreement indicating the agency to be attended and the nature and duration of the services. There are separate agreements for each agency because the conditions of participation vary among them. The specific services and their duration are outlined in the contracts with the agencies.

After the initial interview, the case manager notifies the service agency of their new client. A representative of that agency then contacts the client and arranges for his or her first visit. Project staff reported that the client's first visit should occur within 10 days.

Case Management

Both case managers and the service agencies have responsibilities for case management. The case manager maintains contact with both the client and the service agency in order to be sure that the client is attending regularly, that the client is happy with the services, and that the agency is satisfied

with the client's progress. At the time of BRI's interviews, norms concerning the frequency with which case managers should contact their clients had yet to develop. Case managers deliver no direct services to clients; their interactions serve only to monitor progress with the services. Thus, contacts are typically brief and often occur at the service agencies or over the phone. If problems develop, the case manager's involvement increases. For example, if a client stops attending the program, the case manager discusses the matter thoroughly with all parties involved in order to determine whether the client should continue with that agency, go to another agency, or be dropped from the project.

The service agencies are expected to monitor the diversion clients' participation and to report to HSPC in two ways. First, each agency is to send a narrative written report on their clients to the case managers twice a month. The second type of report, which is submitted monthly, lists the amount and types of services delivered to each client. These reports are used as a basis for both reimbursement to the agencies and statistics on services given to the project's clients.

For clients whose involvement with the project proceeds satisfactorily, termination will occur when the number of visits specified in the service agreement has been reached. Diversion project funding will cease at that point, though the client and agency may arrange for continued services on some other basis if they wish. If a client were to refuse to cooperate with the project staff during the earliest stages of his or her participation (for example, if the client never appeared at the service agency), the case could be terminated and returned to the state attorney's office to be processed on to court. According to the agreements that clients and parents sign, clients

might be terminated and returned for court processing at any time.

Nevertheless (for the reasons discussed below) there is almost no chance of cases being taken to court once a few weeks have passed. Any clients who feel that they have been unfairly terminated may appeal to the youth advisory council, which will rule on the appropriate course of action.

Service Options

The agencies that deliver services to the clients of the Orange County diversion project were selected while the program was still being designed. All youth-serving agencies in the county were invited to meetings held to explain the diversion project. Representatives of interested agencies worked with representatives of the juvenile justice system and school board to develop a list of priorities for services to diversion clients. In order to arrange for services to fit these priorities, agencies were asked to submit applications describing the services they could provide. HSPC then selected those agencies that could best provide each needed service. After HSPC submitted their proposal for the diversion project, OJJDP asked that an employment program be added; this was done through the Orange County Schools. The final list of youth needs and designated service agencies is shown below. (The information below was taken from the project's Revised Work Plan.)

<u>Need</u>	<u>Service Agency</u>
Recreational activities are frequently available only for a fee and transportation to them is difficult.	The YMCA will provide recreational programming for 100 clients. The Boy's Club will provide social and physical development for 150 clients. The Boy Scouts will provide troop membership for 50 clients.

The Orlando School of Black Performing Arts will provide training in art and cultural enrichment for 60 clients.

Unemployment is high in Orange County, making it difficult for young people to get jobs.

Work experience counselors from Orange County Schools will place 60 clients in jobs in the public and private sectors.

It is difficult for families to obtain crisis counseling at the time of arrest.

The Green House Family Counseling Center will provide crisis counseling for 225 families.

There is no alternative to court processing to allow for solutions amenable to the victim.

The Orange County Bar Association's Citizen's Dispute Settlement Program will serve 300 clients.

There is no alternative to detention placement of emotionally disturbed and mentally retarded individuals who have not committed a capital offense and are in need of residential care and treatment.

Seagrave House will care for 60 emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded juvenile offenders.

It is difficult to obtain professional diagnosis and evaluation of a youth's mental, physical and/or emotional state.

PEDI, Inc. will provide diagnosis and evaluation for 50 juvenile offenders.

These agencies and their roles in the diversion project are discussed individually in a later section of this report. As of early August, 1977, agreements with the Boy Scouts, Orange County Schools, and Seagrave House had yet to be completed, and these agencies were not receiving clients from the diversion project. Project representatives indicated that they were unlikely to use the services of Seagrave House and that the contract would probably not be consummated. It had also been decided that Youth Programs Incorporated, would not receive funds from the Orange County diversion project, though it might receive referrals. This issue was still being negotiated at the time the BRI interviews were conducted. BRI did not interview representatives of the agencies that were still negotiating contracts.

When asked if the contracted services met the needs of their clients, the staff of the diversion project responded that on the whole they did, though there was not sufficient flexibility for responding to the needs of certain groups. There are fewer recreation services for girls than for boys, and older clients would be out of place in many of the programs. It was expected that the employment program will be helpful to the older clients once it begins. Although placement sometimes required a degree of ingenuity, the case managers felt that they had been able to find suitable services for all of their clients.

The service agencies signed contracts with Orange County agreeing to provide services to the clients of the diversion project, with the exceptions mentioned above and the Citizen's Dispute Settlement Program. The county decided that a contract with the Citizen's Dispute Settlement Program was unnecessary, because their funds are administered by the county. It was specified in the contracts that the agencies would be reimbursed only for clients referred by HSPC, would maintain records of the services provided to clients, would safeguard information about diversion clients, and would receive technical assistance concerning program issues from HSPC. The contracts also indicate the amount the agency would be reimbursed for each unit of the services it provides, as well as the maximum amount it would be eligible to receive for serving diversion clients.

In addition to the requirements set forth in the contracts, HSPC has made two requests concerning the manner in which services will be delivered; it has asked that there be no separation of "good" and "bad" young people (or their usual clients and their diversion clients) in the agencies' programs and that diversion clients be allowed to take an active role in the programs.

Representatives of the service agencies were particularly aware of the first requirement. Almost all service representatives seemed familiar with the concept of negative labeling and said that diversion clients would not be singled out, though they might receive extra attention.

JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Structure and Function

In Orange County, a child's contact with the juvenile justice system begins with apprehension by a law enforcement officer. There are thirteen law enforcement agencies in Orange County; the largest are the Orlando Police Department and the Orange County Sheriff's Department. The remainder are the police departments of smaller cities. Only the two largest agencies and City of Winter Park Police Department have separate juvenile divisions.

The duties of juvenile division officers begin after an apprehended youth has been brought to the police station. A regular patrol officer makes the arrest unless it results from an investigation by the juvenile division. The arresting officer submits a written report of the incident, and the juvenile officer arranges for either the child's release to his or her parents or the child's admission to the county detention facility. Children will be released unless their parents cannot be located or they appear to be a danger to themselves or the community.

Law enforcement officers in Orange County must arrest any juvenile apprehended for violating the law. They do not have the discretion to lecture and release or informally adjust cases. This policy is based on a strict interpretation of state law, one that is not subscribed to in some other jurisdictions.

The arrest affidavit, which is completed by the law enforcement agency, is forwarded via the clerk of the court to the juvenile division of the district state attorney's office and to the single intake branch of the Division of Youth Services (DYS). Single intake serves the function of court intake in Florida. It is a statewide agency, part of the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (HRS), which also administers the diversion project for the states. Single intake is responsible for investigating all reports of juvenile delinquency and dependency.

After receiving the arrest affidavit, DYS counselors send a letter to the child's parents notifying them that they must come to an interview at a specified date and time. The result of that interview is a recommendation to the state attorney's office whether or not the case should be taken to court.

Single intake workers do not have the discretion to terminate processing of cases; they only have authority to make recommendations. Furthermore, all parties interviewed agreed that the assistant state attorney frequently makes decisions contrary to these recommendations, most typically prosecuting cases that intake workers recommend be dropped. Until about two years before, intake workers' recommendations had been routinely approved by their assistant state attorney, giving the single intake division much more influence.

There are three assistant state attorneys in the juvenile division of the ninth judicial circuit of Florida, of which Orange County is a part. The attorney who is chief of that division reviews all juvenile arrest affidavits and decides which of those cases will be prosecuted. The decision is based on two independent factors. The first is whether or not the evidence gathered is sufficient for prosecution. If not, the case is dropped. The second factor is whether or not the offense and the offender merit prosecution. Before the

case comes before the juvenile judge, the juvenile division chief of the state attorney's office is the only person who has the authority to drop charges when the case is a minor one. The current division chief and his staff describe themselves as having a reputation for "aggressive prosecution." During the current division chief's term, the number of cases brought to court had increased dramatically, and many cases which would be dropped in other counties are prosecuted in Orange County.

If a case is to be prosecuted, the state attorney's office must file a petition with the court clerk within 30 days of the signing of the arrest affidavit, and the case must be tried within 90 days. The assistant state attorney allows 15 days for the single intake workers to submit a report, and then decides whether or not to file a petition. After a petition is filed, an investigator in the state attorney's office gathers evidence and prepares the state's case. The two assistant state attorneys other than the division chief represent the state in court.

There are three types of hearings in juvenile court; the first is an arraignment hearing, at which a plea is entered. If the defendant pleads innocent, an adjudicatory hearing follows. Finally, a juvenile found guilty is issued a sentence at the dispositional hearing. Single intake of DYS enters the process once again if the judge orders a predispositional report to aid his choice of a disposition. Probation, institutionalization, and after-care are all managed by HRS.

Referral to the Diversion Project

It was not until after the diversion project was funded that juvenile justice agencies and HSPC were able to agree on arrangements for diverting youths to the project. The project's proposal includes letters of support

from the district's state attorney, the Division of Youth Services, and three of the county's law enforcement agencies. It did not, however, specify the point or points at which diversion would occur, or the eligibility criteria for the program. HSPC held meetings with representatives of the aforementioned juvenile justice agencies to solicit their views as to the most appropriate point in case processing for diversion to the program. All agencies agreed that the state attorney's office was the only possibility. Because of recent court decisions and changes in state law, no other agency has legal authority to divert cases from formal processing prior to a court appearance. Though the chief of the juvenile division of the state attorney's office is known for advocating increased prosecution of juvenile offenders, he agreed to select an eligible pool of cases and allow those cases to be randomly assigned to diversion with services, to diversion without services, or to court processing.

The assistant state attorney agreed that first-time offenders or repeat offenders for the following offenses would be eligible for referral to the project:

First Degree Misdemeanors

Larceny
Unauthorized Use of Automobile
Battery
Trespass
Criminal Mischief

Second Degree Misdemeanors

Larceny
Assault
Trespass
Criminal Mischief
Alcoholic Beverage Possession
Shoplifting
Drug Possession
Prostitution

Third Degree Felonies

Trespass
Criminal Mischief
Attempted Breaking and Entering (Automobile)
Attempted Breaking and Entering (Structure)
Trespass on Structure
Drug Possession

He also stipulated that certain classes of offenders would be ineligible. Juveniles would be excluded if a petition had been filed for any of their prior offenses unless the petition had been dismissed for lack of evidence. Those who had been on probation at any time in the last two years would also be ineligible. Charges involving the use of a weapon or the sale of drugs other than marijuana would prevent a youth from being diverted. Finally, a youth diverted to the project for one offense could not be diverted again if rearrested.

Diversion to the project occurs at the point of review by the assistant state attorney. Selection typically occurs 14 to 21 days after a juvenile is arrested. The division chief has agreed to divert only cases that he would prosecute if the project did not exist. He has full authority for determining which of the eligible cases will be diverted. Among the factors he weighs in this decision are the presenting offense, any prior record, and the youth's age. The youth's age plays an important part in the assistant state attorney's determination of the seriousness of the case; he views most offenses as more serious when committed by older youths than when committed by younger youths.

The cases that are chosen by the assistant state attorney constitute the random assignment pool for the project. The director of the diversion project visits the assistant state attorney's office approximately every other day to

receive new cases. The assistant state attorney gives her the files for the cases he has chosen. She enters names in alphabetical order in a random assignment log supplied by BRI. This log specifies whether the youth will be diverted to the project, diverted without services, or processed to court. If more than one youth is arrested in a single incident (i.e., a companion case), all receive the same disposition, the one assigned to the youth whose name comes first in an alphabetical listing.

The project director copies information about the juvenile and the offense from the case files, and tells the assistant state attorney which cases are being diverted and which are to be sent on to court. Records at the court and the state attorney's office indicate which cases are diverted, but make no distinction between diversion to the project and diversion without services.

When the presenting offense involves a victim, the consent of the victim is a prerequisite to participating in the diversion project. One of the HSPC case managers has the responsibility of obtaining this consent. If the victim is not willing to consent, the case is returned to the state attorney's office.

After a juvenile has been assigned to diversion with services, he or she is contacted by the diversion project. All explanation of the project and the status of a youth's case is done by HSPC case managers rather than by representatives of justice agencies. If youths protest innocence of the alleged presenting offense, their cases will be returned to the state attorney's office so that they will have an opportunity to prove their innocence in court.

The legal status of diverted cases is rather ambiguous. Juvenile justice system records will show that the youth was diverted and that no petition was filed. In agreeing to participate in the diversion program, youths sign a

form which explains their legal rights and the status of their cases. This form states that, if they decide to participate, prosecution will be deferred for up to twelve months, and charges will be dropped upon successful completion of the program. It also indicates that if the youth is involved in a new offense, he or she may be taken to court for both the new offense and the original offense. Contrary to the statements contained in that document, HSPC staff members and the assistant state attorney felt that there was little possibility of a diversion client being returned to court, regardless of the client's performance in the program. Once a month has elapsed it becomes very difficult for the state attorney's office to gather the information necessary for the state's case.

The assistant state attorney has instructed HSPC case managers that they may tell youths assigned to the program that their cases will be taken to court if they do not wish to participate. Case managers therefore have the option of exerting a good deal of pressure in convincing juveniles to participate.

In order to preserve confidentiality, the project provides the justice system with only very limited information about clients. The project notifies the state attorney's office of the agency in which a client is placed and forwards them copies of forms recording victim and client consent and notification of legal rights. Justice agencies will receive reports on the project's activities in aggregate form, but they will receive no other information about individual clients.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

All juvenile justice system services are delivered through HRS Division of Youth Services. There are two major options. A juvenile judge may adjudicate

youths delinquent and commit them to the State of Florida for an indeterminate period, not to extend beyond the youth's twenty-first birthday. These are the most serious cases, ones that will be placed in institutions and later supervised by DYS after-care. The other option is for a juvenile judge to place youths on probation and either adjudicate them delinquent or withhold adjudication. Probation is typically ordered for one year, but some other length of time or an indeterminate period may be specified. After-care usually lasts nine months.

DYS youth counselors serve the role of probation officers for juveniles ages 12 through 18. Youths are assigned to the counselor who is responsible for the area in which they live; that counselor will act as case manager throughout the term of probation. The counselors who supervise probationers also supervise juveniles placed on after-care. The two types of cases receive similar treatment. Youth counselors carried heavy caseloads, an average of 76 clients per counselor at the time of the BRI interviews.

Counselors must see that the youths in their charge follow the rules of probation. This responsibility involves checking on school attendance and behavior at home (e.g. whether or not the youth violates curfew). According to DYS policy there are three levels of supervision: maximum, medium, and minimum. Counselors are supposed to contact clients under maximum supervision twice a week, those under medium supervision once a week, and those under minimum supervision once a month. However, DYS personnel stated that the size of existing caseloads makes it impossible to meet those standards. They said that counselors typically see clients once a week in the earlier stages of probation, and contacts taper off to once or twice a month (by telephone) toward the end of the period. Counselors spend the most time with youths who

present the greatest problems (getting into further trouble with the law or breaking the rules of probation).

While DYS counselors are clearly interested in providing services to youths, their responsibilities emphasize supervision as much as service. The dominant service for most youths is counseling, which usually occurs in a group setting, allowing counselors to see several clients at one time. Sessions generally last one to one and one-half hours. Counselors are also responsible for helping youths in job or school placement, but their resources for finding employment are quite limited. More extensive services come by referral to other agencies. The programs most often used are mental health centers, community based drug treatment programs, and special school programs. Nevertheless, most clients do not receive any outside services.

In response to a youth's behavior while on probation, the counselor may lengthen or shorten the probationary period by petitioning the court. Such a petition is necessary for terminating probation when the youth's disposition was probation for an indeterminate period.

INTERAGENCY RELATIONS

As a result of their involvement in planning the Orange County Youth Diversion project, directors of all major juvenile justice agencies in the county were well informed about the project's diversion procedures. These agencies had input during both the development of the proposal and the negotiations for its implementation. At the time of the BRI interviews, HSPC was soon to begin briefing sessions for the staffs of these agencies, most of whom know little about the project. Diversion project staff members felt that keeping the justice community well informed about the project was important to its success, even if many of those people are not directly involved in the diversion process.

Justice agency directors have all agreed that diversion at the state attorney's office is the appropriate strategy for Orange County, but they vary in their views about diversion. Directors of two agencies indicated that they would prefer to have diversion at all four stages of processing in the justice system, but felt it was not possible given community pressure for harsher treatment of juveniles and the strictures of current state law. These directors were in favor of reducing penetration of the justice system for many classes of offenders. Another director believed that recent research has shown that diversion is ineffective for reducing recidivism, and he stated more youths must be placed under supervision of justice agencies in order to solve the crime problem. On the other hand, this same director is very supportive of the project and believes that it is a good one.

Justice representatives' opinions about the services offered by the project also varied; some were simply uninformed. Among those who were aware of the service arrangements, some thought highly of the service agencies while others expressed strong reservations about certain agencies. There was unanimous agreement, however, that project services would be more intensive and individualized than those offered by the justice system.

A diversion project's relationship with its referral source is critical to its success, for a project cannot operate without referrals. The referral source for the Orange County diversion project is a single person, the juvenile division chief of the district's state attorney's office. At the time of the BRI interviews, this relationship appeared to be quite satisfactory. Project staff felt that the division chief had been very cooperative; they were satisfied with both the rate at which cases were referred and the kinds of cases being referred.

The only justice agency with which the diversion project has regular contact is the state attorney's office. The project director visits this office about every other day to receive referrals, and she frequently discusses issues of mutual concern with the division chief. There is no overlap in manpower between justice agencies and the project. The project uses justice agency resources only when the project director uses office space to copy information about the cases in the eligible pool. The division chief stated his involvement in the diversion project occupies a great deal of time out of his busy schedule. On the other hand, the project reduces the number of cases prosecuted and consequently lightens the load of his investigators and prosecutors.

As with the justice agencies, the service agencies were involved in planning the diversion project. Thus, their representatives at the planning sessions are familiar with the rationale for the project and with many of its procedures. Most service workers are less well informed about the project, but HSPC is planning sessions for many of them. All service workers were aware of one important aspect of the program, the importance of avoiding negative labeling.

BROKERED SERVICE AGENCIES

Boy's Clubs of Central Florida

Boys' Clubs of Central Florida, Inc., operates three branches in Orange County; each of them will receive clients from the diversion project. Any boy between six and eighteen years of age is eligible to join a Boys' Club. Branch directors said that the purpose of the Boys' Club is to aid in the development of a boy's character, interests, personal skills, and physical abilities. Almost all of the Boys' Clubs' membership comes from the community

at large rather than from referral by agencies. At the time of the BRI interviews, four diversion clients had been placed at the Boys' Clubs.

The Orange County Youth Diversion Project will reimburse the Boys' Clubs at a flat rate for each day of attendance by diversion clients. The agreement to participate in the diversion project signed by clients going to a Boys' Club specified that the duration of participation will be 60 days of attendance. The diversion project will pay for up to 60 days of participation and the client must attend 60 times in order to satisfy the requirements of the project. On the other hand, staff members expected that most clients would continue to participate long after the specified period. It was unclear whether or not HSPC case managers would continue to monitor clients after the 60 day period. Their contract with the diversion project specifies that the Boys' Clubs will be paid for a maximum of 150 clients per year. According to Boys Club staff members, this amount would represent a small fraction of their total budget.

The Boys' Clubs offer a wide variety of activities, most of which can be categorized as athletics or games, arts or crafts, and cultural enrichment. Many of the activities operate on a drop-in basis; leaders supervise a variety of athletic and table games and conduct classes in arts and crafts. Members can come on any day and join in any of these activities that interest them. Other programs such as organized sports and leadership clubs meet on a regular basis. Most programs are limited to certain age groups, and boys may join any activity appropriate to their age. The Boys' Clubs also organize field trips for various outdoor activities and cultural events. Though there is no formal counseling at the Boys' Clubs, staff members conduct informal counseling by engaging members in discussions about personal problems. Staff members also

try to act as advocates for their members with schools and the justice system whenever the need arises.

Boy Scouts of America, Central Florida Council

At the time of BRI's interviews, arrangements for referring clients to the Boy Scouts had yet to be completed. Though representatives of the Boy Scouts were not interviewed, documents supplied by the diversion project, including the Boy Scouts' application for funding, gave information about the Boy Scouts and the services they will give to diversion clients.

There had been no diversion clients referred to the Boy Scouts at the time of the BRI interviews. Staff members of the diversion project expected that participation would consist of a year's membership in the Boy Scouts. Reimbursement would be at a set rate for the cost of a year's participation. A maximum of 50 diversion clients will be sent to the Boy Scouts each year.

The Boy Scouts operate three age-graded programs, cub scouting, boy scouting, and exploring. Cub scouting is a family oriented program for boys eight to ten years of age. Boys meet weekly in small groups for recreation and arts and crafts, and there are monthly meetings which include parents as well. Boy scouting offers outdoor activities for boys of ages 11 to 17. Boys are organized into troupes, which are supervised by adult leaders and meet regularly. While cub scouting and boy scouting are limited to boys, exploring, a program for those over 14 years of age, is open to girls as well. Explorer posts are typically oriented around a specific vocational interest of members.

Citizen Dispute Settlement Program

The Citizen Dispute Settlement Program is operated by the Orange County Bar Association. The program, which began in 1975, was limited to adults

until the implementation of the youth diversion program, though at the time of the BRI interviews it had yet to receive its first juvenile case. Because funds for both the diversion project and the Citizen Dispute Settlement Program are administered by the county, there is no contract between the agencies. To be sure that all parties clearly understood the arrangements which would be followed, a letter of agreement had been signed.

The purpose of the Citizen Dispute Settlement Program is to settle disputes outside of the formal court system through mediation hearings. The program will be reimbursed by the diversion project at a flat rate for each mediation session. These hearings are conducted by a three member panel of mediators. Orange County lawyers had been serving as mediators for adult cases, but it was planned that the other volunteers would serve this role for juveniles. Each panel was to include two adult volunteers and one juvenile volunteer, all of whom would receive training about mediation from the bar association. It appeared that at the time of the BRI interviews volunteers were yet to be recruited and trained.

The goals of the mediation session are to allow the arrested juvenile and the victim of the offense to air their grievances, come to an understanding of each other's point of view, and arrive at a settlement that is signed by all parties involved. Settlement might include a client's commitment to avoid creating problems in the future or pay some form of reparation to the victim.

Mediation sessions require not only the consent and cooperation of the diverted youth, but also that of the victim of the offense. The program would not apply to youths arrested for victimless crimes. At the time of the BRI interviews, the diversion project staff had yet to determine when clients would be referred to the dispute settlement program. Other service options

were selected by clients and their families, but this procedure would seem inappropriate to dispute settlement.

The Green House, Inc.

The Green House, Inc., began operation in 1971, providing counseling for people with drug abuse problems. The Green House now operates two programs, a family counseling program, which will accept diversion project clients, and an alternative school, which will not. The contract between the diversion project and the Green House allows for up to 225 clients per year; four diversion clients had been referred by the time of BRI's interviews. Full reimbursement for the maximum number of cases would constitute approximately one-third of the Green House's budget.

Counseling, which is strictly family oriented, is provided by four counselors; there is no individual or group counseling. Every member of the family who lives at home is asked to come to the sessions. Counselors attempt to treat the family as a unit rather than treat any particular individuals within the family. The approach of the Green House staff is influenced by the tenets of reality therapy and client-centered therapy.

The counseling provided to diversion clients will be crisis oriented, that is, short term and intensive. A total of five sessions for each family is planned, the maximum number that will be paid for by the diversion project. Counseling will last three weeks, one session taking place the first week, two the second, and two the third. Staff members of the Green House believed that starting counseling soon after the client's arrest, while the family is still in the throes of the crisis, is very important. They were concerned that under current referral arrangements the impact of their service would be blunted by passage of time before the onset of treatment.

The Orange County Public School System

HSPC plans to provide employment for diversion project clients through programs operated by the Orange County Public School System. Arrangements for the program were incomplete at the time of the BRI interviews and available information is sketchy. Plans were for the school system's work-experience coordinators to place diversion clients in part-time jobs in the community. The diversion project would supply funds for 90% of the client's salary and the employer would supply the remaining 10%.

Orlando School of Black Performing Arts

The Orlando School of Black Performing Arts, Inc. (OSBPA), which was first funded in 1973, offers youths classes in music, dance, drama, creative writing, and the visual arts. The classes are taught by specialists in these fields, some of whom are paid and some of whom are volunteers. Most classes meet twice a week, and diversion clients are expected to enroll in two classes. OSBPA will be reimbursed at an hourly rate for up to 120 hours of classes per client. Diversion project support for the clients they refer would last about three months; clients may continue on their own after that time.

OSBPA has instituted counseling specifically for the diversion project clients. Counseling had not been among their activities before their association with the diversion project. The diversion project will pay for up to 48 hours of twice weekly counseling sessions per client.

Approximately 125 students were enrolled at OSBPA at the time of the BRI interviews, three of whom had been referred by the diversion project. Though a few youths had been referred by social services, most came from the community at large. OSBPA's enrollment is not limited to blacks; 20% of their

enrollment is white. HSPC case managers expected that most diversion clients coming to OSBPA would be black. The diversion project has contracted to pay for service to a maximum of 80 clients per year. The total possible amount of funds would equal approximately 20% of the OSBPA budget.

Professional Evaluation, Diagnosis and Intervention, Inc.

Professional Evaluation, Diagnosis and Intervention, Inc. (PEDI), will provide diagnostic services to the clients of the diversion project. PEDI is a team of specialists from several fields who work together to give a thorough diagnosis by administering a battery of tests that includes an optometric exam, an audiological exam, a neurological exam, a general physical exam, a social history, a psychological evaluation, an educational evaluation, an electroencephalogram, and a variety of laboratory tests. Several sessions are required for testing by the various team members. The diagnosis is expected to take about a month to complete, from the first testing session to the report of the results.

Rates of reimbursement to be paid by the diversion project have been set for each test, but PEDI and diversion project staff members expect most clients who are referred to receive the entire battery. Payments for a maximum of 50 clients is specified by the contract between the agencies, but no referrals to PEDI had been made when BRI conducted interviews.

Case managers indicated that only those clients who seemed to have special problems would be referred to PEDI, and that the elaborate testing offered by PEDI was not needed for selecting services in the vast majority of these cases. There was a long waiting list for the services of PEDI, but it was not clear whether clients of the diversion project would be placed on the list or given priority.

Young Men's Christian Association of Central Florida

The Young Men's Christian Association of Central Florida (YMCA) conducts a wide variety of programs for all segments of the population, including men and women, young and old, and members of all religious groups. Staff members believe that the purpose of the YMCA is to meet the mental, spiritual, and physical needs of the community. The YMCA of Central Florida operates three branches in Orange County that will receive clients from the diversion project. There had been six clients referred by the time of the BRI interviews.

Diversion clients will choose among the activities that the YMCA offers for adolescents. These activities include physical fitness, athletics, aquatics, games, classes, day camp, and clubs. All of these activities are structured; they meet regularly under adult supervision. There are also limited drop-in activities, such as table games and open use of the swimming pool at certain hours.

The diversion project's procedure for reimbursing the YMCA is more complicated than for other agencies. The project will pay for one-year memberships for the clients referred, but it is expected that clients will participate for a much shorter period. Memberships paid for by the project may be used for a new client after the original client has ceased participation. In addition to the membership fee, there are charges for most of the specific activities on a per lesson or per week basis. The contract specifies a maximum amount to be spent on activities for each client, and this amount effectively determines the length of participation. A maximum of 100 clients per year is indicated in the contract. A YMCA representative stated that the funds supplied by the diversion project would be a very small fraction of the organization's budget.

JOHN JAY COLLEGE - NEW YORK CITY

TRANSIT POLICE DIVERSION PROJECT

(November 11-15, 1977)

Overview

New York City is the densely populated socioeconomically diverse center of a tri-state metropolitan region of over twenty million people. Of the 7.8 million people who live in the city's five boroughs, approximately 60% are white, 21% are black, and 16.3% are Hispanic. The unemployment rate in New York City is high, 11.9% in March, 1976; and more than two million New Yorkers - 25% of the total population - live in low-income areas.

The 1970 census indicates that 1,121,419 children and adolescents, aged seven through fifteen, reside in New York City. These juveniles represent 16% of the city's population, yet they constitute approximately 20% of those apprehended by police for major crime. This percentage, disproportionately high as it is, probably understates the involvement of older juveniles in criminal activity, since they have been included in the same category with very young children, many of whom do not possess the physical ability necessary for the commission of major crimes. Furthermore, the number of juveniles apprehended by police in New York City has increased more than 10% in the three-year period, 1973-75. (These demographic and crime data were obtained from the project grant proposal.)

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice Juvenile Offender Diversion Program is one of three LEAA funded juvenile diversion projects in New York

City. In cooperation with the New York City Transit Police Department, the John Jay program was developed to divert youth from the justice system at the police level, counsel them, and place them in various community agency service programs. In November, 1977, BRI staff visited New York City and conducted interviews with diversion project staff, members of the City Police and Transit Police departments, and representatives of the Manhattan Family Court. Interviews were not conducted with community agency service program personnel as the project had not made use of such agencies for services at that time.

History

The diversion project is jointly operated by the John Jay College Criminal Justice Center and the New York City Transit Police Department; its history must be described in the context of the developing relationship between these two agencies.

Founded in 1964, John Jay College is a four-year college in the City University of New York system that awards baccalaureate and graduate degrees in criminal justice, public administration, forensic science, and forensic psychology. The Criminal Justice Center, an independently funded unit of John Jay College, began operation in the summer of 1975 in response to the need for institutions to evaluate criminal justice systems and to facilitate constructive changes in the administration of justice. Although the Criminal Justice Center is the grantee for LEAA funds, the New York City Transit Police Department (NYCTPD) has been a major partner in both the development of the diversion project and its operation.

One of three relatively autonomous police agencies in the city (the New York City Police Department and the New York City Housing Authority Police are

the other two), NYCTPD has sought the advice of or collaborated with John Jay College on a number of projects of mutual interest, particularly in the area of police processing of juvenile offenders. Transit Police interest in juvenile justice is not surprising. Even though transit police constitute only about 10% of the total of New York City's police personnel, they were responsible for 35% of all discretionary juvenile detentions in New York City in 1975 (according to the project grant proposal). Collaboration on developing a diversion program for youth apprehended in the transit system appeared to have come at an opportune time. Just prior to the submission of the John Jay College diversion proposal to LEAA, NYCTPD changed their operational procedures for handling youthful offenders. A management consultant was hired to assist the chief of the Transit Police Department in strengthening the managerial functions of the department and in revising a variety of policies and procedures. In the past, NYCTPD had referred all arrested youth to the New York City Police Department precinct nearest the point of arrest and transferred jurisdiction to the city police for subsequent justice processing. In 1976, the procedures were changed and NYCTPD assumed full responsibility for youths arrested on the transit system from point of arrest through disposition. This change and the associated decentralization of authority for such cases to district commands was critical to the Transit Authority Police Department's participation in diversion programming. The establishment of the Juvenile Crime Prevention Unit (JCPU) to coordinate youth-related programs, resulted, at least initially, from the need to house and operate the juvenile diversion project.

The initial diversion project director, who was also a faculty member at John Jay College, wrote the application for LEAA funds with the assistance of

NYCTPD planners and supervisory personnel. As originally proposed, the diversion project was to be staffed by current employees of the Transit Police and John Jay College as well as by newly hired personnel. Thus, when the grant was funded in December, 1976, much of the staff was available to begin work. The project director devoted 50% of his time beginning January, 1977. Also in January, John Jay College sought the assistance of the management consultant (who later assumed the directorship of the project), to function as a resource person in the development of the diversion project as the attempt was made to tie the transit authority police processing practices into the service component of the John Jay College diversion project. There was unanimous agreement among those knowledgeable about the project that the consultant's efforts were instrumental in preparing the way for the establishment of the diversion program as a workable appendage to the Transit Police Department. His credibility with the chief of the NYCTPD and his expertise in police management practices brought the project the resources needed to prepare the Transit Authority and the diversion project for a mutually beneficial working relationship.

The project's first social services director was hired in January, 1977, one counselor began work in March and another was added in August. In October, one month before the BRI interviews were conducted, the social services director returned to her job at John Jay College, and another director was hired.

In spite of the auspicious timing of the NYCTPD reorganization, three problems delayed the full implementation of the diversion program. First project staff could not be hired because money for salaries did not become available for some months after project approval. Second, five Transit Police

officers who had undergone training in juvenile diversion theory and procedures could not be used in the John Jay program as originally planned. As NYCTPD interest in juvenile offender work grew, they found it expedient to transfer their trained personnel to other new juvenile offender programs. Consequently, staff not originally involved in the design of the project had to be assigned and trained. The slow pace at which project money became available alleviated this problem somewhat, because it provided valuable time for program development and staff retraining. Finally, because motor vehicles essential to the program's efficient operation could not be obtained, the procedures developed to divert youth had to be altered, resulting in a number of unexpected operational problems. The acquisition of motor vehicles was still a problem at the time the interviews were conducted, primarily because of the difficulty of getting state approval for their purchase. Despite these setbacks, the diversion project began accepting referrals on May 18, 1977, for the purpose of pilot testing project procedure, and on August 9, a trial run of the randomization procedures associated with the national evaluation design began. By the time data collection for the national evaluation research began on October 4, 139 pilot cases had been diverted with services.

Goals

The John Jay diversion project has two main components: offender diversion and police training. Although the focus of the present report is on the former, the two components, as described in the original proposal, were given equal importance. The Juvenile Justice Police Training Program is designed to upgrade the knowledge and skills of police officers in diverting youths who might otherwise become involved in the criminal justice system. It is planned that over a three-year period between 2,500 and 3,000 police

officers will each receive thirty hours of training. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, however, this program was still in the planning stage and only about twenty officers had received any special training. Yet, the project director emphasized the interrelatedness of the components, suggesting that the diversion program offers a "laboratory" in which to educate and inform participants in the training program, while the training program might prove to be essential to the success of the diversion program by enlisting the officers' support.

Goals and objectives for the offender diversion-community services component are presented in some detail in the program proposal. In summary, they are: (a) to effectively divert 750 juvenile offenders over a three year period from further penetration in the justice system and interrupt the offender's pattern of delinquency by providing immediate diagnosis, referral for services, and short-term crisis intervention counseling; (b) to reduce recidivism measured by decreases in the number and severity of contacts with the juvenile justice system; (c) to measure the project's effectiveness by comparing juveniles served by the project with a randomly selected control population; (d) to provide trained, supervised student volunteer counselors to monitor clients' response to services and to provide para-professional crisis intervention counseling until additional resources can be brought to bear in emergencies involving juveniles and their families; (e) to provide paid after-school, out-of-school, and summer employment opportunities to all juveniles referred to the program; (f) to provide a complete medical examination for all juveniles on a voluntary basis through a medical service agency, public hospital, or neighborhood health care center.

Interviews with project service staff indicated that all recognize the primacy of diversion from juvenile justice system processing and the immediate

provision of services to youth as project goals. Only one staff member gave responses indicative of a broader view by naming the reduction of recidivism in the transit system and the development of community resources as objectives. No one mentioned the evaluative aspects of the project or any of the other stated goals and, in fact, knowledge of the employment and medical services available for project youths seemed quite limited. Staff members agreed that the crisis intervention model was the rationale for the service program.

In contrast to the rather limited, treatment-oriented views of the counseling staff, the project director emphasized the impact the project would have on the Transit Police as a whole. He emphasized the relationship that John Jay College and NYCTPD had established and he was pleased with what they had accomplished together. In touting the strategy of training a corps of specialists to disseminate the diversion philosophy to the rest of the police force, he spoke of the present project as one of a variety of Transit Police alternatives to traditional police processing of juveniles. In a larger sense, the project director hoped that the diversion program would provide a model for implementing future policy in the Transit Police Department. He described in detail the crisis intervention strategy that guides the treatment aspects of the project and spoke at length of "the enormous potential of the criminal justice system to finalize, organize, and increase the impact of all other negative forces in society (by labeling the child) a composite called the bad kid."

Structure and Function

Personnel can be categorized according to which of two functions they serve: the service capacity of the program (i.e., counseling, crisis

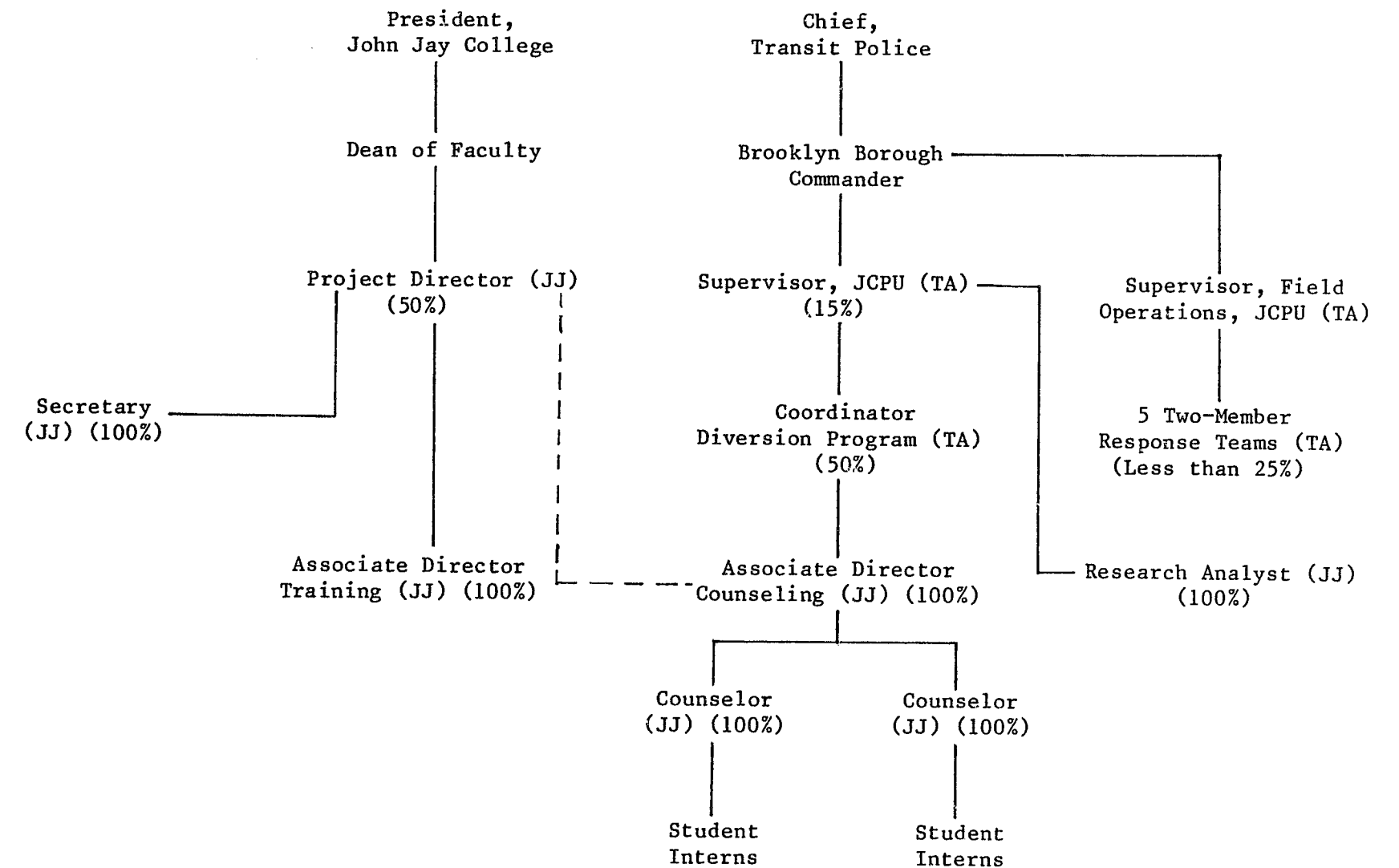
intervention, referral) is the responsibility of newly recruited staff who are paid through the LEAA grant or who volunteer through the John Jay College student intern program; the response capacity of the program (i.e., initial contact with youth in the districts in which they were apprehended) is the responsibility of NYCTPD officers whose services are donated to the diversion project. (This responsibility was later shared by the civilian social services director.) The organizational chart depicted in Figure A-5 makes this distinction by indicating which agency employs each staff member and what proportion of time each spends on the diversion project. Note that the project director does not supervise any JCPU staff members and supervises the diversion project service staff only indirectly.

Personnel

Listed below are descriptions of the tasks performed by personnel paid by the diversion project, followed by similar descriptions for NYCTPD officers who play a role in project operations.

The project director, in addition to having overall administrative and staffing responsibilities for the project, works with NYCTPD and other outside agencies in all matters concerning the project; supervises the service staff through his representative, the social services director; and serves as training coordinator for the Police Training component of the project.

The social services director's chief task is administering the day-to-day operation of the project's service component. Basically, this consists of conducting a needs assessment and developing a treatment plan for every diverted youth, supervising the activities of the two counselors and the student interns, and monitoring all documentation of client contacts and service delivery. When a youth is apprehended, he is responsible for "taking



NOTE: JJ indicates paid employee of LEAA grant.
TA indicates paid employee of NYCTPD, services donated to project.

Figure A-5
Organizational Chart for John Jay College - NYCTPD Diversion Program

the case out of the hands of police" by meeting with the youth and parents at a district station as soon as possible after apprehension.

Counselors are charged with executing the treatment plan developed by the social services director. This involves monitoring the delivery of services by outside agencies, providing additional counseling as needed, and supervising student interns assigned to the counselor's cases.

Student interns assist the counselors by providing specific services to clients, such as tutoring and "big brother/sister" counseling; by accompanying clients to referral agencies, especially on the initial visit; and by monitoring the services each youth receives from a referral source via contact with both the agency and the child throughout service delivery. At the time of the BRI interviews, approximately ten undergraduates from John Jay College were receiving course credit for their participation in the program.

JCPU supervisor, a sergeant and twelve-year veteran of NYCTPD, devotes about 15% of his time to diversion project management and administration. As a member of the department's planning unit, he was heavily involved in the development of JCPU procedures. In addition to supervising response and service personnel, he is responsible for directing five other JCPU programs and their associated staffs.

Project coordinator is assigned to the diversion project for 50% of his time, but actually spends much more. He is an eleven-year veteran of the department and, with the JCPU supervisor, was one of the original group trained by John Jay College. His diversion project related tasks include assessing the eligibility of incoming cases, performing the random assignment, dispatching response teams to district stationhouses, and occasionally traveling to district offices to conduct the initial project interview with diverted youths and their parents.

Response teams are regular two-man patrol teams composed of plainclothes NYCTPD officers. Because they are the first diversion project representatives to contact the apprehended youth, the five teams have received special training in diversion programming and crisis intervention. When a response team is called to a district stationhouse, they are expected to serve as advocates for the apprehended youth and describe the project to the youth and parents. Project-related tasks occupied about 25% of the team members' time when the BRI interviews were conducted (the rest was spent on regular patrol duty), but it was expected that this proportion would grow larger as the project got underway.

Project Administration

Although general staff meetings were held weekly before the project began accepting diverted youth in October, 1977, there have been no general meetings for service personnel since that time. The project director reportedly communicates with his staff indirectly, through the social services director. The project director, social services director, and JCPU supervisory personnel meet informally for several hours a week to formulate policy and discuss problems. Whenever it is necessary (reportedly two to four times per week), the social services director holds case conferences with the two counselors, either separately or together, and uses the meetings to transmit management decisions and changes in procedure.

Project staff expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of input they have to the operation of the project and the amount of recognition they receive from supervisors. All three paid service workers cited problems in communication as an important contributor to their difficulties; each in his own way expressed a desire to be heard by policy makers, to be treated as a

professional member of the team. It was interesting, given his seemingly pivotal position in the information flow of the project, that the social services director felt he had not been given sufficient responsibility for the management of the project. In their interviews, paid project staff made it clear that they looked to the project director for leadership and direction; at the same time, the project director had delegated much of this responsibility to the social services director. The relatively short period of time that the social services director had been on the job and the ambiguity inherent in being supervised by both police personnel and, the project director, may also have contributed to difficulties experienced by the service workers.

Orientation and Training

Intensive, formal orientation consisting of three-hour weekly sessions for fifteen weeks was provided for five Transit Police officers, including the JCPU supervisor and coordinator. These training-program development conferences were jointly conducted by the Fordham University Graduate School of Social Service and the John Jay College project staff and served the added purpose of designing the project's procedures and intervention strategies. Diversion project response staff subsequently received an intensive three-day course conducted by faculty from Fordham and John Jay College and NOSR consultants, but diversion project service staff had not at that time been hired. According to the project director, initial training of paid service staff consisted of meetings with the project director, and attending the project's police and administrative staff conference which totaled approximately four days of training. In addition to a common orientation to diversion theory and project procedures, NYCTPD and paid service staff

received training related to the specific roles they would serve within the project. Student interns were given one full day of orientation to the diversion project and crisis intervention training at the Transit Police Academy by members of the project staff.

Aside from the case conferences described above, no inservice training had been made available to service workers since project operations began in October. Some staff expressed a desire for additional training, particularly in the areas of program administration and case management.

Client Intake

When a youth is apprehended and brought to a district station, the district desk officer makes a preliminary decision about the youth's eligibility for diversion (see Referral to Diversion Project below) and then notifies the youth's parents and the JCPU coordinator at the Transit Police Academy. (A parent must be present for diversion to occur.) The coordinator dispatches one of five two-man response teams to the district station to interview the youth and parents, to assist the arresting officer with his paperwork, and to further determine the youth's eligibility. If the youth is eligible, the response team calls the JCPU coordinator and requests a randomly assigned disposition. (When the coordinator has been absent, the supervisor of JCPU Field Operations has made the assignment.)

Random assignment is accomplished by recording the youth's name, date of birth, and booking number on the next vacant line in the random assignment log prepared in advance by BRI and then noting the disposition category for that line - either (a) divert with services, (b) divert without services, or (c) penetration to the court system. If two or more youths are apprehended for a single offense, they are all given the same disposition and their names are

entered on a single line in the random assignment log. After learning the disposition, the response team approaches youth and parents, informs them of the disposition, and requests their consent to participate in the BRI evaluation. If the case is assigned to Category A (diverted with services), the response team describes the diversion project and the options available to the youth and obtains his or her consent to participate in project services. All response team members that were interviewed said that they attempt to portray the diversion project as a "helpful" alternative to penetration into the justice system and that they emphasize the voluntary nature of the program. At the same time, they acknowledge the implicit threat of penetration and the reluctance of most families to become involved in legal proceedings. If the case is assigned to Category B (diverted without services), then the youth is released. If the case is assigned to Category C (penetration), the youth is processed in the usual manner, with one exception. Response team members, after informing parents and youth that they will be referred to the Family Court, explain the court process in an attempt to relieve anxiety that the family may have concerning a court referral.

When a case is assigned to the diversion project, an assessment interview is arranged in one of two ways. The social services director (or the JCPU coordinator) typically travels from the JCPU Office to the district station, takes charge of the case from the response team, and interviews the youth and parents there. Alternatively, the response team may make arrangement for an initial interview with the social services director at a later time, either in the youth's home, or, less frequently, at the JCPU Office. Thus, initial contact with a JCPU officer wearing plain-clothes and having some training in diversion procedures most frequently occurs within a few hours of arrest

(depending on the length of time that passes before a parent arrives to take custody of their child). Contact with a diversion project service worker most frequently occurs within that same time period or, occasionally, a day or two after the arrest.

The social services director is responsible for evaluating the youth's needs and preferences for services by gathering information about the youth's family, friends, school, and health. The interview lasts about an hour and results in a contract containing a general statement of the problem, the youth's view of it, and the areas that are agreed upon as needing attention. After the assessment is completed, the social services director enters his recommendations in the youth's case file and assigns the case to a counselor; he usually will not have personal contact with the youth again.

Case Management

On the basis of the social services director's recommendations, a counselor, assisted by the student interns assigned to him, places the youth in the appropriate service and then checks to see if the services are actually taking place and if the client is benefiting from them. Placement in a service is expected to take approximately one week. Diversion project contact with the youth is maintained via telephone and through visits to the service agency or the youth's home. This may continue over a period as long as four months or as short as one visit - an effort is made to avoid placing a youth in services when services are not warranted. Project service staff agreed that few expectations exist regarding the amount or frequency of contact with a client, due to the variance in the needs of individual youth. It appeared, however, on the basis of responses to our interviews, that meetings average about once a week during the early phases of referral to a service agency.

Counselors are expected to document their client and agency contacts in case summaries and to meet with the social service director for case supervision at least weekly. Moreover, the social services director has assumed the responsibility of maintaining a record of client services and all changes in a client's treatment plan must be approved by him. Similarly, student interns are supposed to submit written descriptions of their activities to counselors weekly. Project personnel indicated that they expected services to last about four months and that termination could be initiated either by the youth or by the counselor, with the social services director's approval. No firm guidelines exist for youths who fail to participate in services. Project staff said that efforts would be made to persuade the youth to return for services; but, failing that, the case would be closed.

Service Options

In addition to the evaluation and monitoring described above, project workers provided short-term counseling and tutoring to a few clients. The bulk of services, however, were designed to be obtained through referral to community service agencies. Counselors mentioned a variety of service agencies in the interviews, including Phoenix House, Boys' Clubs, community mental health centers, Boy Scouts, and Youth Employment, though it was clear that these options were used infrequently. Data, provided by the project director, about the first 139 pilot cases diverted with services (before October 11, 1977) indicated that 54% either were never contacted or there was no record of any service delivery; 21% were contacted, but services were unnecessary or refused; 7% were active cases, that is, neither referred for services nor closed; and 7% had been referred to social service agencies for

services. Although the diversion project had received an additional 110 cases between the time these pilot data were collected and the time the BRI interviews were conducted, it seemed, on the basis of our discussions with project personnel, that referral service options were not being used as originally planned.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

In New York City, the juvenile justice system consists of three autonomous police departments, the New York City Police Department, New York Transit Police Department, and New York Housing Authority Police Department, and the various components of the five Family Courts (one for each borough) including the probation department, Legal Aid, Corporation Counsel, and the judiciary. The probation departments are divided into four functional units: (1) intake, which is responsible for making the initial decision to either dismiss a case, refer for services, or process to court; (2) investigation, which constructs social histories for juvenile offenders which are used by the judges in determining the disposition of cases; (3) supervision, which supervises youths placed on formal probation by the court; and (4) liaison, which reports on the work of officers on the other three units during court proceedings.

The Legal Aid Society is a private, nonprofit agency that represents juveniles in the Family Court. Their staff members serve as public defenders for nearly all PINS (person in need of supervision) cases and the majority of juvenile delinquency cases. In addition to attorneys who argue cases in court, the organization's social services division employs social workers and counselors who refer youths to community agencies for services. The social service emphasis, which is relatively new to legal aid, serves the dual purpose of obtaining services for clients in need and helping their cases when

they come before a judge at the dispositional hearing. If a youth is making progress in a social program, the judge is more likely to be lenient in disposing the case. About half of the cases in the juvenile services unit of legal aid are referred for placement in service programs. The Legal Aid attorneys' adversaries in Family Court proceedings are the Corporation Counsels. These attorneys prosecute all juvenile cases except those involving designated felonies (i.e., most serious offenses such as murder, arson, first degree assault, and kidnapping) which are handled by the district attorney's office.

In order to obtain a complete description of the functioning of the John Jay project it is necessary to describe the structure and function of the New York City Transit Police Department and its Juvenile Crime Prevention Unit in somewhat greater detail. While the other two New York City diversion projects focus their efforts on case diverted by the New York City Police Department and Manhattan Family Court, all referrals made to the John Jay-Transit Police project result from apprehensions made by Transit Police officers and come through the JCPU. (Agreements had been made for juveniles diverted by the Transit Police to obtain services from Mobilization for Youth and Convent Avenue Baptist Church if the juveniles reside in neighborhoods serviced by these agencies.)

The New York City Transit Police Department is a law enforcement agency of 3,000 officers charged with protecting the passengers, employees, and property of the New York City Transit Authority. They have full police powers and are paid at the same salary scale as City Police. The department is organized into eleven districts with district stations located at subway terminals in four of the city's five boroughs. (There is no Transit Authority on Staten

Island.) Under the direction of the department's chief of police, the JCPU was recently formed to deal with all "conditions, crimes, and other problems occurring on the Transit System (and) involving juveniles." In addition to the diversion project, their programs include the following: (1) the School Absentee Program, established in collaboration with the Board of Education and John Jay College to minimize time lost from police involvement in the investigation of school-age youths found on the transit system during school hours; (2) the Home Visit Project, established to provide special follow-up attention on juvenile recidivists whose previous police contact indicated the need for parental contact; (3) the Court Visit Project, established to provide special follow-up attention to major juvenile offenders by informing Family Court personnel of the problem; (4) Operation Identification, established to provide adequate controls over the issuance and use of reduced fare eligibility cards (subway passes) for students and to provide special replacement services to students reporting their cards lost or stolen; and (5) the Juvenile Information Section, established to receive immediate details on police contacts from officers in the field and to provide this information to district desk officers so that appropriate action can be taken. This last program is important to the operation of the diversion project because it permits desk officers to use formerly unavailable information about previous arrests in determining an apprehended youth's eligibility for diversion.

Client Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

Offenses committed in New York City are classified into three categories, according to their seriousness: violations, misdemeanors, and felonies. The action taken by the apprehending police officer depends, in large part, on which kind of offense has occurred. Juveniles who are apprehended for alleged

violations of law are dealt with in two ways. The officer can informally admonish and release the youth or he can initiate an informal juvenile record by preparing a juvenile report form (YD-1). If an officer in the field issues a juvenile report, the youth is released immediately. The juvenile report is processed at the JCPU and then forwarded to the Youth Aide Division of the New York City Police Department where officials either notify the youth's parent via letter or conduct an investigation and refer the youth to social service agencies (see Juvenile Justice System Service Options for a more detailed description of juvenile report processing).

If the offense is a misdemeanor, the officer has three choices. He can lecture and release the youth, he can prepare a juvenile report, or he can arrest the youth. If the offense is a felony or one of certain classes of more serious misdemeanors, called "photographable" misdemeanors, the officer must arrest the youth. Arrest requires the officer to (a) call the Prisoner Transportation and Detention Unit to arrange transportation to a district office, (b) take the youth to the nearest district office, (c) notify the JCPU and the child's parents, (d) call the Central Warrants Unit to determine whether the youth has any outstanding warrants, and (e) call the NYCPD Youth Records Section to obtain the youth's arrest record. If parents respond, the youth is released to them on personal recognizance, and a court date is set for two or three weeks later. If the parents do not appear, the youth is taken to the Family Court or to a shelter if the court is closed.

At Family Court intake, a probation officer interviews the complainant, the juvenile, and the parents to determine if the case can be adjusted without further court action. The intake probation officer has considerable discretionary power. He may counsel and release the youth or dismiss the case

outright. If the offense is not a designated felony and if the complainant agrees to the adjustment, the probation officer can decide to leave the case open for sixty days to six months. He may refer the youth to a social service agency outside the court or he may merely monitor the youth's behavior. If the youth does not become involved in any delinquent activity during that period, the case can be closed. However, if no adjustment is made or if the child recidivates during the probationary period, the case must be sent on to the petition clerk of the Family Court for filing.

After the police officer or the complainant signs the petition, Legal Aid appoints an attorney for the case (or a private attorney is retained) and a hearing is held before a judge of the court. If the child pleads guilty, the judge orders a dispositional hearing to be held seven to fourteen days later; if a plea of not guilty is entered, the case is referred to trial. In the formal trial, another judge hears the cases and renders a verdict. If he decides that the juvenile is not guilty, the case is closed; otherwise, the judge schedules a dispositional hearing seven to fourteen days later.

Before the dispositional hearing is held, the judge orders an investigation of the juvenile's background by a probation officer and uses this information in selecting one of the following actions: (a) place the youth on formal probation for a period of not more than two years; (b) place the youth in a residential facility; (c) set conditions for a one-year suspension of judgment (if the youth becomes involved in delinquent activities during that period, the case can be re-opened); or (d) dismiss the case because of some overriding circumstance. Finally, if the youth is found guilty of a designated felony and is over fifteen but not yet sixteen, the judge can commit him or her to a juvenile correctional facility for a period not exceeding three years.

The criteria for diversion eligibility were developed by the project director and the transit police staff who were assigned to the project. With the approval of the Chief of the Transit Police and Executive Deputy Director of the New York City Probation Department, which has legal authority for diversion eligible cases, those guidelines became NYCTPD policy. According to the project director, the following conditions make a youth ineligible for diversion (or for the purpose of the national evaluation, ineligible for placement in the target pool for random assignment):

1. The youth is over fifteen or under seven years of age.
2. the youth was taken into custody for a felony or a photographable misdemeanor.
3. The apprehending officer or the complainant insists that the case be presented to the Family Court.
4. The youth or the youth and his parents, having been made aware of their right to present the case to the Family Court, wish to do so.
5. The record of police contacts or the presenting offense indicates that the youth (a) might be a violent offender or one who in some other way is a danger to self or others; (b) is active with Family Court because of a recent offense; or (c) is the subject of an outstanding warrant, that requires court referral.
6. The youth appears to be in need of immediate medical or psychiatric care.

All of the police personnel interviewed agreed that the District Desk Officers have the ultimate authority in deciding whether or not a given youth is eligible for diversion. The desk officers themselves admitted that there is probably considerable variation among desk officers in determining eligibility based on the youth's attitude, prior record, and the nature of the offense. In actual practice, the desk officer makes his decision after conferring with the response team. This consultation is critically important,

since many of the desk officers interviewed by BRI did not know or could not correctly identify the eligibility criteria. Although response team members did have a good working knowledge of the guidelines, it was unclear to what extent they attempt to influence the desk officer's decision. It should also be noted that just prior to the BRI interviews, the project director had sent a memorandum to the JCPU supervisor presenting a formal checklist of criteria and reminding the response teams to be vigilant in monitoring the desk officer's decision. It was impossible, of course, to assess its effect at the time the interviews were conducted.

Finally, although it was not included in the project director's list of criteria, all of the police personnel said that admission of guilt was a prerequisite for diversion. It should be noted that while offenses that warrant the issuance of a juvenile report are not eligible for diversion, once a youth is assigned to the eligiblity pool and diverted under categories A and B, he is issued a YD-1 to facilitate legal jurisdictional requirements.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

The following are juvenile justice service options that would have been available to project youths if they had not been diverted out of the system. Strictly speaking, cases that would formerly have been referred to the NYCPD Youth Aid Division by the Transit Police are not eligible for referral to the diversion project. Because of the overlap in criteria for referral to the two service options and because of the pervasive use of the juvenile report as a screening method in New York City, a description of the Youth Aid Division is included.

Youth Aid Division. Under the direction of the New York City Police Department's Deputy Commissioner for Community Affairs, the Youth Aid Division

conducts NYCPD's delinquency prevention efforts through the use of the juvenile report process and a variety of outreach and prevention programs. Most Youth Aid Division personnel are assigned to fifteen field units scattered among 73 NYCPD precinct station houses throughout the city. Staff is composed of male and female police officers with special background and training; nearly all have college-level educational experience and some have master's degrees in social work or related fields. In-service training is periodically provided by the department and by outside agencies.

Youth Aid Division personnel subscribe to a philosophy for dealing with youth crime that "combines law enforcement, crime prevention, . . . and increased community involvement." Current programs include (a) a Runaway Program to service, shelter, and return home unsupervised young people; (b) a Gang Intelligence Program to collect information on the activities of youth street gangs; (c) a Detached Worker Program to provide on-the-spot youth services at precinct station houses; (d) a Court Diversion Assistance Program to supplement the Juvenile Report system and provide assistance to court diversion programs in the 41st Precinct and at Queens County Central Booking; (e) Police-School and Police-Youth Programs to create opportunities for increased contact and communication between police and predelinquent youth; and (f) the Police Athletic League Liaison Unit to coordinate the activities of the department and a private, incorporated community relations program that sponsors year-round recreational, social, cultural and educational programs.

The primary function of the Youth Aid Division is, however, the processing and investigation of juvenile reports that come from each of the city's three police departments. The juvenile report concept has been used by the New York City Police Department since the 1930's to "divert juveniles from the court

process, locate potential delinquents, initiate follow-up investigations, and secure necessary treatment or services from community resources." Guidelines for the preparation of the Juvenile Report are quite specific: they can be issued to children in need of supervision, runaways, neglected children, victims of sex crimes, and all youths charged with juvenile delinquency or violation of law except felonies, unlawful assembly, and serious (photographable) misdemeanors. As mentioned previously, taking the child into custody for court processing is mandatory for crimes in these last three categories. Upon receipt of a juvenile report, the Youth Aid Division notifies the child's parents and, to the extent possible with limited personnel resources, refers cases to social service and other community agencies. Of the 57,875 juvenile reports received by the Youth Aid Division in 1975, precautionary letters were sent to the parents of 23,002 less serious offenders; 18,234 more serious cases were investigated and referred to social service agencies; and 2,612 most serious cases required Family Court intervention and were sent there.

Completed juvenile reports are forwarded to the Youth Aid Unit in the precinct nearest the child's residence, and, whenever possible, a follow-up investigation is conducted with parents and child by a member of the Youth Aid Division. Interviews, conducted in the unit office or at the child's home, are used to collect information about the child's personal, family, and school adjustment and the willingness of the parents to cooperate in seeking services for the child or family. Usually three referral agencies are suggested from which the parents may choose. Programs include a wide variety of public and private community agencies throughout the city. To avoid duplication of services, a child or family already active with an agency, the probation

department, or a professional person, will generally be referred to that person or agency.

Probation Department Service Unit. Youths placed on formal probation by the court are assigned to an officer in the service unit of the probation department. The minimum qualifications for a probation officer in the Manhattan Family Court are an M.S.W. or a B.A. with two years of relevant work experience.

Services provided by the probation department consist of psychological evaluation, referral to community social service agencies, and monitoring the youth's behavior during the probation period. The probation department's mental health clinic serves approximately two-thirds of the youths on formal probation by offering psychological diagnostic services. A smaller number receive on-going psychotherapy, both individually and in groups. Referral to agencies outside the probation department is used extensively; however, one respondent indicated that many community agencies are reluctant to take probationers as clients, so placement is often difficult. In general, probation officers do not have regular contact with the youth assigned to them. Instead, they follow up on client's progress by contacting referral agencies and meet with clients only when problems arise. Probation officers are required to report on the progress of their clients in bi-weekly meetings with probation supervisors. The probationary period usually lasts one year for PINS cases and two years for delinquency cases, though officers can recommend that supervision be terminated earlier if a child is making good progress.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

According to JCPU personnel and diversion project staff, the Transit Police

Department has fundamentally changed its philosophy of dealing with juvenile offenders in recent years. Although the present LEAA grant was written largely by a John Jay College faculty member (the project director) the diversion project is considered to be one manifestation of the department's efforts to reassess their juvenile processing procedures and redirect their resources toward alternative processing. Police personnel reported that they perceive the new fare evasion and truancy programs (mentioned above) to be, in part, the result of the department's collaboration with John Jay College.

Not surprisingly, commitment to the project's success and familiarity with project guidelines among police personnel varied with the amount of training they had received in diversion programming. JCPU supervisory personnel were very enthusiastic about the project's potential for reducing recidivism; they pointed to the small number of project youth (two or three by one estimate) who had been rearrested. Response team members were more skeptical, generally knew less about project services (especially those members who had spent little time at the JCPU office), and claimed that little had been done to inform them about the progress of the project or the disposition of individual cases. Desk officers, many of whom had no instruction in diversion programming other than through reading directives and memoranda, worried about the effect diversion would have on youths attitudes toward the law and about the arbitrariness of the random assignment; a few were openly resistant to the idea of diversion.

The full range of opinions regarding expectations for services and quality of project services compared with those provided by Family Court were expressed by police personnel. Advocates of the superiority of project services emphasized the immediacy of contact and the relatively large number

of workers available for service delivery, while defenders of Family Court services underscored the professionalism and experience of the court staff and the court's legal responsibility to provide such services. Many of those interviewed did not express an opinion or said they wanted to reserve judgment relative to the effectiveness of the diversion project until the project evaluation was completed. One prevalent opinion, particularly among JCPU personnel, was that diversion with services would be successful, but would have an impact no different from diversion without services. As expressed by one staff member, the idea is that diversion represents a kind of "divine intervention" in the child's life by police: merely having a positive experience with a non-threatening police officer should produce the desired effect on the child's future behavior. Being released with "no strings attached," alternatively, was seen as being more beneficial than being placed in a program that youths feel obligated to attend. Such opinions, even when unexpressed, are likely to have some effect on the service providers with whom they work closely.

Police personnel expressed a number of complaints about the diversion project and the diversion process. Among the most frequently mentioned were the following: response team members felt that John Jay College had reneged on their promise to provide cars for transportation to and from the district offices and radio pagers ("beepers") for field communications. All parties, including project staff, recognized the need for response team mobility, yet response team members viewed the attack on transportation and radio pagers as an example of the one-sidedness of NYCTPD's relationship with John Jay College. (In fairness, it should be noted that the John Jay staff appears to have made every possible effort to obtain this equipment and has been stymied

by the regulations associated with gaining permission to acquire such apparatus.) Another concern of the response teams was that it was difficult to contact the JCPU by phone to notify them of a juvenile apprehension, to summon the Social Services Director, to perform the recidivist check or to carry out tasks associated with other JCPU programs. A related problem involved the length of time that juveniles had to be held in stationhouses (sometimes up to five hours) while parents and response teams were alerted and warrants and recidivist checks were made. Many felt that district offices, which generally lack the space to provide separate facilities for holding juveniles, were an "unwholesome" environment and defeat the purpose of immediate diversion. Other complaints centered on the role conflict experienced by response team members who must occasionally act as both arresting officer and diversion project representative, and on the reduction in the arresting officer's bargaining power caused by the elimination of certain arrests as a police alternative.

Since diversion project service staff were housed by and worked closely with police staff, there were numerous opportunities for contact. Response teams seemed to respect the professionalism of the service staff, though they reported that most of their conversations were limited to the mechanics of diversion rather than the details of specific cases. Members were either uninterested in the counseling process or respectful of the privacy of the counselor-client relationship. Police supervisory staff, on the other hand, took a greater interest in all aspects of service delivery. In general, a cooperative relationship existed between service staff and the police personnel with whom they worked most closely.

ROSEBUD YOUTH DIVERSION PROJECT

(July 25-27, 1977)

Overview

The Rosebud Sioux Reservation, which covers about 3,329,500 acres in south-central South Dakota, encompasses Todd, Mellette, and Tripp Counties, a large segment of Gregory County, and a small portion of Lyman County. It lies immediately east of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, is bounded by the White River on the north and the Nebraska state line on the south. A recent census reports a total population of 8,410. (Statistics concerning the Rosebud Sioux Reservation are taken from the diversion project proposal.)

Two-thirds of the reservation's population receive and live on commodity foods and welfare allowances or have incomes below the federally established poverty level. The mean annual income of reservation families falls drastically short of the average for the state (\$2,500 vs. \$8,000). Thirty-eight percent (about 1,026 persons) of the labor force is unemployed.

Although the Rosebud probation department has practiced a form of diversion programming, there has never been a program on the reservation exclusively devoted to providing services to the target population of the diversion project. Though there is a program delivering services to adjudicated youth, there are few other youth services on the reservation. The diversion project was to receive guidance for its programs from the Rosebud Youth Council. Unfortunately, the council ceased to exist before the diversion project began, and with its demise the reservation lost most of its youth services.

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BRI staff visited the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in late July, 1977, when the Rosebud Youth Diversion Project had been receiving clients for three to four weeks. Key personnel in the diversion project and the juvenile justice system (i.e., diversion project personnel, police and probation officers, juvenile court personnel, and members of the Criminal Justice Commission¹) were interviewed in order to gather information about the many components of the diversion project and the setting in which it operates.

ROSEBUD YOUTH DIVERSION PROGRAM

History

The Rosebud Sioux Tribe applied to LEAA for funding of a juvenile diversion program under the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) initiative. The tribe's diversion project proposal is based on the belief that youths are a prime resource for the future of the tribe. The grant award was made to the tribe in December, 1976, though funds were not available until March, 1977.

A project director was appointed in December, 1976, but resigned in January, 1977, and left the reservation. Although another project director and deputy director were appointed in February, the lack of continuity between the terms of two directors left the new staff with little information about the original plans for the project. The majority of project staff were hired during March, when funds became available. Project staff planned to begin serving clients in early May, 1977. However, OJJDP decided that the project

¹The Criminal Justice Commission is responsible for the coordination of all tribal criminal justice agencies.

was not yet ready to begin operation. After negotiating eligibility criteria with the juvenile justice system and developing more explicit procedures for case management, the project was allowed to begin serving clients on June 29, 1977. The second director of the project resigned in mid-June. The deputy director, who had played a major role in setting up the project, was then named director. Staff orientation and training took place from April through June and included visits from National Office of Social Responsibility (NOSR) representatives who provided technical assistance, from LEAA personnel, and from BRI staff conducting the national evaluation.

The only initial problems mentioned by respondents were delays in receiving technical assistance and difficulty finding adequate facilities for the project. Suitable offices for the project administration were finally located in Mission, South Dakota, and facilities for the project's crisis center were located in Rosebud, South Dakota.

Fifteen clients had been referred to the project at the time of the BRI interviews. The project was clearly in a developmental stage; many details of procedure were unclear and important staff positions were vacant.

Goals

The Rosebud Juvenile Diversion Project proposal listed the following goals:

1. To involve all juveniles who come to the attention of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe Law Enforcement agencies.
2. To coordinate all tribal, state, and private efforts on the reservation where youths are involved.
3. To involve affected juveniles in responsible decision-making, educational, and cultural activities.
4. To create a more informed and efficient referral service for reservation youths.
5. To develop in affected juveniles a strong self-awareness in relation to their communities, tribe, and beliefs.

Most staff members see the goals in simpler terms; "to help kids," or "to keep kids from getting into further trouble and mischief." Finding constructive activities for clients was the main strategy by which the staff hoped to reach these goals.

Structure and Function

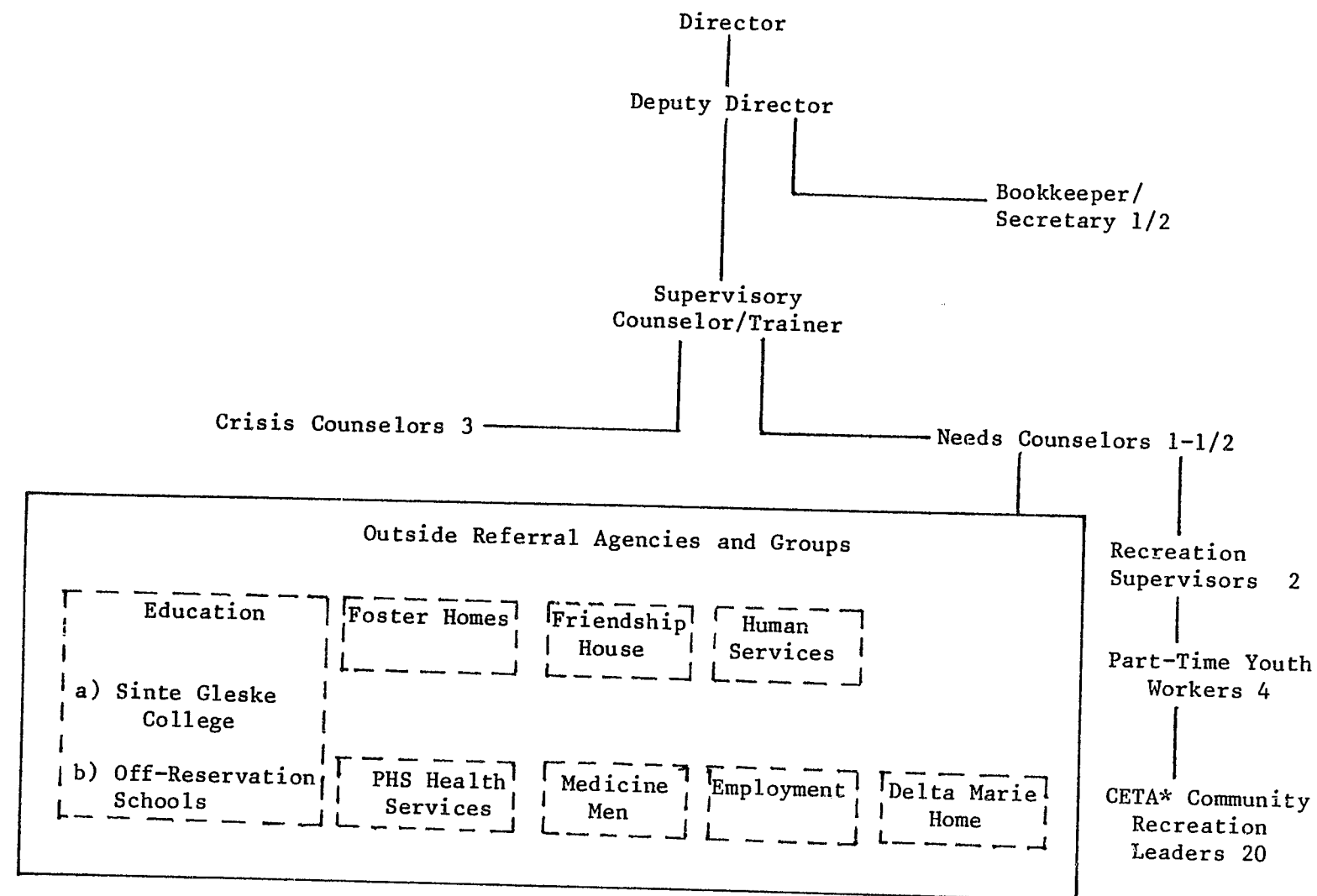
The Rosebud Youth Diversion Project has three main programs - crisis counseling, needs counseling, and recreation. Crisis counseling occurs at the project's crisis center immediately upon referral to the project. Ongoing services, delivered throughout a client's involvement with the project, are managed by the needs counselors, who work out of the project offices in Mission. The recreation program, which operates in each of the reservation's 20 communities, serves all reservation youths, whether or not they are diversion clients.

Personnel

As outlined in the project proposal, the tribal planning council believes that the tribe is best equipped to solve its own problems. Consequently, the diversion program was staffed only by enrolled members of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. Brief descriptions of personnel, tasks, and responsibilities are provided below, and an organizational chart appears in Figure A-6.

Director. The director is responsible for the general administration of the diversion project, including project policy, fiscal management, and long range planning. Because there was no assistant director at the time of the BRI interviews, the director also assumed the responsibilities assigned to that position.

Deputy Director. The deputy director is responsible for the day-to-day affairs of the project. Moreover, this individual assists the director with



*Temporary CETA employees. Funds expire August 27, 1977.

Figure A-6
Organizational Chart and Personnel Allocation for Rosebud Youth Diversion Project, July, 1977

the policy and fiscal management of the program. The deputy director is immediately accountable to the project director and oversees the work of the supervisory counselor/trainer and the bookkeeper/secretary.

Bookkeeper/Secretary. The bookkeeper/secretary performs general secretarial and clerical tasks, elementary bookkeeping, and, at the time of the interviews, was doubling as a part-time needs counselor. This situation was to be corrected as soon as a full-time bookkeeper/secretary could be hired. At that time the current bookkeeper/secretary was expected to assume a full-time counseling position.

Supervisory Counselor/Trainer. The position of supervisory counselor/trainer was unoccupied at the time of the BRI interviews. The responsibilities of this position include (1) writing quarterly reports, (2) organizing in-service training programs, (3) scheduling crisis counselors for "24-hour on-call" duty, and (4) managing the counselors caseloads. This last responsibility included assigning and overseeing all cases handled by the crisis and needs counselors, assisting in the development of service plans, and approving recommendations for client termination.

Crisis Counselor. On 24-hour call, the crisis counselor is responsible for client intake and meeting the immediate needs of youths at the time of referral. These responsibilities may include getting youths out of jail, locating temporary food and shelter (usually available at the project's youth crisis intervention center), taking youths home and explaining what has occurred to parents, and soliciting parental cooperation for placing youths in the diversion program. The responsibilities of the crisis counselor were expected to expand to include case follow-up.

Needs Counselor. The needs counselor makes an in-depth determination of the needs of each youth entering the program and makes arrangements for

meeting these needs. Arrangements, at the time of the BRI interviews, had largely involved referral to the project's recreation program which operates under the direction of the needs counselor. Once youths are enrolled, the needs counselor monitors client progress throughout the length of the treatment plan, and eventually recommends termination.

Recreational Supervisor and Youth Worker. The major service thrust of the diversion project had been its recreation program. Two recreational supervisors direct and aid the efforts of four part-time youth workers stationed in districts covering the Rosebud Reservation. The four youth workers are essentially "recreational managers" - they supervise the community recreation leaders and assist in the delivery of services.

As of July, 1977, the project was not fully staffed. The position of deputy director had been recently vacated with no mention of replacing the individual. However, a search for a full-time bookkeeper/secretary and an individual to fill the supervisory counselor/trainer position was in progress.

All needs assessments were being handled by project personnel and all services were being delivered within the project itself. Project personnel attributed these arrangements to several factors. First, they indicated that it is important that a juvenile be counted as being "in the project," so that successes will be attributed to the diversion project and not to an outside referral group. Second, while a CETA employment project and the diversion project are housed in the same building and while the two agencies may, over time, develop a good working relationship, there had been few, if any, jobs available for reservation youths. Similarly, there had been no need among the youths referred to the project for services provided by the Human Services Department or the Friendship Boys Home. (The House of Friendship, located in

St. Francis, is a home for juveniles who voluntarily decide to reside there.) Third, the Delta Marie Home was operating at maximum capacity and could take no more clients. (This facility is the reservation detention center as well as a home for needy youth. Though the recipient of some court placement, Delta Marie is not officially part of the juvenile justice system.) The fourth reason for this self-containment is that the project had yet to fully work out its relationships with other outside referral sources (e.g. Rosebud Medicine Men). Consequently, it was difficult to predict how the referral aspects of the diversion project would operate at a later date.

Members of the project staff were asked to describe the nature of their work and, in particular, the amount of time they devote to various activities. A general feeling of confusion was evident from these conversations. Though the project was seeking as many referrals as possible, there had been only 15. The staff felt that their jobs were still evolving, many were unsure how the project would operate once in "full swing."

Because of this uncertainty and the small number of referrals, it appeared that much of the staff's time was being spent unproductively. Of the youth workers, only the recreational staff spent a significant portion of their time in direct contact with youths. The needs counselors were in contact with clients only about two hours a day and the crisis counselors were seeing clients even less frequently - perhaps one to one and one-half hours a week. The needs counselors felt that the required recording and refining of notes and reports left them little time for case follow-up. Staff members said that there had been little contact with parents, and most of that contact was by telephone. School contact was also limited, because the project had only been in operation during the summer. Interaction with the justice system, however, was on-going for the counselors, and involved about one hour per day.

Community Recreation Leaders - (CETA). Each of the reservation's twenty communities is served by a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) community recreation leader. Operating under the direction of the diversion project, these CETA employees deliver recreational services to their individual communities (e.g., coach teams or referee games). Because some community recreation centers serve as few as 30 youths while others serve as many as 300, the recreation leaders' responsibilities are considerable.

The position of community recreation leader was created to help relieve the reservation's problem of underemployment. Most of the recreation leaders are highschool students and the position gives them summer employment. Unless funding was extended, the position of community recreation leader was to be dissolved when CETA funds expired, August 27, 1977. The termination of this position would drastically reduce the project's field personnel.

Administrative Concerns

General staff meetings (excluding CETA employees) are held once a week and last from ten minutes to one hour depending on the material to be covered. Typically, these meetings serve to reiterate policies and review activities scheduled for the coming weeks, emphasizing deadlines for reports, workloads, etc. In addition to these general meetings, the director or supervisor schedules individual conferences with staff members to review work or assist with problems. When the supervisory counselor/trainer was with the project, additional weekly meetings were held for counselors. At these meetings counselors were briefed on emergency procedures, and proper completion of forms, and problem cases were discussed.

The absence of a supervisory counselor/trainer appeared to be causing major difficulties for the counseling component of the project. Counselors

noted the importance of having both supervision and recognition, and were disturbed that there was no supervisor who could assist them with difficult cases and provide informed opinions. The recreational staff, on the other hand, expressed satisfaction with the amount of supervision, community support, and recognition they were receiving.

Although the majority of the staff believed that they had a voice in the operations of the project, some members were dissatisfied with their input. These individuals felt that they had been allowed to state their opinions about project problems, but they saw nothing being done to rectify those problems. A major factor in this situation, they believed, was that the project authority structure was poorly defined.

Orientation and In-Service Training

Staff orientation consisted of two days of presentations by the National Office of Social Responsibility (NOSR). Staff members heard lectures on the theory behind diversion, on the goals of their program, and on their individual roles and responsibilities. During the period before the project was fully implemented, the staff was also trained in office procedures and recordkeeping. Although NOSR staff had apparently briefed them, the project staff did not appear to be well versed in the rationale behind diversion.

Project staff attended in-service conferences and seminars (e.g., South Dakota State Counselors Convention at Pierre) on a variety of topics. Guest speakers, from both in and out of state, held workshops on counseling techniques, self-awareness, suicide prevention, alcoholism, and drug abuse. Participants have found their in-service training to be helpful. It was generally felt, however, that training regarding the five to thirteen age group had been seriously neglected. Some staff members complained of

unnecessary repetition of information and contradictory instructions. Moreover, there seemed to be a slight distaste among project people for outsiders telling them how to handle their affairs.

In general, staff members felt that they had been adequately prepared for their posts in the program. This preparation, however, was not generally attributed to the training program. Rather, some members felt that their off-reservation schooling had equipped them with necessary job skills; others pointed to their lifelong experience with the reservation and its people.

Eligibility and Referral to the Diversion Project

The criteria that determine a youngster's eligibility for referral to the Rosebud Youth Diversion Project are simple: the youth must be five through seventeen years of age and must have been involved in an offense that brings him or her to the attention of tribal law enforcement officials. These criteria do not exclude status offenses or less serious delinquent acts.

There are three referral sources for the project: the Bureau of Indian Affairs police, the Rosebud juvenile probation office, and the Rosebud juvenile court judge. When personnel at one of these sources decide that a case is appropriate for the diversion project, the project's crisis center is called. Located in the town of Rosebud, the crisis center is close to all three referral sources. The crisis center was to be staffed during the work-week and crisis counselors were to be on call 24 hours a day.

Upon receiving a referral, the crisis counselor arranges the release of the youth from jail or the probation department and returns with the youth to the crisis center. At this time the juvenile reads a brief statement explaining the diversion program and its purposes. It would seem that the terminology used in this statement may not be readily understood by some of

the younger clients. Youngsters are also told that their participation is voluntary (though voluntary only to a point, as will be discussed) and that the diversion program is "here to help youth."

The crisis counselor then completes a three-part intake form on each referral designed to collect identification, contact, offense, and disposition data. After conversing with the youth, the crisis counselor determines whether or not the juvenile needs further counseling. In cases of first-time or minor offenders, the crisis counselor may decide that no further counseling is necessary - in which case the interview is terminated and the youth is escorted home. In most instances, however, the juvenile is referred to a needs counselor at the project offices in Mission for problem assessment.

In a one to two hour interview with the needs counselor, problem areas are identified (e.g., housing, family trouble, employment, remedial education), and an individually tailored service plan is drawn up reflecting these problem-causing areas. If the client agrees with the goals and the strategies by which these goals will be met, he signs a contract agreeing to participate in from three to six months of services. If the stated goals are reached prior to the three month date and the youth has no further difficulties, the contract will be considered satisfied. Conversely, this time can be extended in cases showing little or no improvement. It is important to note that the diversion project maintains the right to return any youth to the probation department. This option may be used to return youngsters not suited to the project or youths who refuse to participate in the project's programs. Thus, the project could potentially coerce juvenile offenders to participate in its programs. At least one client had been returned to the probation department.

All client participation and progress is monitored by the needs counselors. They are expected to meet with clients periodically, and also to

meet with parents, school and justice officials, recreation leaders, and anyone else who can provide information about the client's attitudes and behaviors.

Service Options

The major service orientation of the diversion project is its recreation program. The recreation component of the project is designed to serve all reservation youths and not just those youngsters referred to the project by the police, probation department, or juvenile court.

Conversations with project staff suggest that, among their clients, curfew violators and juveniles arrested for intoxication are the most likely candidates for placement in the recreation program. Similarly, those juveniles who need or want jobs may be assigned to recreational activities until employment can be found. To this point the project had been unsuccessful in finding employment for its clients.

During the summer, recreation activities usually begin about 9:00 to 10:00 a.m. The program operates five days a week until 5:00 p.m. or, as one youth worker put it, "until the kids get tired and go home." Community recreation leaders, assisted by youth workers and recreational supervisors, are responsible for the supervision of youths during all recreational activities. In September, however, funding for community recreation leaders was to be terminated, resulting in a lack of supervisory manpower.

Staff members indicated that when the recreation program began it was successful; youths turned out in large numbers. The project had limited funds to purchase recreational equipment, which limited the variety of activities available. Hiking, swimming, and fishing had been the major summer alternatives because they require little equipment. Interest in the program waned after the first three weeks and attendance dropped drastically.

The diversion project had recently sponsored a canoe race in a successful attempt to raise funds for sports equipment. With the purchase of new equipment, summer activities are to be expanded to include volleyball and softball games between neighboring communities, horseshoe tournaments, and one or two weekend "wilderness experience" camping trips. Flag football will be added for the fall, basketball and arts and crafts (e.g. beading and leatherwork) are planned for the winter (facilities allowing), and track and field activities are scheduled for the spring. Recreation workers were optimistic that the new equipment would rekindle interest in the program.

At the time of the BRI interviews, individual and family counseling were being provided on a very limited basis. Aside from the one to two hours of "crisis" counseling available upon referral to the project, the needs counselors had yet to conduct more intensive sessions. The needs counselors planned to provide family counseling to youths with family difficulties, but they had not yet done so.

Employment counseling and tutoring were also limited. The needs counselors were anxious for the arrival of the fall school term, because jobs for youths are nearly non-existent on the reservation and school provides an opportunity for involvement. Tutoring would continue to be provided for the underachievers for as long as the needs counselor and the client felt it was necessary.

Some staff members believed that the diversion project was operating successfully at the time of the interviews. This success was indicated, they believed, by fewer juveniles sitting in jail and by popular support for the recreation program. Other staff members chose to reserve judgment until a later date. At the time of the BRI interviews, the project needed additional

staffing, additional funds for recreational equipment, and more importantly, more clients. Though the total project caseload was only 15, project personnel believed that 100 to 150 youths could be served.

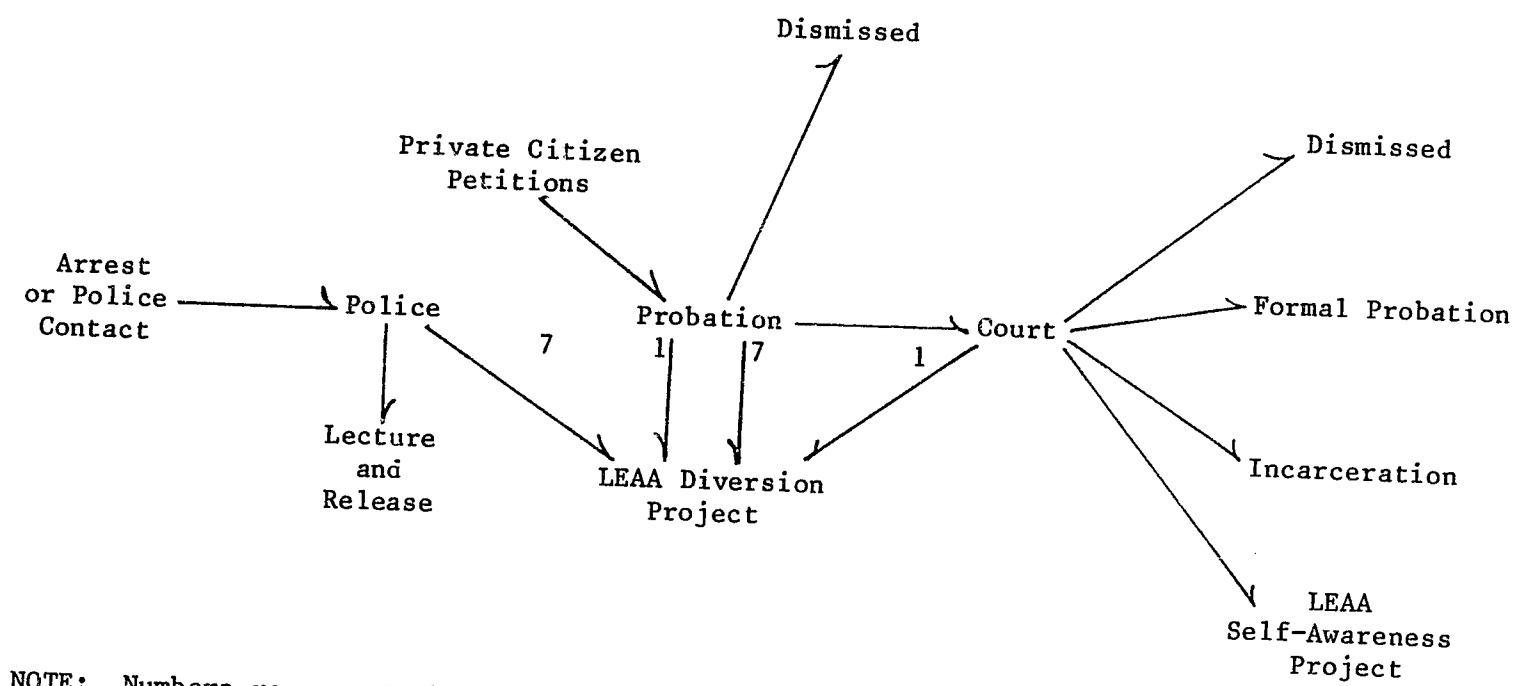
JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM AND REFERRAL TO THE DIVERSION PROGRAM

The juvenile justice system on the Rosebud Reservation is composed of the Tribal/Bureau of Indian Affairs police, the Juvenile Probation Department, and the Juvenile Court. Because serious offenses (felonies) are most frequently violations of federal law, youths arrested for serious offenses fall under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and commonly are processed by the federal court in Pierre, South Dakota. For this reason, the tribal juvenile justice system usually handles only youths arrested for misdemeanors or less serious violations of tribal law.

The police department, probation department, and juvenile court are all located on the reservation in the town of Rosebud; the police department and the court are housed in the same building and the probation department is only a block away. Because of this proximity, there is frequent personal contact among juvenile justice system personnel.

Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

A flow pattern of youth through the juvenile justice system, including the diversion project, is pictured in Figure A-7. An understanding of the flow diagram requires knowledge of the juvenile justice system prior to the advent of the diversion project. Before the diversion project began operation, the system functioned as Figure A-7 suggests, but without the diversion option. Under this system, police either lectured and released youths or youths were arrested and placed in a holding cell at the police department. The probation department was called or, if late at night, the youth was left in the holding



NOTE: Numbers represent the number of referrals in the 25 days the diversion project had been operating.

Figure A-7
Flow through Rosebud Juvenile Justice System, July, 1977

cell until morning. A probation officer stopped by each morning to see if any youths were being held. If so, the probation officer would usually take custody of these youths.

The probation department assesses each youth's needs and decides whether or not to refer a youth to court. Youths are referred to the probation department on the basis of either police apprehension or citizen complaints. Complaints include cases of abandonment, neglect, and delinquent acts. On the basis of such complaints, the probation department may file petitions and request that the police department apprehend a specified juvenile. All youths, whether they come to the probation department by arrest or petition, are treated similarly. By identifying and acting on needs of youths through referral to other agencies or by providing in-house services (usually informal counseling), the probation department attempts to fill many of the roles of a youth development program. Because there are only three probation officers for the entire reservation, the probation department expects that services available at the diversion project will be more comprehensive than those the department can offer. For this reason, the probation department expressed strong support for the project.

The decision at the probation department concerning whether or not to process a youth through the court is made with the consent of the juvenile judge. If a youth does face a court hearing and is adjudicated, he or she frequently is assigned to the reservation's self-awareness project, which provides counseling and related services to adjudicated youths. Juvenile justice personnel indicate that, in spite of a shaky beginning, the project has been successful. They noted the reduction in recidivism and improved attitudes of its clients.

In general, there appears to be strong support for the diversion project from all juvenile justice system departments. Police, probation, and court personnel all agree with the tribal orientation expressed in the diversion project's proposal that "... the future of the tribe depends on the youth of the tribe, and we must do all we can for our youth."

On the basis of the project's eligibility criteria, and a verbal agreement with the Criminal Justice Commission, the police are to call the diversion project whenever a youth meeting the guidelines is apprehended and brought to the police station. In practice, not all apprehended youths are referred to the diversion project. Those not referred to the project are referred to the probation department. Justice system personnel indicated three reasons that cases might not be referred by the police. First, as noted above, extreme drunkenness or being "very high on drugs" results in temporary custody by police or the probation department, although youths may later be referred to the diversion project. Second, although the crisis center operated by the diversion project was supposedly operating 24 hours a day, at the time of the interviews it was not staffed in the early morning hours. As a result, if the project was called without response, the youth was to be held and picked up by the probation department the following morning. Also, there appeared to be times, during other parts of the day, when the police call the project but receive no answer. In this case, the probation department would be called. Third, if the youth was apprehended for behavior that the police felt would result in court adjudication, they were more likely to call the probation department than the diversion unit.

Probation officers make referrals to the diversion project because they believe that the project will provide more intensive and better services than

the probation department can provide. If a youth meets the eligibility criteria and the probation officer believes that a youth can be helped by the diversion project, he will make the referral. The juvenile judge must consent to all probation department referrals to the project and to court. The judge's involvement in decisions to divert youths typically occurs at the probation department rather than at the court. When a case reaches court, the judge has the additional option of referring the youth to the self-awareness program. Thus, referrals from the court itself may continue to be few.

From information gathered by BRI, there was no clear indication of the percentage of eligible youth who were actually being referred to the diversion project. The referral sources have autonomy in deciding which cases to refer, and there is no compulsion to refer all eligible cases. Justice system personnel suggested that this discretion was being exercised to at least some degree.

Police, probation, and court personnel were all somewhat concerned about the personnel hired by the diversion project. They felt that some project staff, who frequent local bars when not working, would not provide adequate role models for the youths involved in the project. They expressed the hope that personnel turnover would result in a more effective staff. Until these personnel matters at the project are worked out, some justice personnel will continue to be hesitant to assign certain cases to the project.

There was a great deal of interaction between the diversion project and the juvenile justice system. Project personnel met with representatives of each branch of the juvenile justice system at least once a week, and the crisis counselors had contact with justice system personnel each time a referral was received. Furthermore, Rosebud and Mission are small towns, so

there is a great deal of informal contact among all those involved in the diversion project.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

All components of the juvenile justice community (police, probation department, court, Justice Commission) had informal input into the grant proposal for the Rosebud diversion project. Thus, the basic structure and purpose of the project was agreed upon by the juvenile justice community before the project's inception. All components of the juvenile justice system ascribed to a youth development orientation and believed that helping a youth in trouble is far better than being punitive. For this reason, the notion of diversion with services was not in question, but the eventual form and structure of the current project and the personnel who staff it were of concern. It is clear that justice system personnel feel that the existence of the diversion program increases the services available to youths.

Although there seems to be some antagonism toward certain justice system personnel on the part of project personnel, it does not appear that these attitudes are of sufficient consequence to affect the development of the project. Communication between justice and project staff concerning referral and other problems appears to be adequate. Whether such communication results in solutions agreeable to both sides remains to be seen and most likely will be a major determinant of the long-term success of the diversion project.

BOSTON DIVERSION ADVOCACY PROGRAM

YOUTH ACTIVITIES COMMISSION

(August 8-11, 1977)

Overview

Boston is the capitol of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the largest city in New England. At the time of a recent state census, there were 641,056 people residing in the city, of which 26.9% were under the age of seventeen and, consequently, under the jurisdiction of one of the seven juvenile courts in Boston. The median family income for residents of the city according to the Boston Redevelopment Authority Research Study (1974) was \$9,133. However, Boston is one of the most expensive cities in the United States in which to live, and drastic reductions in private businesses in recent years have resulted in an unemployment rate of 11.1%. In 1975, a total of 75,433 youths attended Boston's public schools, a school system troubled by budgetary problems, court-ordered desegregation, and parental demands for small teacher-pupil ratios.

Official police statistics indicate that the number of serious crimes committed in Boston increased by 22% in 1975. Juveniles represent over 50% of those arrested for alleged perpetrations of these crimes. (Demographic and crime data were obtained from the project grant proposal.)

When the Youth Activities Commission (YAC), the official delinquency prevention agency for Boston, applied for LEAA funds in 1976, they were

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already committed to developing a network of services to which youths having contact with the juvenile justice system could be diverted. Funding of the Boston Diversion Advocacy Program (BDAP) allowed YAC to support a program in which liaisons assigned to police station houses and juvenile courts divert juvenile offenders from further penetration in the justice system by placing them with project staff at 11 Youth Resource Centers located throughout the city. With the new grant, three or four private agencies would also be contracted to provide services to diverted youths and a fee-for-service program would be instituted.

In order to describe the diversion project and its operation, BRI interviewers visited Boston in early August, 1977, and conducted interviews with informed representatives of YAC, the diversion project Youth Resource Centers, police departments, and juvenile courts. Contracts with the private agencies were still being negotiated at the time of the interviews, so their representatives were not contacted.

History

Organized in 1965, the Youth Activities Commission was originally established as the city agency for juvenile delinquency prevention. In 1975, with the influx of CETA funds, YAC enlarged its staff to over 150 youth workers, extended its operation into 12 Boston neighborhoods, and expanded its activities to include parental counseling, community organization, referral assistance, and street corner outreach work. In order to make their programs responsive to the needs of the communities in which they operate, YAC established 12 Youth Referral Centers, each with a corps of detached workers and a set of programs tailored to its neighborhood.

Many of the components of the present diversion project were originally developed for another YAC program, the Boston Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime-Juvenile (TASC-J) program. Funded jointly by the National Institute of Drug Abuse and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, TASC-J served as a prototype for the present project by using police/court liaisons with youth advocacy agencies to reduce the flow of youths into the juvenile justice system. Although TASC-J achieved limited success in its two years of operation, it did lay important groundwork for BDAP by introducing the liaison referral process to justice system personnel.

TASC-J also provided valuable experience for the YAC administrators who would plan and operate the present diversion project. In fact, the director of TASC-J developed the concept paper for the diversion project and the assistant director of TASC-J, who was eventually named director of BDAP, worked closely with YAC's director of research and planning in writing the project grant proposal. Their efforts were rewarded in October, 1976, when YAC administrators received verbal assurances that the proposal would be funded. Unfortunately, numerous problems with intermediary agencies delayed the actual start of project operations until the following April.

Believing that the diversion project might start receiving clients as soon as November, the project director began recruiting personnel for the new program in October, 1976. Over the next few months, the majority of the staff were selected, proposals were selected from among those solicited from private service-provider agencies the previous August, and in January the director of the police liaison program was assigned to the project by the Boston Police Department. Simultaneously, however, representatives of the state planning agency, through which the project was funded, were insisting that the regional

planning unit (Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice) play a role in the administration of the grant, a plan that YAC administrators strongly resisted. At one point, a diversion project official arranged to have the grant award transferred to the LEAA regional office, but that office was closed before the transfer could be completed. The ensuing negotiations postponed the signing of the grant even further. Although the official starting date of the project was March 14, the director of the state planning agency did not sign the grant award until July.

Despite these delays most of the project staff were placed on the city payroll on February 9, 1977. YAC officials had hoped to be reimbursed for salaries from that date forward, but LEAA offered to cover expenses retroactive only to March 14, the date the grant award was signed at OJJDP. When the BRI interviews were conducted in August, the project had accepted about fifty diversion referrals from the police and courts. At that time it was expected that the remaining two project components - referral to private agencies and the fee-for-service program - would be implemented within the next two months. Contract negotiations were already underway with four private agencies.

Goals

The project grant proposal contained the following list of diversion project goals:

1. To divert 1800 youths-to-be-adjudicated from the juvenile justice system at selected points of penetration over the three years of this program.
2. To provide individualized intensive advocacy services to a total of 1350 diverted youths over the entire length of the program.
3. To increase over a three year period the number of youths diverted with repeat offenses of a more serious nature.

4. To reduce recidivism of the diverted youths receiving intensive youth advocacy services by 75% over the entire length of the program.
5. To reduce the seriousness of offenses committed by client recidivists.
6. To develop over the course of the program uniform policies and procedures with the Boston Police Department and Juvenile Courts relating to the diversion of juveniles.
7. To obtain the participation and cooperation of the remaining three juvenile courts in the City of Boston who have not yet agreed to divert youth to this program.
8. To reduce the stigmatization and labeling of youth through non-institutional responses to delinquent behavior.
9. To improve and increase the Youth Activities Commission's capability of providing services to diverted youths.
10. To identify and support private sector agencies providing specialized advocacy services to special needs populations.
11. To maximize the use of existing services in order to reduce duplication of program and service resources.
12. To identify and document gaps in the existing social network and coordinate public and private efforts to fill these gaps.

On the basis of interviews with diversion project and YAC staff members, it would seem that the diversion of juvenile offenders from the justice system and the reduction of recidivism are shared goals of paramount importance. Some respondents gave fairly sophisticated explanations of the program's rationale in terms of avoiding the negative labeling associated with penetration into the justice system and breaking the cycle of self-labeling and arrest. Some project personnel emphasized diverting youths out of the system at the earliest possible point and others mentioned the importance of diversion for first offenders. Although it is not a formal project goal, a few respondents suggested that reducing the caseload of overworked justice agencies is a subsidiary objective of the project.

In describing their goals, many of the staff members gave evidence of their awareness of the context in which the project operates. They named gaining credibility for YAC among justice personnel, soliciting the approval and cooperation of the police and courts, and using publicity to generate favorable public opinion toward the project as project goals. The project director, in particular, emphasized this broader view and did not seem to distinguish project goals from goals for the entire Youth Activities Commission. Partly because of problems encountered in administering an earlier program, she has strived to make the project an integral part of the YAC organization. In her view, the diversion project would serve to improve YAC's ability to deliver services to clients by reducing the competitiveness among social service agencies in the community, by changing the attitudes that police officers have towards youths and the administration of juvenile justice and by creating groups of specialists - justice system liaisons, youth advocates, etc. - within the agency in contrast to the large, undifferentiated group of street workers that the agency has used in the past.

Gaining the trust and confidence of justice system personnel, even if it means comprising project procedures, was often cited as the key strategy for the project's success. The difficulty of securing referrals from a decentralized justice system consisting of seven courts and eleven police station houses necessitates a coordinated effort for establishing communication and fostering understanding.

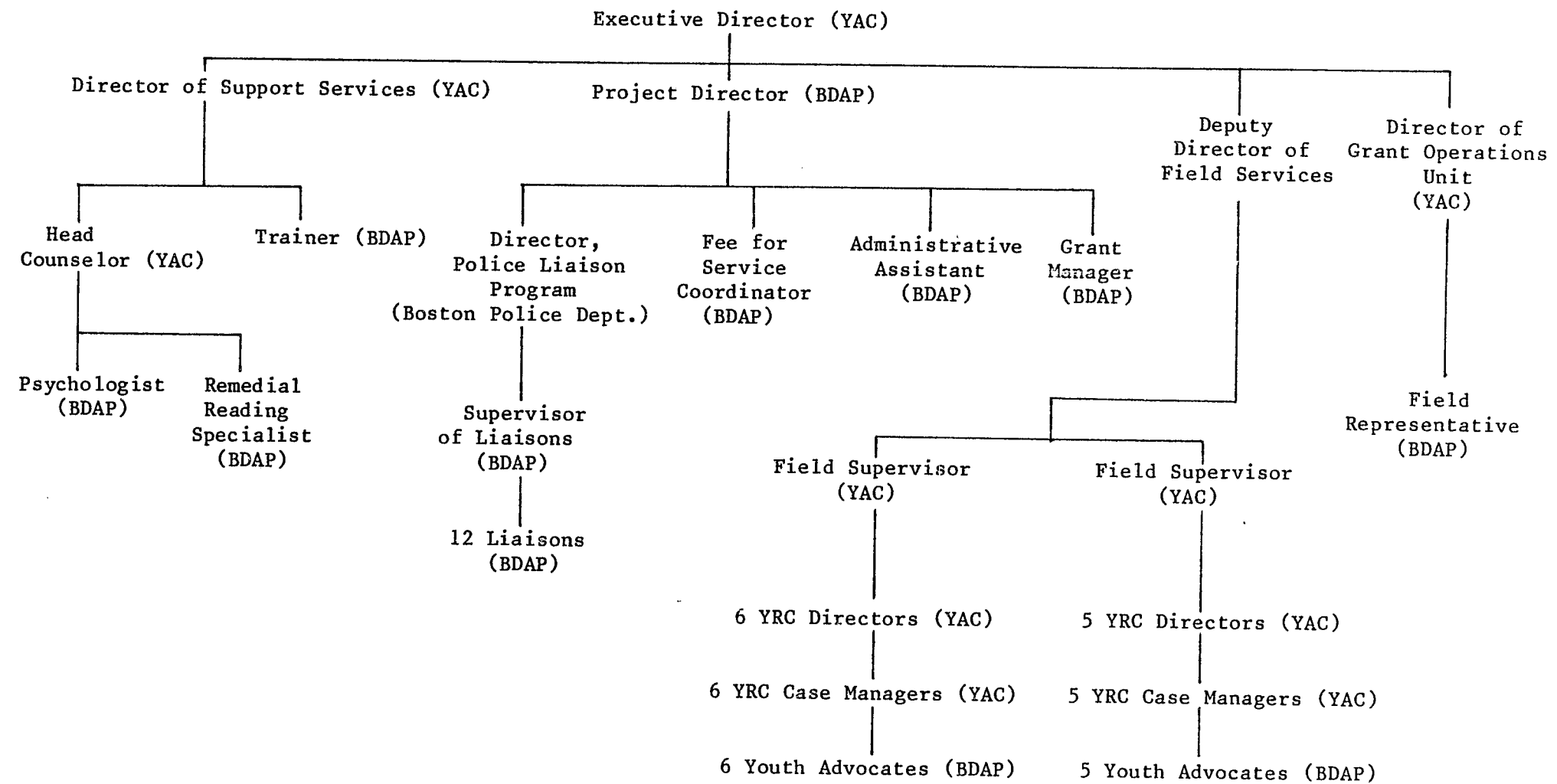
The use of various innovative project components was also described as a strategy for goal achievement. For example, one administrator suggested that the fee-for-service concept was the most important project strategy since it allows for maximum flexibility in service delivery and gives youth workers the

ability to design programs that meet the specific needs of clients. Another touted the use of youth advocates as an advantageous strategy, explaining that the advocate's primary commitment is to the individual client rather than to a service organization. The role of the youth advocate is to help the client to define his or her needs and then to obtain appropriate services or bring pressure to bear on the existing service network if it proves unresponsive to the client's needs. Finally, a number of respondents named the use of police and court liaisons as the chief strategy by which the cooperation of justice system agencies could be obtained.

Structure and Function

The diversion project is a relatively large and complex organization; many of its personnel are supervised by YAC staff members outside the diversion project itself. Because the project is embedded in its parent organization in this way, the organizational chart in Figure A-8 contains all YAC positions that pertain to diversion project operations and indicates which positions are supported by the diversion project grant and which are funded through other YAC programs. Note that at the time of the BRI interviews a number of BDAP staff members had not yet been hired; these include the administrative assistant, trainer, remedial reading specialist and psychologist. Note also that although the twelve liaisons are supervised by diversion project administrative personnel, each is assigned to a Youth Resource Center run by YAC. Youth advocates, too, are assigned to a Youth Resource Center and paid a small salary supplement by the diversion project, but they are supervised by Youth Resource Center case managers.

The following are descriptions of the tasks associated with each administrative and service position assigned to the diversion project.



NOTE: At the time of the BRI interviews, the following positions were vacant: trainer, remedial reading specialist, psychologist, and administrative assistant.

Figure A-8
Organizational Chart of Youth Activities Commission (YAC) and
Boston Diversion Advocacy Program (BDAP) Personnel Involved in Diversion Project Operations

Project Director. The project director represents BDAP in its dealings with LEAA, the state planning agency, regional planning unit, and various justice and community social service agencies. Although the project director is nominally responsible for the supervision of the program staff, much of this work is handled by middle managers, leaving the project director free to negotiate with private agency subcontractors, project advisory boards, and YAC components that impinge on project activities. Under the direction of the YAC Executive Director, the project director is also responsible for recruiting and hiring project administrative personnel, ensuring proper program review and evaluation, and reporting to funding sources.

Grant Manager. At the time the interviews were conducted, the primary task of the grant manager had been to develop contracts with the private service provider agencies and with the YMCA Services Corporation, a subsidiary of the Boston YMCA that was being considered for providing fiscal management services to the project. He also participated in setting up the project's financial records, establishing a system for monitoring the fiscal activities of subcontractors, and processing budget revision requests. Working closely with the regional planning unit, he had helped the project meet the fiscal requirements of the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. As project implementation progresses, the grant monitor will continue to be responsible for the budget and record-keeping requirements of the grant, but he will also take on a management function in monitoring the performance of subcontractor agencies.

Administrative Assistant. The project grant proposal provided for an administrative assistant to the project director for maintaining the director's schedule and appointments and performing general office duties; however, at the time of the BRI interviews, this position was vacant.

Police Liaison Program Director. This individual is an employee of the Boston Police Department who has been assigned to the diversion project on a full-time basis. Although some of his responsibilities involve supervision of the liaisons and the liaison supervisor, his chief function is facilitating the relationship between the project and juvenile justice agencies. Chosen for his political acumen and his personal relationship with many justice system principals, the director of the police liaison program is involved in public relations with police and court staffs ("selling the program"), eliminating problems that arise in the course of the diversion procedure, and serving as a consultant to project administrators by providing a justice system point of view.

Police Liaison Supervisor. Direct, day-to-day supervision of the liaisons is the responsibility of the police liaison supervisor. Unlike the director of the police liaison program, he meets with the liaisons regularly and is charged with the task of evaluating their performance for the program director and the youth resource center directors.

Police/Court Liaisons. Each of the 12 liaisons is attached to a Youth Resource Center and serves as that organization's link to local police and court personnel. Liaisons work with the police and courts to divert eligible youths at the earliest possible point in justice system processing - either prior to arrest or at arraignment. In order to be available to justice personnel when needed, they are assigned to police station houses on Friday and Saturday nights and carry radio pagers ("beepers") so that they can be summoned to station houses 24 hours a day, seven days a week. One liaison is assigned to the Boston Juvenile Court on a full-time basis; three others divide their time between the other courts and the police station houses to

which they are assigned. When a referral to the diversion project is made, liaisons are responsible for explaining program services and responsibilities to clients and parents and for protecting clients' rights through assurance of legal counsel (when appropriate). They then refer eligible youths to youth advocates within the Youth Resource Centers and private agencies. Finally, they must provide police and court workers with feedback about clients progress in services.

Youth Advocates. As regular staff members of YAC Youth Resource Centers, the 12 youth advocates provide the bulk of services to diversion project clients. They are responsible for maintaining a caseload of 10 to 15 youths referred to the Youth Resource Center by the police liaison, assessing youths' problems, developing service plans, making referrals to appropriate service providers, and monitoring the progress of youths participating in diversion project service programs. When fee-for-service funds become available, they will be responsible for selecting those service options.

Youth advocates were selected from among the best case workers at each Youth Resource Center at the time of the project's inception. Thus, like most project employees, the youth advocates were already working for YAC when the diversion project was funded. Since referrals to the diversion project began slowly, youth advocates were maintaining their non-diversion project cases and replacing them with project cases as they became available. Most of an advocate's salary comes from general YAC funds, supplemented by LEAA funds.

Psychologist and Remedial Reading Specialist. The project grant proposal included a full-time staff psychologist position and a half-time remedial reading specialist position, neither of which had been filled at the time the interviews were conducted. The psychologist's job would be to administer

psychological and aptitude tests to those clients in need of testing, analyze the results, diagnose the problem, and consult with youth advocates in planning the child's treatment plan. The remedial reading specialist would be available to clients in the afternoons for assistance with special educational problems. Efforts to fill these positions had just begun at the time of the interviews and it had not been decided where these service workers would be housed. Both positions would be supervised by the Head Counselor in YAC's Support Services Unit.

Field Representative. The job of the field representative is basically one of monitoring the performance of Youth Resource Centers and private agencies that provide services to project clients. Through site visits and records checks he maintains a file of clients and compiles a monthly statistical report for the project director. When referrals to the private agencies begin, his responsibilities will increase.

Fee-for-Service Coordinator. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, diversion project administrators planned to have the fee-for-service program operating by September 6. Once it begins, the coordinator will be responsible for reviewing requests, submitting them to the fee-for-service review board, generating a voucher (with the board's approval), and monitoring the placement of clients in paid services. He will also maintain the fee-for-service records and make periodic reports on the program to the project director. Up to this point, the coordinator has been involved in the development of the fee-for-service review board.

Trainer. This position was not included in the original grant proposal, but the project director decided to use part of the training budget to hire someone to train the advocates. The position was vacant at the time of the interviews.

Project Administration

Regular meetings are held for diversion project and related personnel at almost every level of project organization. The directors of the Youth Resource Centers meet with the BDAP director every Tuesday for an hour to discuss their relationship with the diversion project and to review other matters of mutual concern. Weekly meetings are also held at each Center for staff members, including youth advocates, to consider intra-agency issues. Although neither of these meetings is held to discuss diversion project matters exclusively, project procedures and the role of the advocates are often among the issues raised.

Every Wednesday, the diversion project's six central staff members meet briefly to consider issues that have been raised at the center director's meeting on the preceding day, to discuss the status of contracts and relations with monitoring agencies at the federal, state, and local levels, and to generally coordinate the activities of the project's various components. Liaisons assigned to neighborhoods across the city also gather at the central office for a weekly meeting with their supervisors. These occasions are used to collect intake forms and reports, discuss new cases and problems, and bring liaisons up to date on new activities and service options. Finally, except for two initial introductory meetings, youth advocates do not have scheduled meetings with other diversion project personnel, nor do they meet as a group. Youth advocates do, however, meet with the liaison assigned to their center once or twice a week.

Despite this extensive schedule of meetings, a number of staff members complained of a lack of communication between supervisors and the people they supervise and, more specifically, between central office staff and workers at

Youth Resource Centers. Both youth advocates and police liaisons reported feeling isolated from the diversion operation. One Youth Resource Center director noted that YAC's decentralized structure adds to problems of coordination and communications; yet at the same time, he seemed to believe that such an arrangement is necessary for the efficient operation of the commission. He seemed reconciled to the fact that some decisions affecting the entire organization would be made by a few central office administrators. In general, however, most of those interviewed felt that they are adequately supervised and receive sufficient recognition for their efforts on the job.

Respondents agreed that most important decisions affecting the diversion project are made by the diversion project director and the YAC executive director. The project director emphasized that she solicits recommendations from her staff and often merely approves decisions made by others. Yet, there were scattered complaints of being left out of project decisions. One Youth Resource Center director wanted to have input in the project's overall policy making. He suggested that the project put a greater emphasis on service delivery and define more clearly which problems it can and cannot handle.

A number of people associated with the diversion project were keenly aware of the political context in which the project operates and the impact of political forces on decision-making within the Youth Activities Commission. One noted that YAC is ". . . a political structure which has political turmoil, (Boston) is a very political city." Thus, as in many government agencies, much of the policy-making that occurs must include considerations of political expediency.

Orientation and Training

Implementation of the training program described in the project proposal has been impeded by the project's failure to gain approval for their training

budget. Orientation to diversion project goals and procedures was provided by project administrators in two two-hour sessions attended by liaisons, advocates, Youth Resource Center directors and case managers, and other project staff members. Specialized training was offered to some personnel; for example, the grant manager received technical assistance on fiscal matters from the state planning agency and the fee-for-service coordinator consulted an individual who held a similar job in an earlier YAC program. The director of the police liaison program said that plans to establish a training program for liaisons through the Criminal Justice Training Council had failed, but he hoped that a comparable program could be organized in the future.

Most of those interviewed felt that they have been adequately trained for their jobs, yet many said that they had received the bulk of their training on previous assignments or taught themselves on their present jobs. Of course, the great majority of diversion project employees had worked in other YAC programs before the project was funded. Aside from case supervision provided at regularly scheduled meetings, no in-service training has been provided to the project staff at the time of the interviews. Project officials indicated, however, that crisis intervention training was planned for liaisons and that ongoing instruction would be offered to all project staff members once the trainer was hired. Supervisory personnel felt the greatest need for additional training.

Client Intake

Referrals to the diversion project are made through liaisons assigned to police station houses and courts throughout the city of Boston. When a liaison determines that a youth is eligible for diversion, he or she usually calls the youth advocate attached to the Youth Resource Center nearest the

child's home to arrange an appointment. Occasionally, the liaison will bring the youth to the center and make the introduction there. Although most initial interviews are conducted at the centers, advocates sometimes prefer meeting new clients in their homes, in the advocate's home, or wherever clients feel comfortable. Some advocates prefer to have parents attend the first meeting with a new client; others prefer to contact parents by phone.

The purpose of the initial meeting is to elaborate on the project description presented by the liaison, to tell the client where the center is and when the advocate is available, and to begin the diagnostic process and the development of a service plan. Advocates are assisted in diagnosing client problems and needs by the case manager of the Youth Resource Center to which they are assigned. Case managers, who specialize in counseling and needs assessment, provide case supervision and psychological consultation to advocates. They often attend initial meetings and participate in the assessments for diversion clients. The diagnostic process consists of interviews with clients and their parents, teachers, and friends. Service plans, along with intake forms, contact records, and service reports, are kept in a file at each Youth Resource Center; copies are also sent to the YAC central office. Advocates attempt to gather enough information about a client's needs and interests to devise a plan that specifies long- and short-range goals and the services available to reach them. These plans are discussed in detail with clients and must meet with their approval. It may take two or three one-hour meetings to develop a suitable service plan, and plans are subject to revision at any point during the client's tenure with the program.

Case Management

Case management is the responsibility of the youth advocate throughout service delivery. Advocates are expected to have caseloads of from 10 to 15 diversion clients. Most had fewer at the time the BRI interviews were conducted because only about 50 referrals had been made to the project. Unlike service workers at many diversion projects, advocates said that they try to become personally involved with their clients. Some spoke of having dinner with clients' families and inviting clients to their own homes for meals and recreation. According to interviews with youth advocates, the amount of time that advocates spend with each client varies with the client's needs and the advocate's personal style. Respondents agreed that maximum involvement might entail meeting with the client every day for an hour or more and minimum involvement might consist of one meeting a week for a short period of time. Advocates reported seeing their clients about twice a week on the average.

When clients are placed in service programs, the amount of contact with advocates reportedly drops off; for example, one advocate asks clients to call once a week after placement. Clients usually participate in the diversion project program for at least six months, the period of time that judges typically continue diversion cases. Early termination can occur in one of four ways: first, the client can decide that he or she no longer wants to participate, but rather will face the consequences of early termination; second, the client can decide to terminate at the end of a six month court continuance, after the judge has dismissed the complaint; third, the client can be removed from the program if he or she is arrested and convicted of a new offense; and fourth, the advocate, the youth, and when appropriate, the

youth's probation officer can make a joint decision that the youth has reached his or her treatment goals and no longer needs the services of the program. There is no maximum period of participation.

Service Options

The youth advocacy concept is the cornerstone of services offered through the diversion project. The youth advocates to whom diverted youths are assigned obtain or personally provide virtually all of the services available to project clients. As a person whose primary commitment is to the individual client rather than to a service organization, the youth advocate is responsible for bringing pressure to bear on community service agencies in securing services for clients. A number of respondents made reference to the necessity of providing clients with a knowledgeable representative to assist them in dealing with the maze of youth services in Boston. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, advocates were providing services through the Youth Resource Centers and other YAC programs and referring clients to other social service programs in their communities. When the diversion project becomes fully operational, additional services will be available through three or four private agencies contracted to provide services to groups of clients with special needs, such as Hispanics and juvenile prostitutes, and through a wide variety of existing community agencies that provide services for a fee. The major services offered and the rationale behind the two new programs are discussed below.

Existing Programs. Although there is some variation from Center to Center, all offer counseling and recreation, usually in the form of arts and crafts and games. In their interviews, service workers gave somewhat different accounts of how they conduct counseling sessions and what they try

to accomplish in them. Many emphasized the informality of their relationship with their clients. Sessions can occur wherever the client feels comfortable: they need not be regularly scheduled, but may take place during other activities such as games and sports. Some advocates prefer to meet with clients individually; others prefer to meet in groups. Most of the advocates said that their clients are free to call them at work or at home any time to discuss problems.

Other services offered by the advocates on the premises of the Youth Resource Centers are limited. Centers are open from 9:00 to 5:00 on weekdays and for half a day on Saturday, but most offer little more than arts and crafts and table games, though a few provide tutoring by advocates and student volunteers. Clients use some centers as a place to "drop in" and meet friends, yet on the basis of the interviews, it seemed that most project activities occur away from the Youth Resource Centers. The centers are used more as a base of operations, a place to meet before attending a concert or a baseball game.

Athletics form a major portion of the services available to project clients. Baseball, football, basketball, and swimming are organized on an ad hoc basis by project service workers or made available on a more regular basis through local YMCAs and teen centers. It is the responsibility of the advocate to introduce the client to the opportunities available at these agencies, to integrate the child into the on-going activities and to participate in those activities with clients when appropriate. Supervision at YMCAs and Teen Centers usually consists of a game-room monitor and any advocates who happen to be present. In addition to sports, these agencies offer games, dances, field trips, and an opportunity to meet people.

Activities at many community agencies are accessible to project clients because of the personal relationships that advocates have established with agency staffs in their neighborhoods. (Recall that most youth advocates were securing services for YAC clients before the present diversion project began.) In general, when a youth is referred to an on-going program for services over an extended period of time, it is the agency's responsibility to maintain service records; at the same time, the advocate monitors service delivery through periodic contact with the client.

Each Youth Resource Center has access to a slightly different array of services. Some services, those offered by city-wide agencies, such as the Welfare Department and Child and Family Services, which provide educational and residential placement, and those available through the YAC itself, are, of course, available to all centers. YAC sponsors employment services, computer-assisted employment counseling, and an extensive, federally funded summer recreation program.

YAC and the Boston Boy's Clubs are the sole referral sources for a federally funded Jobs for Youth program that places high-school dropouts, ages 16 to 21, in a combined employment and training program. YAC also participates in a number of neighborhood summer employment programs, though in many cases clients must meet federal poverty guidelines in order to qualify. Furthermore, some advocates have special arrangements with private employers in their neighborhoods, but these have resulted in only a few positions. Although the diversion project does not have a designated employment specialist, most of the advocates have experience in assisting youngsters who are seeking jobs through pre-employment counseling, application preparation, etc. Unfortunately, YAC has been far less successful in securing part-time,

after school jobs for their clients. For a few months a year, YAC has access to the Massachusetts Occupational Information System (MOIS) through a remote computer terminal. The MOIS system provides detailed information about career opportunities, educational requirements, and occupational alternatives.

All YAC clients are to have a chance to participate in a camping and wilderness experience program operated by a local non-profit agency.

Advocates accompany from four to eight youths on canoeing, hiking and bicycling trips. Advocates reported that these trips, which last for three days and cost the youth only four dollars, will provide an opportunity to build rapport, conduct serious counseling sessions, and have fun as well.

Finally, advocating for clients in their dealings with the justice system and the school is central to the service worker concept at BDAP. One of the liaison's chief functions is to represent the interests of his clients and his potential clients at all stages of processing through the juvenile justice system. Some liaisons reported that they are responsible for protecting the rights of all youths processed through the system whether they are eligible for the diversion project or not. As has already been mentioned, youth advocates are responsible for helping their clients deal with service institutions, including the schools. Advocates are to intercede on a client's behalf in negotiations with teachers and school administrators.

Proposed Programs. At the time of the BRI interviews, YAC was negotiating contracts with a small number (three or four) of private, non-profit service agencies that could provide services to special groups of clients, such as Hispanics and prostitutes. Participating agencies were solicited through an RFP process that included advertisements in Boston newspapers and review by a citizen's advisory board. One-year contracts were contemplated with renewal

for a second and third year based on program performance. Additional youth advocates would be hired and assigned to participating agencies with the expectation that they would function in a capacity similar to that of advocates assigned to Youth Resource Centers. Planned services would include recreation, employment preparation and placement, drug and alcohol abuse prevention and education, bilingual reading classes, and foster care placement.

YAC had also designated funds - \$150,000 over a two-year period - to be used by advocates to purchase needed, but otherwise unavailable, services for diversion project clients. The proposed fee-for-service component of the project was specifically designed to meet two important program goals: to maximize the use of existing services in order to reduce duplication of program and service resources, and to identify and document gaps in the existing social service network and coordinate public and private efforts to fill these gaps. By requiring advocates to document attempts to secure services free of charge from agencies legislatively mandated to provide them, YAC hopes to compile data on the accessibility of specific services in Boston and apply pressure to the service network to respond to shortcomings. The fee-for-service mechanism would also allow advocates to be selective in placing clients in the most appropriate service, rather than using a program simply because it will accept the youth free of charge.

Funding for the fee-for-service program is through reimbursable, third party payment. In order to use these funds, advocates must demonstrate that they have explored other means of obtaining services and then must submit a request through the fee-for-service coordinator and fee-for-service review board. Only those services - primarily long-term and intensive - that are part of a youth's service plan can be purchased. Specifically, these include

(1) educational services leading to credits and a high school diploma, (2) tutoring, (3) testing and evaluation, (4) vocational training leading to certification, (5) psychological counseling, (6) non-hospitalization medical services, and (7) job placement. Other restrictions, preprinted forms, and detailed procedures for obtaining funds are described in a manual prepared by the fee-for-service coordinator, the BDAP project director, and the YAC program developer.

Advocates who were interviewed were eager for the fee-for-service program to begin. They felt that the program would enable them to obtain needed services for clients, particularly in the areas of tutoring and employment, that were at the time unavailable. As a number of advocates noted, the fee-for-service program would be tremendously helpful in securing jobs for clients, because program funds could be used to pay employers up to one-half of a client's salary, an incentive they felt few employers could refuse. Although advocates agreed that the new program would solve many of their problems in obtaining services for diversion project clients, a few expressed regret that funds could not be used for other YAC clients.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

The agencies in Boston that are most directly involved in processing juveniles through the justice system are the police department, the courts, and the Division of Youth Services, which handles all juvenile commitments. Under a decentralized command, the Boston Police Department jurisdiction is divided among six area commanders who supervise station house captains in 11 police districts across the city. Within each district, a special juvenile officer is responsible for monitoring the processing of all juvenile cases. That part of the judiciary that deals with juvenile cases is also

decentralized with one central juvenile court (Boston Juvenile Court) exclusively devoted to juveniles and a number of district courts in outlying areas that hold juvenile sessions one day per week. Each of these courts has a juvenile probation staff that processes cases through the system and supervises youths on probation; the largest of these staffs consists of 27 officers and is assigned to the Boston Juvenile Court. The central court also directs the evaluation clinic and a number of special programs such as Project D, a court diversion program for first offenders, and the Citizenship Training Group, a 12 week service program for more serious cases. In 1976, the probation department of the Boston Juvenile Court processed approximately 2500 cases.

Client Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

Under Massachusetts law, a juvenile probation officer must be notified every time a child is apprehended for a crime. Although the decision to arrest the child rests ultimately with the arresting officer, the probation officers assist in the decision, which is based on the nature of the offense, the child's attitude, and the child's prior arrest record. If the arrest is made during the hours of the court, the child is brought to the court immediately. Otherwise, the child is released to his or her parents (in less serious cases) and instructed to return during the next regularly scheduled court session.

When the child arrives at court, he or she is brought to the clerk's office by the arresting officer for the filing of a complaint. Then the child and parents, who have been asked to come to the court by the juvenile probation officer, are interviewed by the probation officer to obtain social, medical, and psychiatric histories. Usually on that same day, the child and parents

appear at an arraignment hearing in which the facts of the case are presented before a judge and arrangements for counsel are made. If probable cause is found, the date for a second hearing is set and the judge decides whether the child will be sent to a detention center and bail set or will be released to his or her parents. At the request of the police officer, the judge will consider arranging a transfer hearing. If the child is 14 years of age or older and if the matter is considered serious enough, the case will be transferred to another court and the child will be tried as an adult.

In the interim period between the two hearings, the probation officer must conduct a comprehensive investigation of the child's background that includes interviews with teachers, friends, and social agencies with which the child has had contact. On the basis of this material and a clinical evaluation of the child's mental status, if the judge has ordered one, the probation officer devises a recommendation to be presented to the judge at the dispositional hearing. At this second hearing the child's attorney enters a plea and the judge makes a judgment based on the facts of the case. Possible dispositions include continuance for three to twelve months, formal probation, or placement in a Division of Youth Services facility.

Eligibility Criteria and Referral to the Diversion Program

Referral to the diversion project can occur at the police station before the child is booked, at the court either before the complaint is filed or at one of the two hearings before a judge. Official criteria for diversion were negotiated after extensive consultation with police department and court administrators. Because the juvenile justice system in Boston is decentralized, negotiations over procedural details had to be conducted on an individual basis with police captains, municipal court judges, and probation

supervisors. Criteria for diversion are the same regardless of where in the system the youth is diverted. According to a memorandum distributed among police and court personnel and read to officers during roll call at 11 district stations:

Youths 7 to 17 years of age who are arrested for a select number of crimes may at the discretion of the arresting officer, be diverted to a Youth Activities Commission (YAC) Police Liaison assigned to each district station, in lieu of booking and charging for the offense.

Juveniles diverted to this program must have been arrested for offenses for which they could be adjudicated delinquent. The following offenses should be considered for diversion:

1. Vandalism
2. Using a motor vehicle without authority
3. Breaking and entering building (not dwelling unless misdemeanor)
4. Simple assault
5. Simple assault and battery
6. Larceny (over or under \$100.00)
7. Non-violent sex crimes
8. Simple drug offenses (Possession only)

Because referral by police and court personnel differ somewhat, they will be discussed separately. Diversion at the police level is at the discretion of the arresting officer and usually occurs after the child is brought to the district station, but before he or she is formally booked. If the diversion project liaison is not present (except for Friday and Saturday nights, liaisons are not required to remain at the district stationhouse), the liaison will be summoned by radio pager to assist the arresting officer in determining the child's eligibility for the project. If the youth is diverted at this point, no written record of the incident is kept, except for the waiver form that all diverted youths must sign. Such waivers are seen only by the liaisons and project staff. Diversion at the police level can be completed within an hour of initial police contact if the liaison responds promptly or

is already present. As a courtesy, the arresting officer will usually inform the district juvenile officer that a diversion has been made.

If a youth eligible for the program is arrested, it is the liaison's responsibility to appear at the court clerk's office the following morning (or whenever the youth's appearance is scheduled) to persuade the clerk that the youth may be a candidate for diversion. If the liaison is successful, the clerk, with the arresting officer's approval, will agree not to issue the complaint. In that case, the arrest form will read "complaint dismissed" and no juvenile court record will be initiated.

Once a complaint has been issued, the youth must appear before a judge. Liaisons follow these cases through the system by maintaining close contact with the court's juvenile probation officers and by searching the daily list of court appearances for eligible cases. Whenever a youth meets project guidelines, the liaison tries to meet with the youth's probation officer and negotiate diversion before the hearing takes place. If the probation officer agrees, the liaison will arrange a meeting with the officer, the youth, and the youth's parents so that he can describe the diversion project to the family and obtain their consent. BDAP personnel felt that having the liaison, rather than the probation officer, describe the project reduces the coercive nature of the program. Although judges have ultimate authority for the decision to divert, they almost always follow the recommendation of the probation officer in these matters. Sometimes liaisons will miss an eligible youth's initial hearing. In these cases, they must locate the youth's probation officer to find out what has transpired at the hearing and when the next hearing is scheduled. They can usually make contact at a later date. Diversion at the court level takes place several days to several weeks from

the time of arrest depending on what point in the process the liaison makes contact with the client.

Cases diverted to the project after a complaint has been filed and before a disposition has been handed down are ruled "continued without finding" for three to six months. These constitute the majority of referrals to the project. Youths who have already been sentenced or placed on probation are not eligible to participate in the Boston Diversion Advocacy Program but can be referred to a youth worker at a Youth Resource Center by the liaison. In fact, liaisons often refer children in need of services (status offenders), probationers, and youth receiving suspended sentences to Youth Resource Centers as a favor to probation officers and court personnel. Furthermore, one out of every four youths referred to BDAP is randomly assigned to a center youth worker instead of a project youth advocate for the purpose of establishing a comparison group as part of the local evaluation.

Liaisons, who are the final arbiters of which youths are eligible to participate in the diversion program, were well acquainted with the diversion criteria. Justice system personnel involved in making the referral decision were less well informed, perhaps because the advice of knowledgeable liaisons could be obtained easily. For example, one probation officer said that he would refer any child who might benefit from project services, leaving the eligibility decision to the liaison. Also, some court personnel who were interviewed had trouble distinguishing between BDAP and other diversion programs for less serious offenders.

In describing which cases they would be most likely to divert, a number of probation officers reported that they would not consider referring "hard-core" youths or those street-wise youths who might use the program as a means to

avoid incarceration. One said that he would not refer any serious cases to BDAP until funds for providing intensive services become available through the fee-for-service program. Another probation officer mentioned that youths will occasionally request diversion to a YAC program because of that agency's reputation in the community. More importantly, diversion project personnel admitted that the crimes listed in the formal criteria for diversion distributed to police and court workers were intended to be merely suggestive. Actually, the project will accept youths with any non-violent presenting offense.

Liaisons who were interviewed agreed that diversion project clients remain under the jurisdiction of their probation officers for the three- to six-month period of continuance. Although it is unlikely that a client would be returned to the court for failing to participate in the diversion program, it is technically possible. Liaisons are responsible for making periodic reports about clients' progress and attendance to probation officers who have referred clients to the project. In the case of police diversion, nonparticipation could also technically result in the youth's being charged with the offense. Again, respondents thought that this was very unlikely, but that nonparticipation could affect the disposition of a future arrest.

According to interviews with liaisons and court service workers, clients are told that participation in the diversion program is voluntary. On the other hand, one worker admitted that there is some pressure to accept the program because youths are also told that they remain under the jurisdiction of the court and that successful participation will result in the dismissal of any charges against them when the judges review such cases after a specified period of time. Police diversion is presented as an alternative to arrest.

Admission of guilt is not a prerequisite for referral and court personnel, in particular, felt that youths' rights are well protected because counsel is arranged for youths at the first court hearing. The presence of the liaison, whose paramount responsibility is protecting the rights of his clients, is an additional safeguard. At the police and at the court level, liaisons ask youth and parents to sign a form waiving the right to a trial and the right to claim false arrest. Waiver forms differ slightly from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, but all require the signature of a witness. After the liaison has described the diversion project to the family and obtained their consent, he or she calls the advocate assigned to the Youth Resources Center in the child's neighborhood to arrange an appointment. Every effort is made to schedule the initial appointment within 24 hours of diversion from the justice system.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

Each of the Boston courts has its own probation staff; the largest concentration of officers is assigned to the Boston Juvenile Court. As described above, a case is assigned to a probation officer when the youth first enters the judicial system; consequently, the officer who conducts the background investigation prior to a dispositional hearing is also responsible for supervising the case when the youth is placed on probation. Youths are assigned to officers according to the geographical area in which they live, with males and females being assigned to different officers. Typically, caseloads range up to 150 cases per officer. Qualifications for the probation officer position include graduation from an accredited college and one year's experience or a master's degree in a related field.

Direct services offered to probationers by the various Boston courts include counseling, psychological evaluation, and referral to a variety of

public and private youth-serving agencies. Within the constraints imposed by a heavy workload, probation officers try to provide individualized counseling and guidance to each of their charges. The amount of time that an officer spends with any one client depends largely on that client's need for attention; frequency of contact ranges from a few times a week to once a month, with sessions lasting between one-half hour and one hour. Probation officers are also expected to make contact with the youth's family and school every few months in order to monitor his or her progress in these areas.

The length of the supervisory period depends mainly on the sentence imposed by the judge; it can range from three months to two years. Officers are required to report to the judge on a probationer's progress at intervals specified at the time of sentencing, usually every three months. If the youth has met the conditions of probation by attending school, making restitution, and so on, the judge may reduce the length of the probationary period; if not, the judge may decide to extend the period. These decisions are usually made in accordance with the recommendations of the probation officer.

The Boston Juvenile Court Clinic offers diagnostic and intensive treatment services to all youths under the jurisdiction of the court. Probation officers who were interviewed estimated that 10 to 15% of their clients have emotional, drug, or alcohol related problems serious enough to warrant referral to the court clinic. There the child's difficulty is extensively evaluated by a professional staff that includes a psychiatrist, psychometrist, psychologist, and social worker. Serious cases may be referred for treatment at the Judge Baker Guidance Center or the New England Medical Center where family counseling, outpatient services, and inpatient services are available. Additional health services can be obtained through the Children's Hospital

Medical Center. Because of the limited funds available to the court, these and other referral services must be secured through the Division of Youth Services or the Department of Public Welfare. With their assistance, the range of service options available to youths on probation broadens to include residential and educational placement, arts and crafts, athletics, and drug-use education and counseling. As has been mentioned, probation officers occasionally make referrals to the Youth Resource Centers of YAC.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

Diversion project and Youth Activities Commission administrators describe their negotiations with justice system officials as a struggle made longer and more difficult by the decentralized administrative structure of the Boston Police Department and courts. Approval for project goals and procedures had to be sought through administrators at the policy making level and through supervisors of service personnel so that policies would be properly implemented. Top level negotiations were conducted with a special assistant to the Commissioner of Police and with judges of the various courts.

Often judges were not approached directly, instead their support was solicited through a court worker close to the judge, someone who already had a working relationship with the Youth Activities Commission. These facilitators included juvenile probation officers and supervisors and, in one case, an adult probation officer. In the case of police diversion, several meetings were held with the police officers' union to consider the legality of diversion procedures. Such negotiations resulted in a series of individual agreements that vary somewhat among jurisdictions; four courts and the police department have written agreements with the diversion project, while two other courts have only verbal agreements.

Project personnel made it clear that formal acceptance of the diversion program does not necessarily mean cooperation in the diversion process. Several courts have agreed to participate and, although their representatives appear to be well informed about diversion procedures, very few referrals have materialized. Since the program's acceptability to police personnel at the district level is critical to its success, meetings were held with captains, juvenile officers, and community relations officers in each district. In addition, the director of the project's police liaison program met with each captain to introduce the liaison assigned to his station house and to answer questions about the diversion procedure. A number of justice agency staff members praised the wisdom of hiring a career police officer who is well acquainted with juvenile justice system functioning and personnel for the job of police liaison program director. In interviews with the parties concerned, respondents emphasized the importance of existing personal relationships among justice and project workers in gaining acceptance for the new program. Others noted that referrals are often made on a personal basis, so that the interpersonal skills that project representatives display in their dealings with the justice system will be of major importance in the project's continued success.

In the course of performing their duties, project liaisons are in constant contact with justice system personnel; many have office space reserved for them in the police station houses and courts to which they are assigned. Liaisons are required to attend all of the police department's community relations meetings in their assigned districts. These public meetings, which are conducted by police department community relations officers and attended by interested citizens, give the liaisons an opportunity to familiarize the

community with BDAP and the diversion concept and to interact with police officers in a neutral setting. Diversion project staff members acknowledged the discomfort experienced by many police officers when civilians are continually present at stationhouses and expressed the hope that their usefulness would minimize any police resentment toward the liaisons who advise them in handling cases. Respondents on both sides said that diversion at the police level could only succeed with the cooperation of line officers, regardless of the assurances made by police department administrators, and some suggested special training for patrolmen in the goals of the project and importance of diversion programming.

At the time of the BRI interviews, no uniform policy for providing feedback about cases to justice agencies had yet evolved. Although a few court officials have requested written information on the services provided to youths they have referred, most feedback to probation officers and police officers who make referrals comes through their informal conversations with project liaisons.

With only one exception - one police officer had been outspokenly opposed to police diversion from the start - all of the justice agency staff members who were interviewed agreed that it was too early to pass judgment on the effectiveness of the three month old project and that proper evaluation could only come after rearrest data on project youths were compiled. It was not surprising, given their differing involvement and responsibilities in the diversion process, that police officers and probation officers had different views on the usefulness of the project. Probation officers, who retain jurisdiction over a client after he or she is referred to the project, see the project as merely one of many social service resources in Boston that assist

them in providing services to youths. Closing the diversion project would reduce the number of service options available to probation officers and would, to some degree, increase their work, so probation officers were, in general, pleased to have the project's assistance. One officer suggested that the diversion project represents "an extension of (the probation department) into the streets."

Police officers, on the other hand, had greater misgivings about their participation in the diversion effort. Closing the diversion project would not directly affect police operations, and officers who were interviewed expressed concern over the legality of diversion at the police level, the liability of officers who initiate the diversion, and the overtime pay lost to officers who would ordinarily be paid for court appearances when youths they arrest penetrate the justice system. Many police officers felt that, regardless of the project's merits, police diversion requires officers to assume judicial powers that are prohibited to them by law. Although the project staff has gone to great lengths to convince these officers that the procedure is within the law, many are still reluctant to make judgments that traditionally have not been theirs to make. This controversy may be resolved soon, since the director of the police liaison program has introduced legislation to the state legislature that explicitly mandates the legality of police diversion. Such legislation would also reduce officers' fear that victims of crimes may bring civil suits against them for failing to perform their duties.

One last issue concerns the overtime pay that police officers receive for court appearances. Diverting cases from the justice system means, of course, that such extra pay will be lost. Opinion was divided as to how much this

consideration influenced an officer in his decision to make a referral to the diversion project: some interviewees said that it must have some effect, while others thought the effect was negligible since officers have numerous other opportunities to earn overtime pay.

The diversion project received high marks from justice system workers who compared project services with those that youths would have received through probation: project services were described as more individualized, more extensive, and more quickly obtained. The project's fee-for-service and street work components, in particular, were considered significant improvements over existing probation services. Some probation officers indicated that differences in services would be greatest for the more serious cases referred to the project, because many courts already have special programs for status and first offenders.

Project personnel were satisfied with the rate of referral from some courts and dissatisfied with rate of referral from the police and from other courts. Various explanations were offered to explain the low rates: fewer arrests are made during the summer, some police officers are waiting for assurances that their rights are protected and the diversion procedure is legal, some probation officers are waiting for the fee-for-service component to be implemented, and so on. Clearly, the inertia exhibited by justice system workers when presented with a new program and new procedures must be added to this list. Time alone may solve these problems, yet the persistence of the project staff, the liaisons in particular, in winning the acceptance of justice personnel who make referrals to the project may be critical in determining the project's ultimate success in meeting their goals.

Some discrepancy appeared in the kind of youths that project personnel and justice agency personnel would like to see diverted to the project. Project

officials generally seek more serious offenders than those that justice agency workers are willing to refer. A number of police officers felt that BDAP was most appropriate for first and second offenders, and all parties who addressed the point said that many divertees would not have gone to court if the diversion project did not exist. Thus, although project officials have attempted to comply with grant guidelines, they have not been entirely successful.

ALTERNATIVES FOR YOUTH DIVERSION PROJECT

MILWAUKEE

(November 28 - December 2, 1977)

Overview

According to the 1970 census, the city of Milwaukee has a population of 717,372 of which 84% are white and 16% are minorities. Median family income is a comfortable \$10,262, median number of school years completed is 11.9 for adults, and during the first three months of 1976 the unemployment rate for the metropolitan area averaged 6.6%. The 1974 crime rate for the entire city was 40.6 offenses per 1,000 inhabitants. Despite its economic well-being and an overall crime rate below the national average for the city as a whole, Milwaukee does have pockets of high crime and unemployment. Five inner-city neighborhoods with 26% of the city's juvenile population contain 63% of all Milwaukee juveniles who are members of families living below poverty level. Median family income for the five neighborhoods ranges from \$5,000 to \$8,565; median number of school years completed from 9.0 to 11.4. Fifty-seven percent of the population of the northern part of this area are members of minority groups, and about 20% of those living in the southern part are Hispanic. The estimated unemployment rate for 16 to 19 year-old inner-city youths is 48.7%. Perhaps the most striking comparison between these communities and the city as a whole is in crime rates. In 1974, the rate of reported offenses ranged from 58.9 to 89.9 per 1,000 inhabitants for the five inner-city neighborhoods. (Demographic data were obtained from the project grant proposal.)

Because of the contrast between these communities and the city around them, the Community Relations-Social Development Commission of Milwaukee County (CR-SDC) designated that area for special impact in their application for diversion project funding. The resultant program, Alternatives for Youth (AFY), had been diverting youths from the justice system and offering them counseling and referral services for less than two months when BRI interviewers visited Milwaukee in November and December, 1977. In order to gather information about the diversion project and the services available to diverted youths, interviews were conducted with project staff members, representatives of the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center (the project's referral source), and staff from six brokered service agencies used by the project: Wisconsin Conservatory of Music, Independent Learning Center, Inner-City Arts Council, Shalom High School, Children's Outing Association, and Career Youth Development.

History

CR-SDC, the recipient of the diversion project grant, was established in 1960 by Milwaukee's city and county governments, United Way, the Milwaukee Board of Education and the Milwaukee Area Technical College to serve as a social service planning and coordinating body for the metropolitan area. In 1964, with the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, CR-SDC was designated as the community action agency for Milwaukee County and was charged with coordinating and monitoring federal grants for social programs in the area. At the time that the BRI interviews were conducted, CR-SDC was an intergovernmental public commission that administered grants from local, state and federal sources totaling approximately 14 million dollars. Funds obtained by the Commission were delegated to existing agencies or programs were

directly administered where no qualified agency could be identified. CR-SDC was operating or monitoring programs in the areas of neighborhood development, employment, services to the elderly, Head Start, legal services, alcoholism/drug abuse, community organization and youth services. In general, these programs were targeted on low-income communities in Milwaukee County.

CR-SDC's involvement with youth service programs (including the present diversion project) was handled through their Youth Development Institute, which channels funding to community-based groups or delegate agencies. In addition to monitoring the agencies' performance and spending, CR-SDC offers technical assistance and other support services. Programs providing counseling, alternative education, work experience, and recreation include the Milwaukee Youth Service Bureau and nine separate agencies funded by the Community Service Administration and the Community Development Agency (HUD).

The initial application for diversion project funding was drafted by CR-SDC's Planning and Research Department after meeting with representatives of justice system and community service agencies as well as with staff members of CR-SDC youth programs. After the grant was awarded on September 30, 1976, the project was turned over to an interim staff in CR-SDC's program operations division. They were authorized to spend project funds beginning December 1 with the expectation of becoming fully operational on February 1, 1977. However, a series of setbacks conspired to delay program implementation for an additional nine months.

The first start-up problem involved arrangements with the Children's Court Center, the project's referral source. In the planning stages of the project, the interim staff successfully negotiated with the director of the court center, a probation supervisor, and the judges of the court to arrive at the

agreements included in the grant proposal. However, when the interim staff met with probation department personnel to work out the details of the diversion process some months later, they encountered unexpected resistance from line staff probation officers. Sensitized by job cuts in the recent past, probation officers saw the diversion project as a threat to their job security and to their autonomy in determining the disposition of cases. There was a widespread feeling that they had not been consulted in the original diversion project. Through their strong union, they presented formidable opposition to project implementation. Numerous meetings with representatives of the State Planning Agency, project staff, and probation officer's union were necessary to hammer out a compromise on the eligibility criteria for diversion, the authority for the diversion decision, the juvenile justice status of diverted youths, and the random assignment of diverted youths to experimental groups. When, after two and one-half months of negotiation, a compromise agreement was finally reached, a second major obstacle presented itself.

In April, the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice, the state planning agency through which project funds were processed, announced that because of irregularities in the audit of another CR-SDC program (Youth Service Bureau) all juvenile justice funds would be withheld from the Commission pending an investigation of past and current budgets. This delayed project implementation for several additional months.

More recently, the state planning agency raised questions about the amount of money CR-SDC was required to contribute to the project to obtain matching federal money and about the legitimacy of the interim staff arrangement for implementing the project. CR-SDC had expected to be reimbursed for 27

man-months of activity in planning the project, yet the state planning agency refused to offer reimbursement for any more than 21 man-months. One consequence of the protracted conflict was that the state planning agency had requested, at the time the interviews were conducted, that the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention make a new grant award excluding the state planning agency as an intermediary.

Because of these problems, permanent project staff could not be hired until August and September, 1977. Follow-up advocates were transferred to the diversion project as part of a general reorganization of CR-SDC; personnel for all other positions were recruited in open competition through newspaper advertising and the state employment service, though all but one of the staff members who were hired had worked for CR-SDC previously. Clients were not referred to the project until October 3, and referral to brokered service agencies began several weeks later.

Goals

According to the original grant proposal, AFY was established to achieve the following project goals:

- a. To introduce a youth advocacy program at the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center that will increase the diversion of allegedly delinquent youths who otherwise would be formally handled.
- b. To promote the increased use of station adjustments by the Milwaukee Police Department, in the handling of juveniles who otherwise would be referred to the Children's Court Center.
- c. To increase the capability of existing community youth-serving agencies for providing diverted youth the following alternatives to the juvenile justice system: family support services, supplemental and alternative education, career training and work exposure, public service opportunities, and personal development experiences encompassing programs in the fine arts and wilderness survival.
- d. To demonstrate the effectiveness of various programs included within the project on the social adjustment and behavior of allegedly delinquent youths, diverted from the juvenile justice system.

One important departure from these goals was necessitated by a change in the points at which youths could be diverted from the justice system. In the course of negotiations with justice system agencies, it was decided that adjustments at the police level (goal b) would not be part of the diversion project plan. At the time of the BRI interviews, diversion processing could be initiated by Children's Court personnel only, specifically probation officers and the district attorney (see Referral to the Diversion Project below).

On the basis of the interviews, project staff demonstrated a thorough understanding of the remaining three goals, though clearly their emphasis was on implementing court diversion and supporting community-based service alternatives, rather than program evaluation. Many staff members were familiar with the labeling theory rationale for diversion and cited various consequences of the theory for project operation, for example, placing diverted youths in programs that also serve non-delinquents. A few staff members cited the project's choice of career and life-experience-oriented service alternatives as opposed to more traditional counseling placements as an advance over previous youth service programs. According to the interim project director, the selection of these kinds of services was based in part on a survey of youth in other CR-SDC programs in which respondents indicated that youth employment and alternative education programs were most helpful.

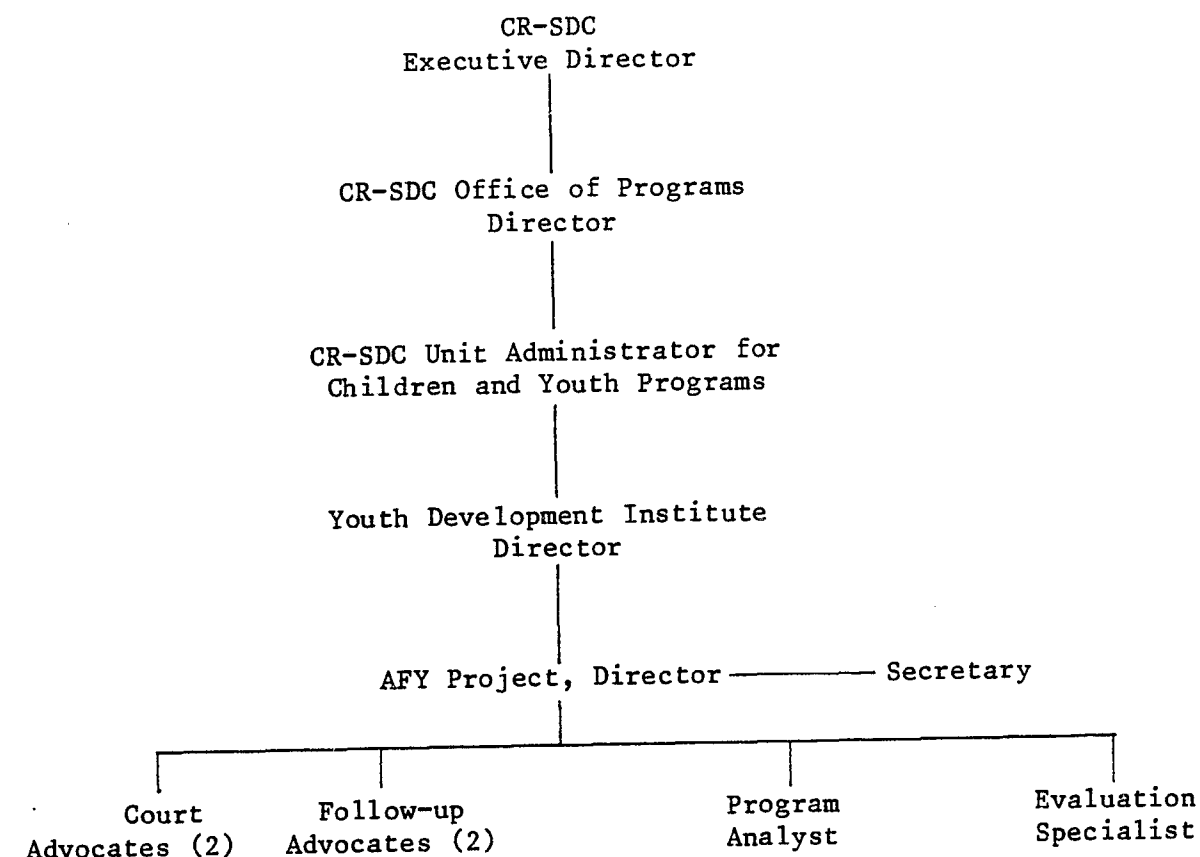
In addition to the more parochial goals mentioned by his staff, the interim project director described the potential impact of the diversion project on CR-SDC, on public opinion, and on the justice system and other institutions that deal with youth. He felt that operating AFY would provide CR-SDC with valuable experience in developing youth service delivery systems,

establishing future funding priorities, and obtaining information on the effectiveness and comprehensiveness of community-based services. He also believed that AFY represents an opportunity for educating the public about delinquency and for promoting institutional change by advocacy in the justice system, by helping them deal with their clients more humanely, and at the legislative level, by obtaining public funds for alternative education.

Structure and Function

Figure A-9 depicts the organizational structure of AFY and its relationships with its parent organization, CR-SDC. Prior to his AFY appointment, the interim project director of AFY was director of the Youth Development Institute with responsibility for monitoring and providing technical assistance to all CR-SDC subcontractor agencies which offer services to youth. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, he was serving in both capacities, though by his own admission he found it difficult to adequately perform the two tasks simultaneously. Because of the large amount of time required for the AFY job, there was an expectation among AFY and CR-SDC personnel that the project director would soon be replaced and allowed to devote full-time to his Youth Development Institute duties. As a CR-SDC program, the diversion project is provided with office space and benefits from the Commission's numerous support units: program development, evaluation, personnel, payroll and accounting, office supply and property control, planning and research, training, and public relations.

The AFY diversion project staff consists of eight full-time paid employees: the director, a program analyst, an evaluation specialist, two court advocates, two follow-up advocates, and a secretary. The tasks of the administrative and service workers are briefly described below:



NOTE: At the time of the BRI interviews, the same individual served as director of the AFY Project and as director of the Youth Development Institute.

Figure A-9
Organizational Chart for
Milwaukee Alternatives for Youth Diversion Project

Project Director. The project director is responsible for day-to-day supervision of the staff, development of operating procedures, budget management, and negotiations with brokered service agencies.

Evaluation Specialist. In addition to serving as the project's liaison to the national evaluators (BRI), the evaluation specialist is charged with designing the project's information system and developing a local evaluation that can be integrated with the national effort. He also has responsibilities in the planning and evaluation branch of CR-SDC that include reviewing requests for proposals, writing proposals, and, more generally, developing the Commission's research capability.

Program Analyst. The program analyst monitors budgets allocated to brokered service agencies. He receives weekly attendance reports and supporting documents for youths referred for services, calculates charges based on unit rates, and dispenses reimbursements. It is his responsibility to identify audit exceptions and assist the director in managing the project budget. The program analyst occasionally makes site visits and performs other administrative tasks in place of the director.

Court Advocates. Five days a week, the two court advocates are stationed at the Children's Court Center to accept referrals to the diversion project from the court staff, conduct the assessment interviews, and make referrals to brokered service agencies. Another important aspect of their work at the court involves informing court personnel about the project and the referral process and establishing relationships with probation officers that will encourage them to make referrals to the diversion project.

Follow-up Advocates. The two follow-up advocates follow up on the referrals made by court advocates by visiting the service agencies and the

homes of the youths assigned to them. Each follow-up advocate is paired with a court advocate; together they work as a team. Though the court advocate chooses the referral agency, it is the follow-up advocate who contacts the agency, arranges for the youth to attend, and monitors the delivery of services.

Project Administration

Before referrals to the diversion project began in October, staff meetings were held approximately once a week to orient the staff, define roles and operating procedures, and discuss the political context in which the project operates. At the time of the interviews, meetings attended by the entire staff (except, perhaps, the program analyst who rarely attends if fiscal matters are not discussed) occurred on an as-needed basis, about once a month. In addition, service workers (i.e., court and follow-up advocates) met twice weekly for an hour or two to consider client case management and service delivery problems. These meetings provided an opportunity for court advocates to describe to the follow-up advocates the cases they will be receiving and for follow-up advocates to give feedback to the court advocates, which they in turn can relay to the court staff. Staff members reported that the project decisions are made democratically and that service workers are given considerable autonomy in performing their jobs.

Orientation and Training

General staff orientation was conducted during the second week of September, 1977, and consisted of the regular CR-SDC orientation and a two-day workshop on diversion programming conducted by the National Office of Social Responsibility (NOSR) staff. Additional role-specific training was provided by CR-SDC personnel; service workers received one day of instruction in needs

assessment and related topics and the program analyst received supplemental training from his counterparts in other Commission programs. Also, the author of the grant proposal was available to the evaluation specialist for consultation throughout the early stages of the project. Nearly all project personnel worked for CR-SDC before joining the project staff, and many felt that their previous jobs had adequately prepared them for their present assignments. Nevertheless, some service workers expressed a need for additional assistance in learning how to better relate to this special client population and their problems.

At the time of the BRI interviews, plans were discussed for using CR-SDC's training capabilities to a greater extent and securing technical assistance from NOSR in designing an effective youth employment program, raising money for alternative schools, and disseminating project information to the public.

Client Intake

Approximately 90% of the referrals to the diversion program come from probation officers at the Children's Court Center; the remainder are received from the chief assistant district attorney who also has offices at the Court Center. When a probation officer finds a case that he feels is appropriate for diversion, he notifies one of the court advocates at their workspace in a lounge at the Court Center. (The lounge is a large room with vending machines and magazines that is used as a lounge by court personnel and as a waiting room by visitors to the court.) The court advocate obtains descriptive information from the probation officer to further determine the youth's eligibility for the AFY program. If eligible, the child is randomly assigned to one of two experimental groups; 75% of the cases are diverted with services and 25% are processed as they normally would be without diversion. When a

youth is placed in the diversion-with-services group, the probation officer arranges a meeting between a court advocate and the youth and parents (who are usually present at the Court Center). If the youth is not diverted by a probation officer, he or she can still be referred to AFY by the district attorney. When the district attorney decides that a youth is eligible for diversion, he recommends referral to the probation officer who will then contact a court advocate. The court advocate must telephone the child within two days to arrange an initial meeting between the family and a follow-up advocate in the child's home.

In the initial meeting, which may last over an hour, the court advocate (or in a few cases, the follow-up advocate) explains the child's legal rights, the services that are available, and the requirements for participation. Then, the advocate interviews the child alone and the child and parents together to obtain information about family background and the child's adjustment with peers, at school, and at home. Additional material is sought from the probation officer, the school, and any social service agency with which the youth has had contact. Finally, each youth is given an interest inventory (a checklist of activities) to assist the court advocate in making a referral to an appropriate brokered service agency. The results of the assessment, the parent's consent, and the youth's agreement to participate in a specific service agency program are recorded on AFY forms that become part of the youth's case file.

After meeting with a court advocate to discuss the initial assessment and referral recommendation for a diverted youth (the four service workers meet twice weekly, on Tuesdays and Fridays), the follow-up advocate arranges a second interview with parents and child at a place designated by the family

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(usually at their home). The purpose of this interview, which lasts between thirty minutes and one hour, is to reiterate the description of project services and procedures, reaffirm the court advocate's assessment of the child's interests, and reinforce the child's commitment to the program, which may have waned after departure from the court center. If child and parents agree, the follow-up advocate contacts the service agency selected by the court advocate and arranges a placement. Usually it takes a day or two for the follow-up advocate to contact the youth, a week to arrange the placement with a brokered service agency, and another week for the youth to begin receiving services.

Case Management

It is the responsibility of the follow-up advocates and the program analyst to monitor diverted youths' participation in brokered service agency activities. The follow-up advocates accomplish this through periodic contact with clients and service agency staff, the program analyst through weekly and monthly reports of attendance and delivered services. Case monitoring by follow-up advocates had not actually begun at the time the BRI interviews were conducted, because they were busy arranging placements for the backlog of clients that had accumulated while purchase-of-service contracts were being finalized. It was expected, though, that follow-up advocates would meet weekly with service agency staff to discuss their clients' progress and contact each client once a week, either by telephone or by visiting the service agency. Follow-up advocates expressed justifiable concern that the size of anticipated caseloads (75 to 150 clients apiece) might make it impossible for them to see more than a fraction of their clients each week, though it remained to be seen how many youths would be placed with service agencies at any one time.

Project staff expected clients to participate in brokered service agency programs for at least six months and probably for not longer than a year. The amount of contact a client has with a program will also vary with the program, though most require participation at least several times a week. Firm guidelines for client termination had not been established at the time of the BRI interviews, but the follow-up advocate's responsibility would include calling the child several times to convince him or her to attend. Phone contact would continue, even if the child never participated in service agency programs.

Service Options

The in-house services offered by project staff - youth advocacy, assessment, brief counseling, and referral - are, by design, short-term in order to allow brokered service agencies to provide the bulk of services to diverted youths. Based on the client's preferences and needs, court advocates make referrals to agencies in three broad categories: education, work exposure, and creative self-expression. When the BRI interviews were conducted, agreements to provide services to diversion project youths had only recently been reached with six existing community agencies, through a request-for-proposal process. Advertisements had been placed in local newspapers and scores of proposals were received. Selections were based on the agency's ability to provide the services specified in the diversion project grant proposal and on the agency's record of performance in assisting problem youth, with the further requirement that they must have non-justice system youths in their programs.

Some project staff complained that the agencies contracted for services did not provide an adequate range of service options and might at some point

result in inappropriate referrals. They named family counseling, sports activities, tutoring, job placement, and alternative grade schools as needed services that were unavailable.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

The juvenile justice system in Milwaukee County consists of various police departments (city, suburban, county) and the Children's Court Center which includes detention, probation, the court, the district attorney's office, and the public defender's office. Contact with the justice system begins when a juvenile is apprehended by a police officer for committing an unlawful act. The officer has the option of counseling and releasing the youth or arresting the youth and filing a formal complaint (i.e., a report describing the incident that is sent to the juvenile court). If the charges against the youth are not too serious, he or she may be released to a parent pending an interview before a probation officer at the Children's Court Center. Parents must promise to bring the youth to court on the scheduled date. If the charge is serious or if it is believed that the appointment for an interview will not be kept, the youth may be brought to the Children's Court Center and a hearing is held to determine whether placement in detention is appropriate.

After a juvenile is referred to the Court Center, court staff have a range of options at each of several stages in processing including intake, petitioning, the initial hearing, the pre-trial conference, and the court hearing. At court intake, after a review of the police report and interviews with the youth and parents, the probation officer may decide that the case warrants a petition. If so, he will arrange a conference with the assistant district attorney to discuss prosecutive merit. He may also decide to defer the filing of a petition "on the condition that the child appear . . . for

counseling and advice or that the child abide by such obligations imposed upon him with respect to his future conduct as the court deems necessary"

(Wisconsin Statutes cited in the grant proposal). The decision to place a youth on informal supervision must be approved by the probation officer's supervisor. If the alleged offender claims he is not guilty of the offense, the case is automatically referred to the district attorney. Similarly, if the case involves certain types of serious offenses, such as murder or rape, the youth must receive a formal hearing.

In reviewing the case, the district attorney can file a delinquency petition, which sets forth the facts that bring the child within the jurisdiction of the court, or he, too, can dispose of the case informally because of a lack of prosecutive merit or a change in the charges against the child. In cases where a delinquency petition is returned and the child is referred for prosecution, the probation officer is required to take the case before the court commissioner for an initial rights hearing. At the hearing the youth is informed of his constitutional rights and a public defender is appointed if the youth does not have private counsel. The court commissioner can decide to defer the filing of a petition at the initial hearing, recommending instead that the case be held open or the child be put on informal supervision. In addition to holding initial rights hearings, the court commissioner conducts pre-trial conferences in which plea-bargaining can occur and cases can be disposed of without a formal adjudicatory hearing.

If a case is not diverted at intake, petitioning, the initial hearing, or the pre-trial conference, the youth must appear at a formal hearing before a Children's Court judge. At the formal hearing, the youth may be found not guilty of the offense charged, thus ending the case. If the youth is

adjudicated guilty of the offense, the judge has a variety of dispositional alternatives including transfer of custody to the adult court, formal supervision by a probation officer, commitment to an institution, or temporary adjournment (i.e., the case is held open for a specified period, at the end of which, if the child has not been brought back to the court center on a new charge, the case is automatically closed).

Of juveniles referred to the Children's Court Center, approximately 85% are from the City of Milwaukee. In 1974, the total number of delinquency cases received by the Court Center was 9,6408; petitions were filed for 7,753 cases.

Eligibility Criteria Referral to the Diversion Program

Diversion to the AFY program can occur at two points in the processing of cases through the juvenile justice system; the point of intake - following the probation officer's review of the case and interview with the youth, but prior to consultation with the assistant district attorney - and the point of review by the district attorney - following a determination of prosecutive merit, but prior to the constitutional rights hearing. Both project and court staff emphasized the flexibility of the eligibility guidelines and the latitude allowed to probation officers in deciding which cases are appropriate for diversion. According to a diversion project memorandum that was the result of negotiations with the court staff, the population of eligible youths (i.e., those eligible for placement in the pool from which project youths are randomly selected) includes, but is not limited to:

- Property felons with prior records;
- Misdemeanants with repeated violations within a short period of time;
- Misdemeanants with serious runaway problems who are referred to the court on a delinquency charge;
- Juveniles on probation or on a "hold open" status (formal or informal) who are returned to the justice system on minor new delinquency charges;
- First time felons (who would ordinarily be processed on to court);

Basically, these requirements will include some combination of: a serious offense, an unfavorable home situation (e.g. family status, occupational status of the father, siblings previously referred to Court Center), a minimum age of fourteen years and an offense which was committed in the company of other individuals.

(The phrase "includes, but is not limited to" was a concession to court personnel who object to the establishment of hard and fast criteria as an infringement upon their prerogatives in determining the disposition of cases.)

There was considerable variation among probation officers in the extent to which they use the diversion project, in their knowledge of the eligibility criteria, and in what they tell the child and family about the project. Complaints issued by police officers come to the Court Center and are assigned to a probation officer according to the geographic area in which the juvenile lives. Juveniles and their parents must appear at the Court Center for an interview with the probation officer seven to ten working days after the arrest. At that time, the probation officer may make a decision about the appropriateness of the case for diversion based on the eligibility criteria and other factors including the cooperativeness of the child and parents, the area in which the child lives (youths living on the north side of Milwaukee, where most of the brokered service agencies are located, are more likely to be diverted than youths living on the south side), and the ability of the child's parents to pay for services (disadvantaged families cannot afford to pay for private services and therefore are more likely to be diverted). In general, probation officers who made frequent use of the diversion alternative were more accurate in their descriptions of the official eligibility criteria, though there was a tendency among some to divert less serious cases. One officer stated that he would ignore the criteria if he felt that the diversion project would be helpful to a particular client.

After making the decision to divert, the probation officer visits the court advocates in their workspace in the Court Center to discuss the youth's eligibility. If the advocates agree that the youth is eligible, they perform the random assignment and inform the probation officer of the disposition. After the process is completed (which may take no more than a few minutes), the probation officer returns to his or her office to arrange a meeting between the youth and the court advocates - if the assignment is to the diversion with services group - or to process the case on to the assistant district attorney - if the assignment is to the penetration group. The differences in the probation officer's descriptions of diversion processing in the intake interview are marked. One officer interviewed by BRI stated that he tells the family almost nothing about the AFY program, leaving that to the court advocates. Another said that he describes the program, the random assignment procedure, and the offered services in some detail, and that he solicits the family's interest and participation.

The probation officers who were interviewed were evenly divided on the question of whether or not youths must admit guilt to be eligible for diversion. All agreed, however, that participation was voluntary and that every child had the right to be heard in court. Many of the officers were unclear about the justice system status of diverted youths, and a few did not know what would happen to a diverted youth who failed to participate in the AFY program. The consensus among those who expressed opinions was that, in most instances, the case is closed after diversion and the youth remains outside the court's jurisdiction unless he or she commits another offense. In a few cases, at the probation officer's option, the youth may be released on a 60-day holdover. This disposition allows the probation officer to monitor the

youth's behavior over a two-month period and gives him the option to call the youth back to court if his or her performance is unacceptable. The youths' status may thus directly affect the justice system's response to a failure to anticipate in the diversion project. Moreover, although diversion to the AFY project does not result in a judicial record, the probation department does in every case maintain records that may influence an officer's decision if the youth is arrested again.

If the probation officer decides to obtain a petition (or if the case is randomly assigned to penetration), he forwards the case file to the district attorney's office. The chief assistant district attorney, one of three attorneys in that office, reviews all such cases every few days to determine if any new information about the case has become available (e.g. a witness may revise his testimony) or if the probation officer has missed a case eligible for diversion. When these circumstances occur, the district attorney has the option of recommending the case for diversion and returning it to the probation officer.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

At the end of October, 1977, the probation department's staff of fifty officers collectively had a caseload of 872 children on formal probation, 199 on informal probation, and 679 cases pending. Under the direction of a probation officer supervisor, ten officers are assigned to each of five districts in Milwaukee County. (This arrangement may account for some of the variation among probation officers in number of referrals to the project, because inner-city youths are more likely to be diverted.) In addition to performing intake duties at the Court Center, officers are expected to establish field offices for meeting clients in the communities to which they

are assigned. Once a probation officer is assigned a case, that youth remains that officers responsibility throughout his contact with the system.

The Court Center probation department is characterized by a high degree of professionalism and staff autonomy. The professional staff represents a wide range of theoretical orientations to providing services, though all offer some form of counseling and referral. Frequency and duration of counseling contacts vary depending on the needs of the child and the kind of supervision ordered by the court staff. Formal supervision usually lasts a year, though the judge can terminate a case earlier at the recommendation of the probation officer. Child and officer may meet weekly at the field office or the child's home during the first few months of supervision, and then less frequently (monthly or bimonthly) if the treatment plan is successful. The nature of the contacts may range from a mere check on the youth's progress to a formal counseling session lasting an hour or more. Nevertheless, some officers reported that they are likely to refer a child to a mental health facility if extensive counseling is required.

Under informal supervision, the probation officer sees his client once every week or two for 90 days. With both types of supervision, the officer will have far less extensive contact with his client, if the child is referred to one of a variety of community agencies available through the Department of Welfare. Referral services - including medical and diagnostic services, family counseling, residential and educational placement, and recreation - are used frequently by the probation department staff and overlap with those offered by the diversion project. However, unlike the diversion project, the Department of Welfare has no funds to purchase services for clients and must rely on those agencies that offer services free of charge. Proper case

monitoring consists of having periodic contact with clients and service agencies, maintaining up-to-date case files, and completing monthly reports for probation officer supervisors.

Interagency Relations

As mentioned above, several meetings were held with a committee of probation officers to resolve conflicts over the proposed research design, the criteria for eligibility, and other details of program operation. In addition, CR-SDC representatives met several more times with the entire court staff once the project became operational to discuss diversion programming and goals of the AFY project. Despite this extensive consultation, some resentment among probation officers remained. A small number of probation officers accounted for the great majority of referrals to the project. At the time of the BRI interviews, probation officers' opinions of the project ranged from cautious optimism to rather blatant hostility.

Court and project personnel had had daily contact since the project's inception because court advocates occupied a workspace provided by the Court Center. A number of court staff members spoke of the salutary effect of their presence in tempering probation officers' resistance to the program and in facilitating the diversion operation. Feedback to probation officers concerning diverted youths consisted only of informal communications from court and follow-up advocates, yet at least one probation officer commented favorably on the quality of information he received from the advocates.

Court staff expressed a broad range of opinions regarding diversion, the diversion project, and the services the project proposed to offer. Many staff members felt that court processing was not as stigmatizing as project advocates purported it to be, that the professionalism of the probation staff

minimized its negative effects, and that the effect of legal involvement on future behavior was minimal compared with other factors in the child's life that contribute to delinquency. Others pointed out that probation officers could refer youths to the same agencies used by the diversion project and suggested that some proposed services were frivolous or unnecessary (e.g. art instruction and wilderness experiences). On the other hand, some probation officers believed that the diversion project could offer individualized attention to the needs of diverted youth that the probation staff, with limited manpower and funds, could not. The fact that referral to services through the diversion process is simpler and less time-consuming than referral through the Department of Welfare was seen as a boon by some probation officers and as an opportunity to shirk responsibility by others. Reluctance to use the diversion project was not entirely the result of hostility toward it; one officer stated that other services were more appropriate for her suburban client population, and therefore, she had not bothered to learn how to make referrals to AFY. Another important obstacle was the inertia of court personnel; many simply did not want to bother to learn the new procedures for diverting youths to the project.

Most individuals interviewed were satisfied with the compromise reached over the evaluation research design (youths would be randomly assigned to "penetration" and "diversion with services" groups) and the majority of the court staff said that they would wait and see before passing judgment on the diversion project's effectiveness. Others, however, questioned the fairness of comparing services offered by the probation department with those offered by the more heavily subsidized diversion project. One officer took the position that the research effort was totally unnecessary because the needed

information could be obtained by other means and any results were likely to be equivocal. Overall, it appeared that to ensure success, project staff members would have to continue their efforts to convince a skeptical court staff of the project's utility. At the same time, project service workers would have to cope with their own dissatisfaction with the rate of referrals to AFY. In their first month of operation 29 referrals had been made to the program.

Brokered Service Agencies

As mentioned above, agreements had only recently been reached with six brokered service agencies, and only twenty diverted youths had been referred at the time of the BRI interviews. Court advocates had made a total of 24 referrals, because some youths were referred to more than one agency. Agencies were contracted to provide a certain number of service units per year (months of service for the alternative schools and hours of service for the other programs) to project youths.

Independent Learning Center. ILC is an alternative high school, affiliated with Pius XI High School. It serves young people in grades 9 through 12 who have had difficulties learning in the public school system and who are seeking a more informal and flexible school structure. The curriculum emphasizes basic skill development, exposure to career possibilities, community involvement, and self-awareness. Originally organized as a school for unwed mothers, ILC has been serving Milwaukee school dropouts for over eight years.

Responsibility for case management of diversion clients is shared. Social workers provide social services; teachers are responsible for developing an educational plan. Each case is reviewed weekly by the entire staff. Teachers keep daily attendance records and conduct periodic testing to determine

whether the child has successfully covered the assigned material and to monitor the progress of the entire class. Report cards (written evaluations) are supplied to both students and parents at the end of each nine-week quarter. Youths attend classes at ILC for an average of two years, though students can be terminated by a disciplinary board of staff and students for non-attendance, violent behavior, or alcohol and drug use.

Service options provided by ILC include teaching, counseling, and tutoring:

Teaching. Students must take courses in reading and math until they reach the eighth grade level. Only then can they take electives in photography, woodshop, sewing, typing, community studies, etc. Usually, youths attend classes of eight or ten students for about five hours a day, five days a week. Physical education is provided at local gymnasiums. Graduation from ILC is recognized by the state and the Milwaukee Public Schools and meets their requirements: a minimum of six credits in English, two in math, two in science, two in social studies, two in U.S. history, and two in physical education.

Counseling. The social worker meets with all students at the start of their participation in the ILC program. She continues to meet individually with about one-half of the students on a weekly basis and with the other half more informally, perhaps a few times during the school year. It was expected that all youths referred by the diversion project would participate in the more formal counseling and that case files would be maintained for these students. Additional counseling is available through drug and outreach counselors who visit the school periodically.

Tutoring. Approximately 15% of the students enrolled in ILC receive individual tutoring in reading and math. Under the direction of the reading

specialist, volunteers meet with students who are far below average in these skills for half an hour each afternoon or one hour twice a week. Some incidental services are offered by agency staff in the course of performing their major duties. These include family counseling, provided by the social worker on occasional home visits; and employment counseling, career planning, and advocacy in the justice system, provided by teachers and the administrative staff.

About 50 youngsters, referred by the probation department, state police, department of welfare, and youth service bureaus, were attending ILC at the time of the BRI interviews, though only one had been referred by the diversion project. According to agreements with the diversion project, the agency guaranteed placements for 15 diverted youths, payments for which would constitute approximately one-third of the school's total budget. (Other funding sources include private foundations, individual donations, and local and federal governments.) ILC would retain primary responsibility for case management, providing monthly attendance and quarterly grade reports to AFY and meeting regularly with follow-up advocates. Agency staff stated that diversion project youths would be treated no differently from others, though diverted youths might be required to participate in counseling unlike others for whom that service is optional.

Shalom High School. An alternative high school offering services similar to those provided by ILC, Shalom High School began as the educational component of a group foster home for teenage boys released from juvenile institutions. Although the school and the foster home still share a building, some of the eight foster home residents are enrolled in Shalom. The school strives to provide a high school education that is informal, individualized, and allows for student input.

The agency's service staff consists of four full-time and three part-time teacher-counselors, all of whom have teaching degrees, assisted by ten college student volunteers. At the beginning of the semester, students select a teacher-counselor with whom they will meet briefly and informally each week. The teacher-counselor has responsibility for monitoring the student's grades, attendance, discipline, and personal and legal problems, and for reporting any difficulties at weekly staff meetings. In their dual role, teacher-counselors also teach classes in basic skills (reading, writing and arithmetic), manual skills (science and auto mechanics), and topical issues (values clarification, consumer math, and juvenile rights). All students must attend classes which range in size between ten and fifteen students for five hours a day, five days a week. Volunteers serve as tutors, both in and out of class. Although teacher-counselors have had their primary training and experience in education, they are also called upon to provide career counseling and job placements, lead field trips and recreational activities, offer family counseling, and serve as advocates for agency youths at the Children's Court Center.

Youngsters referred by the Youth Service Bureau, the department of corrections, and a variety of social service agencies attend Shalom High School, but many enroll at the suggestion of friends or family. At the time of the BRI interviews, 110 students were attending classes, though only two had been referred by AFY. Under the contract agreements, the school would receive approximately one-fifth of its current budget from the diversion project and would supply the project with feedback in the form of attendance, grade, and counseling reports. Diversion project youths would receive the same treatment as others in the school program.

Inner City Arts Council. ICAC was established in 1968 to promote the cultural arts in Milwaukee's inner-city neighborhoods by sponsoring an annual community arts festival, offering instructional classes in the arts to children and adults, and providing opportunities to view live artistic performances throughout Wisconsin. Based on the premise that identity is a crucial problem for minority groups in America, Council programs attempt to encourage cultural expression as it relates to the individual's self-concept and his relationship with his own ethnic group.

Services offered to diverted youths will basically consist of counseling and instruction in the fine arts, though they may also participate in other ICAC activities such as field trips, art contests, and summer music camp. Two social workers were hired for a few hours a week at the request of the diversion project (counseling was not part of the ICAC programs before) to provide individual and family counseling to project youths. After an intake form is received from AFY, the social worker visits the child at home, makes a preliminary assessment of the child's problems and interests, and invites the child to come to ICAC and enroll in classes. It was planned that initially social workers would see their clients weekly, though the details of this arrangement had not been worked out at the time of the interviews. Only diversion project youths would receive counseling services.

All project youths would enroll in fine arts classes - arts and crafts, painting, ballet, creative writing, dance, theatre, photography - taught by seven part-time institute instructors. Most instructors work full-time for the Milwaukee Public Schools and have degrees in fine arts. Classes of 15 to 20 children meet for an hour and one-half, from one to three days per week. Project youths would be enrolled in ongoing classes and would be

indistinguishable from other students, referred by friends, public school personnel, and other agencies, once they were enrolled.

Six youths had been referred to ICAC by the diversion project, but it was expected that 20 to 30 AFY youths would be served at one time in return for payment constituting about one-eighth of ICAC's total budget. Because the Council has received funds from the National Endowment for the Arts, Wisconsin Arts Board, and the City of Milwaukee, instructional classes are offered free-of-charge to non-project participants. At the time of the BRI interviews, feedback to AFY consisted of attendance records, though it was planned that social workers would soon be supplementing these with bi-weekly reports on the progress of diversion project youths.

Children's Outing Association. In its first 53 years of existence (1906-1959) COA arranged camping and other outdoor activities for Jewish children from the city of Milwaukee. Then, under the direction of the present director, programs were expanded to meet the needs of all city children, particularly the disadvantaged. Currently COA operates or sponsors a summer resident camp serving inner-city youths, diabetics, and other populations with special needs; a youth employment and counseling program; an interracial youth organization; a day camp; and the most recent additions to their programming, a nursery school and an outreach delinquency prevention project. Camping aside, COA staff provided 35,868 hours of service to children and adolescents (ages 5 to 12) in 1976.

During the program year (i.e., excluding the summer camp months), the service staff consists of 10 full-time and 12 part-time regular members, 10 to 15 college students on field placements, and four or five volunteers. The two major programs that will be used by project youths, camping and club

memberships, are supervised by regular staff and students on field placements. A number of weekend and school recess camp activities were planned, based on COA's experience with a youth service bureau program contracted through CR-SDC; these include horseback riding, sports, nature and conservation programs, and overnight canoe camping. Diverted youths will also be eligible for the agency's extensive summer camp program. All project youths will anticipate in one or more of the 24 clubs sponsored by COA. Clubs are centered around a broad variety of group and individual interests such as homework help and friendship, gameroom and lounge activities, dances, athletics, and special interest groups that focus on arts and crafts, cooking, swimming, and body-building. The clubs, which average about seven members apiece, meet for one and one-half hours each week and last for the entire nine-month program year. No minimum or maximum period of participation has been established; some youths continue in the club's programs for years.

Agreements with the diversion project indicated that, unlike other agency clients, youths referred by AFY will have individual files describing their progress and participation. In addition, club leaders will take attendance and maintain a record of club activities for inspection by diversion project staff. One staff member said that, depending on how fast youths are referred by AFY, project youths may form their own club as well as belong to two or three other clubs of their choice. (He was unaware that these arrangements might violate AFY guidelines for the integration of diverted and non-diverted youths.) Supplemental counseling, provided by COA supervisory staff is available for diverted youths and their parents. In return for these services, COA will receive payments amounting to one-fifth of their current budget. Seven youths had been referred by AFY at the time of the interviews.

Career Youth Development. From a small volunteer operation in 1970, Career Youth Development has grown into a youth social service agency serving hundreds of young people yearly and offering career exposure, work experience, and career development workshops. In addition to the proposed program for AFY-referred clients, CYD operates three other federally funded programs which provide classes for educational credit and employment opportunities. Project staff share the philosophy that career exposure experiences enable inner-city youth to discover their self-worth, set goals, and consequently, become productive members of society.

The program planned for AFY referrals consists of four hours of training workshops and six hours of career placement experience per week. Six part-time counselors are responsible for conducting three workshops and supervising the job placements. They are assisted by three counselor aides paid by Job Service and occasionally by successful community members who lecture on their experiences in the world of work. Meeting twice a week for two hours, workshops will cover finding a job, resume writing, human relations, and other career-related topics. Each counselor will be responsible for monitoring the progress of 30 diverted youths, divided into two groups so that the size of the workshops will not exceed 15.

For six hours a week, youths attend on-site career placements at local radio and TV stations, auto shops, newspapers, public libraries, etc., for which they are paid \$2.70 per hour. There is considerable variation in what participants are expected to do at the various placements. Some placements involve classroom-type training, others are more task-oriented. Youths can be placed either individually or in groups. Agency staff emphasized that the placements are intended to serve as career exposure, rather than actual job experiences.

Administrators at placement sites sign an agreement that requires them to sign participant's time sheets and report to agency counselors. The counselors, in turn, must submit monthly reports to AFY follow-up advocates. Diversion project youths will not be identified as such while participating in the CYD program; however, they will not attend workshops with non-project youths, most of whom are younger. It was expected that 30 AFY-referred youths would join the program every four months (120 per year) and that payment for services would constitute about one-fourth of CYD's budget. At the time of the interviews, CYD had received a larger number of referrals from AFY than any other brokered service agency; a total of eight youths were enrolled at CYD.

Wisconsin Conservatory of Music. The Wisconsin Conservatory of Music was formed in 1968 from the merger of two Milwaukee schools of music and dance, both of which date their beginnings to 1899. It is an accredited institution of learning offering Bachelor of Music and Master of Music degrees through the college division and providing classical and jazz music training to students of all ages and abilities through the preparatory and continuing education division. At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, 165 students were enrolled in degree programs and another 1,000 part-time and full-time students attended classes in the preparatory division.

Youths referred from the diversion project would be allowed to enroll for a standard curriculum of classes, lessons, and rehearsals. Classes in musicianship and theory are held three times per week for one hour and are limited to a maximum of 12 students. Lessons in an instrument chosen by the student are provided by the Conservatory on a one-to-one basis for one-half hour per week; rehearsals meet twice a week for two hours. Individual teachers

selected from the Conservatory's distinguished faculty and advanced students will have responsibility for the various parts of a child's training. Many of the instructors are familiar with the inner-city culture and have experience in teaching problem youth via a Model Cities program which was operated by the Conservatory in 1972-1973. Faculty are required to take attendance and note each child's performance; grades might be given, but it is more likely that progress reports will be prepared.

When a youth is referred by the diversion project, he or she is given a music aptitude test. Lessons will begin immediately, though classes may not start until the five or six students necessary to start a class have been referred. At first, classes will consist only of project youths because of their shared status as beginning students. However, as they advance, they may be integrated into regular ongoing classes at the Conservatory. Although Conservatory staff had promised the diversion project places for 25 students, payment for services would constitute only 3% of the Conservatory's total budget. AFY had not referred any clients at the time the interviews were conducted.

PUERTO RICO YOUTH DIVERSION PROJECT

(October 17-21, 1977)

Puerto Rico, a self-governing U.S. Commonwealth since 1952, has a total population of 3,200,000; more than a quarter of its inhabitants are between the ages of seven and seventeen. The total number of juveniles arrested in 1973 was 10,899 or 1.5% of the juvenile population. The arrest rate (or "intervention" rate to use the terminology that is applied to juveniles on the island) has been fairly stable from 1963 to 1973, ranging from a high of 22.2 arrests per 1000 juveniles in fiscal year 1963 to a low of 14.9 arrests per 1000 juveniles in fiscal year 1973.

Although these statistics reflect a general decline in total arrest rates, it is important to note that juveniles account for a disproportionately high number of serious crimes. According to police records, 4,595 juvenile arrests were made for Type I (serious) offenses in 1973, while 5,395 adult arrests were recorded for the same category of crimes. Thus, the juvenile population, which constitutes 26% of the total population, accounted for 46% of all arrests for serious criminal activity.

The Puerto Rico Youth Diversion Program, which received LEAA funding through the Commonwealth's Department of Addiction Services, operates to divert juvenile offenders from further penetration in the juvenile justice system and to offer them counseling and supportive services at two youth service centers and a residential facility. The judicial districts of San Juan and Bayamon were selected as principal impact areas for the diversion

program because of the high incidence of delinquent behavior among youths residing there. In 1974-1975, 46% of all minors accused of offenses in Puerto Rico came from the urban zones of Bayamon and San Juan. Furthermore, 51.4% of all youths in these districts between 14 and 19 years of age were unemployed. (These demographic and crime data were obtained from the project grant proposal.)

In order to adequately describe the diversion project and its operation, BRI staff members visited San Juan in October, 1977, and conducted interviews with the project staff and with representatives of the San Juan Police Department and the Superior Court of Juvenile Affairs. At that time, the diversion project, which is also known by the acronym SYDMA (Services for Youth Diversion in the Metropolitan Area), had been operating for less than four months. A number of special problems arose in collecting the information data for this report. Unlike the interviews conducted at other sites, it was necessary to communicate through interpreters because many of the respondents spoke little or no English. Language and cultural differences created problems in scheduling the interviews and in obtaining the full range and depth of information from interviews. As a result, information presented here is derived from a more limited sample of project personnel and on a more limited sample of responses than those for other sites.

History

Since becoming an independent agency of the Commonwealth in 1973, the Department of Addiction Services has conducted a number of social service programs, mostly in the areas of drug and alcohol abuse. More recently, the Department has broadened its focus to include adult diversion and, with the establishment of its SEMIT division, youth services. (SEMIT are the initials

in Spanish for the title "Special Services for Minors Involved with the Courts.")

The original proposal for LEAA funds was written by three Department of Addiction Services officials; the director of SEMIT, the director of the Federal Programs Division, and the coordinator of Juvenile Justice Programs. Funding was approved on December 1, 1977, and the process of recruiting administrative and service personnel for the project began shortly thereafter. The process was interrupted, however, by the 1976 elections which resulted in a change in the Department's administration in January, 1977. As a courtesy to the incoming administration, recruiting was halted until the beginning of February when the new administrators would have an opportunity to select personnel of their own choosing.

The months of February and March were used to process project personnel through the channels established by the Department of Addiction Services. Four-fifths of the project's staff had been hired when initial training began during the first week of March, but it was not until the second week of May that services personnel were allowed to move into the physical facilities prepared for youth service centers (in the Manuel A. Perez and Virgilio Davila Housing Projects) and shelter home (located in the municipality of Aguas Buenas). Training continued in May and June, and the program began full scale operation on June 15, 1977.

Goals

The authors of the diversion project grant named a large number of goals and objectives in the original proposal. A selected sample of these includes:

1. Eliminating the processing of 3000 minors (over a period of three years) through the juvenile justice system.

2. Establishing better coordination between the police department and the courts' administration of the official processing of youths.
3. Changing the behavior of diverted youth toward increasing adjustment and decreasing deviant behavior.
4. Promoting the development of attitudes that will give clients the capacity to deal with family relations, peers, education. and community life.
5. Providing for the physical needs of clients by offering carfare and free lunch and snacks while they attend the program.
6. Developing interests in clients for recreational activities that will promote the constructive use of leisure time as an alternative to activities associated with delinquent behavior.
7. Placing clients in jobs, vocational training. or advanced studies.
8. Using community services to the utmost to assist clients in achieving their individual goals.

Virtually all diversion project personnel who were interviewed named diversion from the justice system and provision of services as the primary goals of the project. Other objectives that were emphasized included providing treatment to parents as well as to their children, the importance of early intervention. and the need to coordinate the activities of community youth service agencies. This last item is of interest because, after four months of operation, project personnel had yet to begin referring youths to community agencies on a regular basis. Although the project had informal agreements with the Departments of Labor, Instruction, and Human Resources, only a few referrals had been made. (For additional details, see Service Options below.)

One additional aspect of the project's strategies for accomplishing their goals is noteworthy. A number of staff members underscored the dangers of

coercion in dealing with their clients and the importance of allowing clients to make their own decisions and "be responsible." One respondent said that the staff tries to operate without "punishing or pressuring" their clients, and another suggested that persuasion was the best means for achieving behavior change.

Structure and Function

The diversion project is one of three components of the SEMIT program, a division of the Department of Addiction Services that was organized to provide services to juvenile offenders. The other two are the Residential Treatment Component. a one-year old program for assisting youths in residential institutions with drug and alcohol problems, and the Community Intervention Component. a planned program for coordinating community participation in the work of government service agencies, including the Department of Addiction Services.

As indicated in Figure A-10, the SYDMA program coordinator is directly supervised by the SEMIT program director. The program coordinator in turn supervises a rather large service staff dispersed over four locations: a central office, two youth service centers. and a residential facility. The following are brief descriptions of the backgrounds and responsibilities of the project's administrative and service workers:

Program Coordinator. The program coordinator's broad responsibilities at SYDMA include administrative and fiscal management of all program components, coordination of activities with LEAA, the national evaluators. and other SEMIT programs. and direct supervision of the SYDMA component supervisors.

Assistant Administrator. In addition to assisting the project coordinator with the project's overall management, the assistant administrator performs

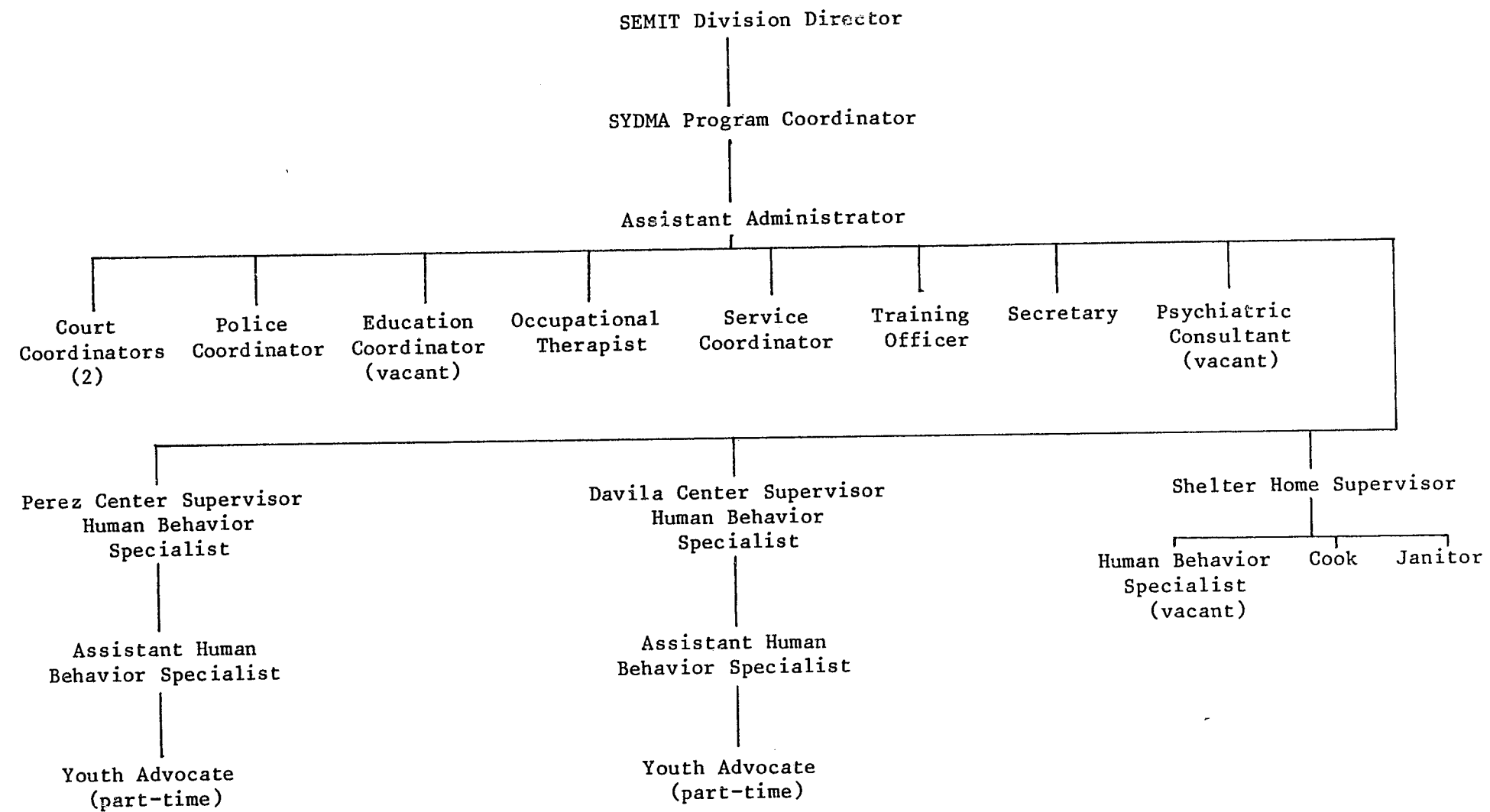


Figure A-10
Organizational Chart for Puerto Rico Youth Diversion Program

duties related to purchases, budgets, general services, property, and other fiscal matters. In the project coordinator's absence, he is responsible for supervising the central office staff.

Training Officer. The training officer assesses the training needs of project personnel, designs and evaluates training methods and procedures, and coordinates the training activities of the Department of Addiction Services for the project. When the National Office of Social Responsibility begins providing technical assistance to the project staff, he will be responsible for coordinating this program as well.

Service Coordinator. Identifying support services in the community is the chief task of the service coordinator. Related responsibilities include keeping case managers informed of available service opportunities, locating job and vocational training positions in the community, and monitoring clients after placements have been made. The service coordinator will also be responsible for maintaining periodic contact with clients during the six-month period following their participation in the SYDMA project.

Education Coordinator. The education coordinator works closely with the service coordinator and performs a similar task. This person's job is to seek out educational placements for clients and to advocate for clients in their dealings with the schools. Both the service and the education coordinators share their time between the two SYDMA Centers.

Psychiatric Consultant. The diversion project planned to hire a psychiatrist for six hours a week to perform psychological evaluations of SYDMA clients and provide consultation to the diversion project counseling staff.

Police and Court Coordinators. Diversion project representatives are stationed at police headquarters, the San Juan court, and the Bayamon court

for the purpose of monitoring the diversion procedure, informing police and court personnel about the diversion project, and introducing clients to the SYDMA program. As the project liaisons to the justice system, they are an important part of the project's effort to convince referral sources of the project's usefulness. Note that these positions were not part of the original project proposal, but were added later to facilitate the referral of clients from the justice system.

Shelter Home Supervisors: The shelter home supervisors or resident parents are a married couple employed by the diversion project on a contractual basis. They supervise the shelter home staff, which at the time of the interviews consisted of a cook and a janitor, and act as foster parents to youths placed in the home. Their duties include obtaining consent for participation from client's parents, providing counseling to clients and working with the Department of Social Services to find permanent placements for clients. The project grant proposal names other services that were to be provided by the shelter home supervisors, but opportunities to do so have been few because of the small number of clients they have received.

SYDMA Center Supervisors: The responsibility for the overall operation of the two centers and the supervision of center personnel rests with the center supervisors. They are often the client's initial contact with the program after leaving the court; they are in charge of recordkeeping, staff meetings, and case conferences. Supervisors assign cases to counselors and carry a small load of more difficult cases themselves. Other duties include public relations, disbursement of project funds, and coordination of center activities with local agencies.

Human Behavior Specialist II: One human behavior specialist is assigned to each SYDMA center. Along with the assistant human behavior specialists,

they are the program's counselors or case managers, however. only the human behavior specialist performs the initial screening and evaluation of new clients. They are the program's primary service providers. offering counseling, recreation, and cultural enrichment activities.

Assistant Human Behavior Specialists: Each center has three assistant human behavior specialists, carrying the bulk of the project's cases.

Youth Advocates: Two youth advocates were hired from the communities surrounding the centers to assist the counselors in providing services to clients. Chosen for their leadership ability. youth advocates receive special training from the counselors and serve as role models that clients can emulate.

Occupational Therapist: SYDMA employs a licensed occupational therapist who develops and conducts vocational skills training for clients. Her time is divided between the two service centers; the amount of time she spends at each location varies with the center's caseload.

Project Administration

Because the project staff members work at four different locations. meetings are held frequently to keep lines of communication open. Project managers - the SEMIT division director, SYDMA program coordinator. and the assistant administor - meet monthly to monitor the progress the project has made, to prepare reports for funding sources, and to chart the course the project will take in the future. The program coordinator also holds a monthly meeting of center directors for overall coordination of the project's various components. Within the centers and the shelter home, meetings are held weekly or bi-weekly to discuss case management. internal affairs, and program planning, and to prepare written bi-weekly reports for the program coordinator.

In discussing the adequacy of their supervision. staff members in general and center directors in particular said that they have considerable independence in performing their work. One respondent complained about the difficulty of working through the bureaucracy of the Department of Addiction Services and another criticized project management for ignoring her suggestions, but by and large. project personnel were satisfied with the recognition they receive on the job and the input they have in project decision making.

Orientation and Training

In March, three days of initial training were conducted for the purpose of familiarizing newly hired project personnel with the programs, activities, and administrative procedures of the Department of Addiction Services. A second training activity consisted of seminars on the selection criteria and procedures for diverting juvenile offenders from the police and the courts. Among those attending these two days of meetings were project personnel, judges from the Tutelar Court of Minors, agents from the police department's Division of Juvenile Assistance, officials of agencies in the communities around the SYDMA Centers who had expressed an interest in collaborating on the Center's activities, the Secretary of the Department of Addiction Services. and other representatives of the Department.

A third phase of training offered to SYDMA service providers (and to SEMIT personnel as well) consisted of a two week course on the application of counseling strategies on the Goal Therapy model and on supervision techniques designed to improve counseling practices. Although the authorization to spend project funds for training in psychotherapy was delayed, SEMIT was willing to supply the fee for this part of the training. In June. 1978 additional funds

for training became available through a grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Also in June, a psychologist from the Central Personnel Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico provided a four-day course on Developmental Psychology and Adolescence to all direct service and administrative personnel. Three additional brief seminars were conducted in July; one on obtaining public and private funds for social service programs another on job preparation and placement for youths, and a third on the rights of minors. The last seminar was conducted by the Department of Addiction Services' legal division. At the time of the BRI interviews, project managers had planned further in-service training through the Training Institute of the Department of Addiction Services, the organization responsible for coordinating training activities for the diversion project and other Department programs, and through the National Office of Social Responsibility.

Client Intake

Referrals to the diversion project come through the project's three representatives stationed at the Bayamon Juvenile Court, the San Juan Juvenile Court, and the Juvenile Affairs Division at police headquarters in downtown San Juan. It is the representatives' responsibility to describe for prospective clients the services offered by the project, the responsibilities of participation, and the legal stipulations associated with diversion (namely, that clients remain under the jurisdiction of the court for 90 days). If the diverted youth agrees to participate and signs a consent form to that effect, the project representative fills out the appropriate form, gives the youth a letter of referral with the address of one of the two service centers, and then calls the center to inform them that a referral has

been made. In a few cases, such as when the youth is diverted after working hours or when the youth must be placed outside the home because of an intolerable family situation, the police transport the youth to the shelter home located about forty minutes from San Juan.

When the youth arrives at the center or shelter home, he or she is interviewed by the center director or one of the counselors. During the initial interview, the counselor collects information about the child's school and family life, vocational and recreational interests, and personal problems. Together, client and counselors establish treatment goals and devise a service plan. Diversion project service workers emphasized the importance of allowing clients to set their own goals. At the time of the BRI interviews, counselors were recording client goals and diagnoses on preprinted forms, but no means were available for recording goal attainment or the details of the service plan. It was planned that psychological assessment would become a more important part of the diagnosis procedure once a part-time psychiatrist or psychologist is hired.

A total of 73 youths had been placed in the SYDMA centers and shelter home when the BRI interviews were conducted. Forty-three had been placed in the Davila Center, 23 in the Perez Center, and 5 in the shelter home. The intake interview usually occurs on the same day that the child is referred by a project representative, but it may take two or three visits to a center for the counselor to complete the diagnosis.

Case Management

When a youth is placed with one of the service centers, the intake counselor, under the supervision of the center director, assumes responsibility for case management throughout service delivery. Placements at

the shelter home are temporary. usually no longer than four or five days, so the resident parents are responsible for a case only until such time as the case can be transferred to one of the service centers. In contrast to the almost constant contact that clients have with service workers while residing in the shelter home. clients are expected to attend center activities from one to four days per week. Contacts reportedly range from one hour to three hours depending on which activities the youth engages in. Although the client's closest relationship is with his or her case manager, it is by no means an exclusive one. because clients participate in a variety of activities with other project staff members. It is the counselor, however, who is responsible for taking notes on client contacts and discussing the youth's progress with the center director.

Services are designed to last a maximum of six months and a less intensive follow-up period may last an additional six months. No formal guidelines for termination had been established at the time of the interviews. though one respondent said that if the client achieves the treatment goals before the end of the six month period, early termination may be possible with the approval of the counselor.

Service Options

The services provided at both the service centers and the shelter home consist mainly of individual counseling, recreation. and occupational therapy, though tutoring, cultural enrichment. and referral to community agencies for medical services and job and educational placement are offered to a limited extent. Temporary residential placement is available at the project's shelter home.

Counseling is provided by case managers and constitutes the major part of their work. Sessions center on teaching the client to be responsible, dealing

with personal and family problems. helping the client to identify his or her strength and abilities, and changing the client's maladaptive feelings and behavior. Counseling may occur formally or informally, may take a few minutes or an hour and a half, and may or may not involve the client's family. depending on the needs of the individual.

Recreational activities include field trips, picnics, baseball, volleyball, and basketball. Clients often play indoor games such as dominoes, checkers, chess, and cards. Occasionally they go to movies or to the beach. These activities are used to fill the time before and after counseling sessions. so that clients have an opportunity to interact with project staff members and with each other.

Occupational therapy, coordinated by a therapist who divides her time between the two centers, occupies much of a client's time at the center. Materials and instruction are provided for basket weaving, ceramics, macrame, leather work and other arts and crafts.

Tutoring in academic subjects is provided on an as-needed basis by counselors and a few community volunteers.

The cultural enrichment program has consisted mainly of field trips to places of cultural and artistic interest such as visits to the Old San Juan Convent of the Dominics to see Puerto Rican ceramics and to the astronomical observatory; more field trips are planned.

Referral to community agencies and the development of a community support system for diverted youths were described in the initial grant proposal as cornerstones of the project's service effort. The revised work plan submitted to LEAA suggested that cooperative agreements had been reached with the Departments of Education, Social Services, Labor, and Housing. the World

University, YMCA, YWCA, Salvation Army, and Puerto Rico Youth Camps to provide a broad range of supplemental services, both free of charge and for a fee. Interviews with project staff members indicated, however, that the referral options were not being used and that no formal contracts had been signed. The project director explained some of the problems that have delayed the use of community resources. Apparently many of the agencies have long waiting lists and complicated eligibility requirements.

Residential placement is available at a shelter home staffed and operated by the diversion project. Resident parents are assisted with maintenance of the home by a janitor and a cook. Located about forty minutes from San Juan by automobile, the shelter home is used mainly to assist clients in crisis situations, such as when the child is in danger of physical abuse at home. Clients living in the home receive the same services as clients attending the centers.

Clients can stay at the shelter home for one day or for one month, but an effort is made to place the child in a stable environment as soon as possible, so clients rarely stay longer than four or five days. Although the home has space for twelve residents, only five youths had been referred there since the diversion project began accepting clients in June, and none had stayed longer than a week.

Follow-up services are provided by the service coordinator for six months following the client's termination from the direct services of the SYDMA centers. Although no client had reached the follow-up phase at the time the BRI interviews were conducted, it was expected that the service coordinator would try to place each client in a job, vocational training program, or school and then informally monitor the youth's progress by calling or visiting the youth's home about once every two weeks.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

The juvenile justice agencies that most directly affect the diversion project's potential clients are the juvenile courts of San Juan and Bayamon, the juvenile affairs division of the San Juan Police Department, and the Department of Social Services, which operates the island's juvenile institutions. The two contiguous judicial districts of San Juan and Bayamon each have a branch court of the Superior Court of Juvenile Affairs. The Social Services Bureaus of the courts have divided the work of providing services to youths under their authority into two positions; some probation officers perform exclusively an intake function, while others devote all of their time to the supervision of cases. In fiscal year 1974-75, the two courts handled 1,168 and 1,054 complaints filed against juveniles.

The twenty-two officers and three supervisors of the juvenile affairs division of the San Juan Police Department are responsible for investigation cases brought to them by the rest of the department. Complaints against juveniles are processed through this division office located at police headquarters in San Juan.

Client Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

When a police officer apprehends a juvenile for violating the law, he must bring the youth to one of ten district police stations in the San Juan metropolitan area. After conducting a preliminary investigation, the arresting officer contacts the youth's parents and then brings the youth, the parents, and the victim (if there is one) to the juvenile affairs division office. There the case is turned over to a plainclothes juvenile officer who conducts a more thorough investigation and decides whether to (1) lecture and release the youth, (2) file a complaint and release the youth to the parents,

or (3) file a complaint and place the youth in a juvenile home (for no more than 48 hours). The juvenile officer has ten days in which to file a complaint with the juvenile court.

If a complaint is filed, the youth must appear in court. Accompanied by his or her parents, the youth is interviewed by an intake worker (or "intaker") to ascertain the quality of family life, personal adjustment, and attitude of the accused. Probable cause must be established by the judge at a preliminary hearing in which the youth is represented by legal counsel, often provided by Legal Services of Puerto Rico. Based on this initial hearing of facts, the judge may decide to (1) dismiss the case, (2) hold it over for 90 days with the stipulation that the youth seek social services during that time (this is called "brief services" by the court) or (3) hold the case over for trial. If the case goes to trial and the youth is found guilty, he or she can be placed on formal probation, which means that the youth's status will be reevaluated at the end of six months, or the youth may be placed in a state institution. The judge will frequently base this decision on the intake worker's social investigation and recommendation.

Eligibility Criteria and Referral to the Diversion Project

Referral to the diversion project can occur at two points in the processing of cases through the juvenile justice system; at the police level prior to filing a complaint and at the court level before the case is adjudicated. Department of Addiction Services administrators, officials of the police department's juvenile affairs division, and juvenile court judges negotiated the criteria by which the diversion decision is made in a series of meetings. Out of these negotiations came revisions of earlier agreements. For example, justice system officials were reluctant to divert youths who were under the

jurisdiction of the court at the time of arrest, consequently, probationers were excluded from eligibility. Shortly after diversion to the project began, it became apparent that some youths who were referred from the court and the juvenile affairs division failed to appear at the SYDMA centers for services. Diversion project and court officials responded by changing the completely voluntary nature of referral to SYDMA and substituting in its stead the provisional filing of a complaint against the diverted youth. Under this system, diverted youths remain under the jurisdiction of the court for 90 days from the date of referral. If the youth agrees to participate in the program he agrees to certain obligations; failure to follow program rules may result in the notification of the court and consequent reactivation of the case.

According to the revised work plan submitted to LEAA, youths can be diverted to the SYDMA centers during working hours and the SYDMA shelter home after hours if the following conditions are met:

1. The youth is under 18 years of age.
2. The youth has been arrested for a divertable offense (mostly non-violent crimes, ranging from burglary, assault, and arson to gambling, cruelty to animals, and violation of the traffic law).
3. The youth is not considered to be a danger to himself or the community and is not suffering from a severe mental disorder.
4. The complainant voluntarily agrees to suspend the complaint for a specified period of time (the 90 day period).
5. The youth is not already under the authority of the court.
6. The youth and a parent sign a consent form confirming that they have been advised of the services offered by the project and agree to participate.

Final authority to approve the diversion of a youth rests with the juvenile affairs officer for police diversion and with the juvenile court

judge for court diversion. However, in the latter case the judges have delegated their authority to the intake social workers of the probation department so that judgements can be made quickly and the diversion procedure can operate efficiently. Although most cases are diverted from further penetration before being heard before a judge. a few are personally diverted by the judges in a preliminary hearing prior to the official trial.

In every case. the final arbiter of a youth's eligibility for the diversion program is the project representative. When a juvenile officer, intake worker. or judge decides to divert a case, he or she contacts the project representative assigned to the agency and they discuss the youth's candidacy. The personnel representing the referral sources said that they do not try to pressure a youth into participating and that they describe the program in broad outline, leaving it to the project representatives to fill in the details. All parties who were interviewed seemed to have a good understanding of the criteria for eligibility, though intake workers added that they would be unlikely to refer youths addicted to drugs or youths who had full-time jobs.

In the interviews, diversion project personnel repeatedly stressed the voluntary nature of their program. The justice system's paperwork for a diverted youth is placed in a temporary file, processing of the complaint is suspended. and the case is considered "held open" for that period of time. Some court personnel said that diversion was equivalent to the court's referral for "brief services." If the child is rearrested, it is the court's option to process the complaint or to return the child to the diversion project. If the child is not rearrested and succeeds in following the rules of the project for three months. the case is dismissed.

Consultation with a project representative often occurs on the same day the child is arrested if the case is diverted at the police level, but initial contact with the project may take one to three weeks if the case is investigated by an intake worker before diversion. or even longer if the judge makes the decision to divert. None of the respondents believed that the child must admit guilt in order to be diverted.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

Probation officers in the juvenile court (or family relations technicians as they are formally called) are required to have a bachelor's degree in an appropriate field. and many have master's degrees, When a probation officer is assigned a case, he or she performs a thorough investigation of the child's personal and family life and school adjustment by examining the child's records and conducting interviews with the child, parents, and teachers. If the officer feels that a more formal assessment is necessary. a judge's order can be obtained to send the child to the court testing clinic. Based on this evaluation, the officer draws up a service plan and begins seeing the client about twice a month. Meetings. which last up to an hour, are held at the court, at the child's home. or in the community. Meetings are often directed toward getting the child to realize that there are problems in life and that he must begin to try to solve them. Individual counseling is the primary service offered by the probation department, though community resources are also used to some extent, for example, if the child is addicted to drugs.

Probation officers must report to the juvenile court judge on their client's progress every six months. If the service plan objectives have been met during the first six months. probation ends; otherwise the probationary period is extended until the objectives are met. Technically, probation can

be extended until the youth is 21 years old, though this rarely happens because chronic recidivists are usually referred to the adult court.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

The court staff members who were interviewed seemed well-informed about the project and the diversion procedure. Many of them had attended one or more of the four lengthy meetings held by SYDMA administrators to describe the theory and goals of the diversion project and to negotiate the details of the referral process. Perhaps more important in communicating the operation of the project has been the presence of project representatives at police headquarters and at the courts. Probation department personnel and juvenile affairs officers reported almost daily contact with the representatives and cited them as valuable sources of information about the project. Furthermore, a pamphlet describing the project's eligibility criteria and procedures was posted at each of the three referral locations.

Court workers generally had positive attitudes toward the idea of diversion and the diversion project staff, but most thought that it was too soon to tell if the project's services were effective. One probation officer promised to visit the SYDMA center before passing judgment. It appeared that the friendly relationships established by the project representatives were important determinants of the court staff's feeling about the project. Many welcomed the project because it provides an additional alternative for court service workers and a few referred to the potentially stigmatizing effects of court processing.

Most court workers found it difficult to compare the services offered by the project with those offered by the probation department because the project was so new (SYDMA had been accepting referrals for less than four months)

However, a number of respondents mentioned the benefits of a youth's voluntary participation in a program as opposed to the compulsory attendance required of probationers. This difference in "atmosphere" or setting might hasten the process of rehabilitation. The general feeling was that if the diversion project delivered the services that it promised, they would be superior to probation services.

Evidently, the only feedback on clients provided to court personnel has been a letter sent to the juvenile court judge stating whether or not the youth has successfully completed 90 days in the SYDMA program. Other court staff members said that they would like to receive information on the progress of youths they have referred, and one stated that a mechanism for providing such feedback is planned.

When asked if there had been any problems between the justice system and the diversion project, neither group had much to say. Both court and project personnel seemed pleased with the rate and kind of referrals to SYDMA, although one probation officer suggested sending more first offenders before they were "traumatized" by the court process and another wanted a good program for incorrigibles. Only one justice system staff member expressed serious complaints about the project. He felt that (a) participation ought to be compulsory, and (b) SYDMA centers should not be located in stigmatizing and often dangerous housing projects.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SKILLS PROGRAM - MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH

NEW YORK

(November 11-15, 1977)

Overview

New York City's Lower East Side is characterized by poor housing, dirty streets, inadequate health services, and limited access to the city's public transportation system. More than 20% of the area's population have incomes below the federally-designated poverty level. The 38,000 youths who live between Fourteenth Street and Canal Street and between Fourth Avenue and the East River face the problems created by their environment. The truancy rate in the Lower East Side is 56.5%, 48.8%, and 43.0% for the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades, respectively; 36.8% of these children are two or more years below grade level in reading.

The needs of the Hispanic population of this area are particularly acute. In 1974, 75% of the Puerto Ricans living in the Lower East Side were receiving full or supplemental public assistance, and a similar percentage spoke only Spanish or very little English. About half the children have no proficiency in English when they enter school and nearly half receive no special help for this problem in school. Among adults, women have completed 6.9 years of school and men 2.8 years as compared with 12.1 years for the average New York area resident. (Demographic and descriptive data were obtained from the project grant proposal.)

The Youth Employment Skills (YES) program is operated by Mobilization for Youth, Inc. for the purpose of assisting Lower East Side juveniles who have

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come in contact with the justice system. Although the YES program serves all eligible youths who are referred, it was organized and staffed to meet the special needs of the Hispanic community of the Lower East Side. In order to describe the YES program and its operation, BRI interviewers visited New York City in November, 1977, and conducted interviews with members of the diversion project staff and representatives of the Manhattan Family Court.

History

Mobilization for Youth (MFY), the recipient of the LEAA diversion project grant, was established by Columbia University in the early 1960s to provide high school tutoring and other services to the youths of the Lower East Side. A number of their projects have received national recognition for example, their work in developing the model for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Over the years, MFY has expanded its youth development programs to include a youth theater, a high school equivalency program, and, most recently, an LEAA funded delinquency prevention program directed toward diverting less serious offenders from Family Court and providing them with counseling and related services.

The application for the diversion project grant was written by the executive director of MFY and the assistant director of the YES program (who was at the time employed by MFY) with the assistance of other MFY staff. Confirmation of the grant award came in the first week of December, 1976, and the assistant director and clerk-typist were hired later that month to begin setting up the project. In March, the casework specialist, who had also been an MFY staff member, was assigned to the YES program, but since authorization to spend project funds was not received until July 1, 1977, the majority of the project staff (including the director) could not be hired until then. The

diversion project was prepared to accept referrals from the Family Court and other sources toward the end of July. yet some planned programs had not been implemented at the time the BRI interviews were conducted four months later.

Most of the early delay in becoming fully operational was the result of delays in the availability of project funding. Initially, MFY staff had been led to believe that funding would begin in December, 1976, and therefore, some staff who were scheduled to receive salaries from the YES budget had to be supported by MFY funds for an additional six months. Then, when diversion project funds did become available, MFY had to be repaid, creating a shortage of funds and delaying the acquisition of materials, such as power tools and art supplies, needed for YES program activities. The diversion project did not begin receiving referrals until August, 1977. To the disappointment of the project staff, referrals were not being made at the anticipated rate during the project's first months of operation. Only 21 youths had been referred at the time of the November BRI interviews.

Goals

As stated in the original proposal, the YES program has the following goals:

1. To establish a program which will divert an average of 200 youths per year, from the New York County juvenile justice system;
2. To provide these youths with the skills needed to enable them to further their education and/or find gainful employment;
3. To prevent further and more serious police, probation and court involvements by youths who have committed multiple misdemeanors or less serious felonies; and
4. To impact the juvenile justice system by decreasing via diversion the numbers of juveniles going through it.

Furthermore, the proposal named the following strategies as the means by which these goals could be accomplished:

1. By involving youths in positive interaction with adults toward the goal of mutual understanding, good citizenry, and relevant roles in society;
2. By structuring and supervising on-the-job training toward the goal of providing legitimate role models as well as marketable work skills;
3. By providing bilingual/bicultural counseling and other supportive services to the total family; and
4. By insuring "energy outlets" via provision of recreational, cultural and creative arts programs.

Structure and Function

The Youth Employment Skills program provides vocational training and counseling to youths referred from the Manhattan Family Court. As indicated in Figure A-11, project staff consisted of 10 full-time paid employees at the time of the interviews: two administrators, a casework specialist, two counselors, three youth workers, and two clerical workers. The following are brief descriptions of the responsibilities of the administrative and service workers.

Project Director. The director is responsible for the overall administration and supervision of the project; his primary tasks involve acting as liaison to other agencies and managing the fiscal aspects of the project with the assistance of the MFY Executive Director. Like most of the members of his staff, the project director is bilingual and is familiar with the people and problems of the Lower East Side.

Assistant Director. The assistant director is in charge of scheduling, programming, and coordinating project activities and is responsible for supervision of the service staff and the management of day-to-day project operations.

Casework Specialist. The casework specialist maintains an office at the Manhattan Family Court four mornings a week and serves as liaison between the court and the diversion project. Meeting her is the diverted child's initial contact with the project. She checks the child's eligibility for the program, explains the program to parent and child, obtains their consent to

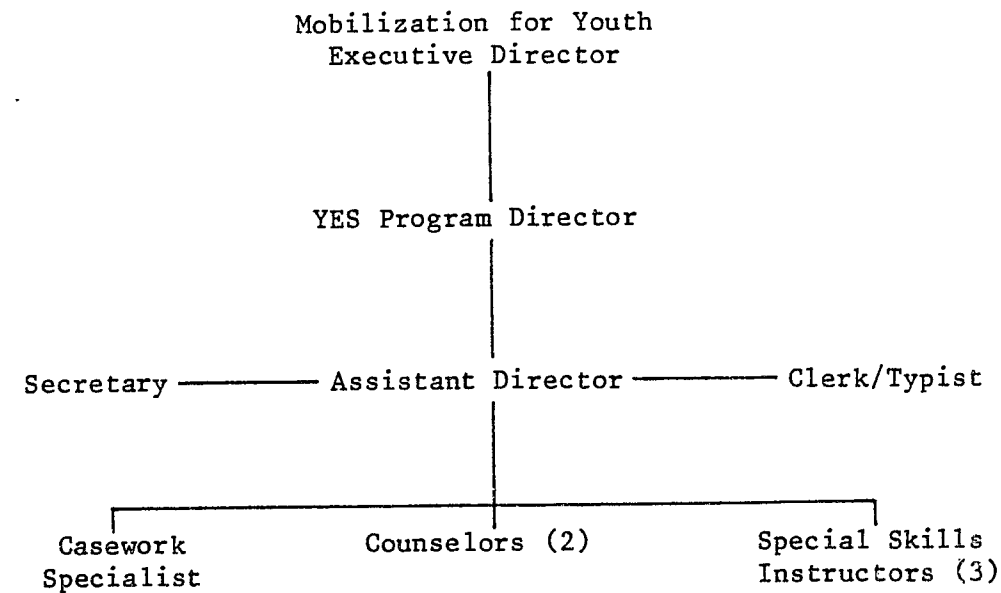


Figure A-11
Organizational Chart of
Youth Employment Skill Program New York

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participate. and arranges the child's first appointment with a counselor. In addition. the casework specialist acts as an advocate for project youth in Court proceedings and often represents the project in fact-finding and dispositional hearings at the Court. In the afternoon. she returns to the YES program office where she assists in directing various program activities.

Counselors. These staff members serve as case managers for project youths from intake through termination. Their basic tasks include counseling, referral. court advocacy. and family support.

Both counselors said that they could understand and identify with their clients because they have lived in the Hispanic community and have had similar experiences as adolescents.

Youth Workers. The three youth workers or special-skills instructors are responsible for developing and conducting technical skills programs. Each offers classes in his or her area of expertise. One teaches arts and crafts; another focuses on practical skills such as carpentry, construction. and auto repair and the third has a background in photography and video work.

Project Administration

According to the project staff, general staff meetings are held every Monday and may last up to one and one-half hours. These meetings deal with issues that concern the entire staff. such as changes in policy and personnel. coordination of projects, and program planning. In addition, special-skills instructors and counselors have separate. weekly meetings to discuss issues specific to their own work. These meetings occur less regularly and are more case-oriented than the general staff meetings. One staff member reported that counselors receive up to three hours per week of supervision in addition to case discussion at formal meetings.

All project staff members reported that they are adequately supervised and that they receive sufficient recognition for their efforts on the job, although one complained about the lack of recognition that the YES program receives within MFY. Most felt involved in the project decisions that concern

them. Evidently the administrators have made an effort to solicit input from staff members and gain consensus before proceeding with changes in project operations. Major management decisions are made by the director and assistant director; counseling and treatment decisions are made by the counselors with the approval of the assistant director. Special skills instructors in particular expressed satisfaction with the amount of freedom they are given in developing their training programs.

Orientation and Training

Initial training consisted of an introduction to program guidelines and procedures, discussion of court structure and practices, instruction in the use of tracking forms, and some discussion of counseling theory and technique. Orientation was conducted by the director and the assistant director and the amount of training varied among staff members depending on when they began working for the project. In one case it consisted of little more than reading program materials and discussing them with a supervisor.

No formal in-service training had been provided, though the director has occasionally held seminars on topics of interest during the weekly staff meetings. According to one staff member, more formal arrangements have been made to offer workshops conducted by the Human Resources Administration. Another staff member suggested that a lack of funds has prohibited more extensive training. In any case, project staff stated that they feel adequately prepared for their jobs and that the close supervision they received on the job has compensated for any inadequacies in training.

Intake and Referral

A client's first contact with the program usually occurs at the Family Court. The casework specialist accepts referrals from various court sources

and checks their eligibility for diversion to the project. If parent and child are present at the Court at the time of referral, she describes the YES program to them in terms of its goals and the services offered; advocacy, counseling, tutoring, recreation, medical services, and workshops. If the family is not present at the court (as in the case of referrals from Legal Aid), the casework specialist must contact them by phone in order to describe the program. In either case, the family is told that the child may choose a workshop, and he or she will be asked to sign a service agreement with the counselor. Although the casework specialist emphasizes the voluntary nature of the program, she informs them that failure to complete the program will result in a report to the court. After completing the project's intake the court history forms, which include a preliminary assessment of the child's needs and interests, the casework specialist arranges an appointment for the child with a counselor at the MFY Office.

Cases are assigned to counselors by the assistant director and an effort is made to schedule the initial meeting with a counselor within 24 hours of the Family Court interview. Using the casework specialist's suggestions as a guide, the counselor completes a more extensive diagnostic work-up. Over a period of a week, the counselor discusses educational, family, health, and other problems with the youth. Counselors may contact other agencies and visit the homes of youths to obtain additional information. This process results in a written document describing the problems faced by the youth and both short- and long-term goals for solving them. This service plan is discussed with the youth and a contract is drawn up describing the services the youth will receive and indicating his or her agreement to participate in the program.

Case Management

Once a counselor is assigned a case, he or she is responsible for the management of that case throughout service delivery. Initially, counselors are expected to meet with their clients at least once a week and then gradually shift to meeting on an as-needed basis as the youth becomes integrated into project activities. The amount of client contact will often exceed one contact per week because counselors are involved in the workshops and recreational programs in which their clients participate. The case manager is expected to monitor client participation and progress toward goals by obtaining attendance information from workshop instructors and by consulting with parents and schools when appropriate. Written progress reports are entered in the clients' case files.

The total amount of time that clients spend in contact with the project depends on the number and kind of workshops in which they are enrolled. Typically, youths attend workshops from two to four days per week with each session lasting about two to three hours. Clients are expected to participate for a minimum of three months (the duration of a single workshop), though no overall maximum period has been established.

Guidelines for the decision to terminate a client's participation had not been firmly established at the time the BRI interviews were conducted. in part because the situation had not yet occurred. Project staff agreed. however, that a youth would be terminated if he or she (1) moved away from the Lower East Side so that commuting to and from the project became unfeasible; (2) committed serious and repeated infractions of program rules; or (3) was so successful in reaching goals that the YES program was no longer useful (e.g., if the youth found a job outside the program) The project director indicated

that in most cases he would make the decision to terminate on the basis of input from his staff. but that youths terminated for failure to follow project rules would be entitled to a grievance hearing before representatives of the staff, project youths, and the advisory board.

Service Options

The service options available to project youths were of three kinds; those provided by the diversion project staff, those provided by the MFY staff who are not a part of the diversion project. and those provided by brokered service agencies. Many of the YES program services were still in the planning stage at the time of the BRI interviews.

Among the services offered by the YES program staff, the most important were counseling, youth advocacy, workshops. and recreational and cultural enrichment activities. In addition to discussing personal, family, and academic problems with their clients, counselors provide limited vocational and employment counseling. Counselors. for instance, write letters of reference. assist youths in obtaining social security cards, and may even accompany their clients on job interviews. As youth advocates. counselors often represent their clients in court proceedings and in their dealings with local schools. Counselors have also served as advocates in assisting clients and their families with welfare, housing, and medical aid problems. The time and effort a counselor spends with a particular child depends on the needs of the individual

Workshops taught by special-skills instructors were planned in a number of areas at the time the BRI interviews were conducted, but only a few had actually begun. Initiation of a carpentry workshop, for example, had to be postponed because funds to buy tools were not yet available. The workshops

that were under way were mainly arts and crafts projects that required few materials (e.g., candle making). Because the workshops were intended to be a job training experience, most were designed to produce saleable items.

Workshops were expected to last from eight to twelve weeks and meet two or three days per week. Only five or six youths were enrolled in each workshop, but that number was expected to increase as the number of referrals to the project increased. Clients who complete workshops attend a graduation ceremony and receive a certificate that acknowledges their accomplishments and entitles them to enroll in a more advanced workshop.

Because workshops were slow to begin, counselors and special-skills instructors devised a number of recreational and cultural enrichment activities for their clients. These included a three-day wilderness camping experience, field trips, movies, dances, and sports (such as basketball and paddleball).

Also available to project youths were the academic and recreational programs offered by MFY. YES youths automatically become members of MFY and as such, are eligible to participate in the in-house activities with other members (most of whom are non-delinquents). Tutoring is provided by MFY staff, and a recreation room on the premises has a ping-pong table, pool table, and other games. Furthermore, plans were being made to integrate project youths into MFY's English as a Second Language classes and theater group.

Counselors planned to refer their clients to community agencies for services not provided by the project; only a few referrals had been made, however, at the time of the interviews. The most frequently mentioned resources were; alternative education, psychiatric services, and medical services.

Alternative education. A few clients had been placed in local "mini-schools" that offered educational diagnostic services and alternative coursework leading to a high school certificate. Small classes in reading, math, and the arts meet five mornings a week under the supervision of certified teachers. Youths most often referred are those who are dropouts from junior high school or have serious difficulty with the structured classroom of the public schools.

Psychiatric services. Clients with emotional problems had been referred to Belview Hospital for diagnostic assessment and psychotherapy. If a youth's problem is quite serious, counselors have the option of relinquishing responsibility for the case.

Medical services. Outpatient services, hospital care, and dental care for project youths had been secured through a local community hospital and dental clinic. The project had a working agreement with the hospital to accept for treatment clients who have signed the project's consent forms.

The project director stated that adequate funds had been budgeted for the purchase of needed services. On the other hand, some project staff members expressed a need for services that were not included in the budget. These included diagnostic assessment within the project and stipends for clients attending alternative schools.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

In the borough of Manhattan, the juvenile justice system consists of three autonomous police departments, the New York City Police Department, New York Transit Authority Police Department, and New York Housing Authority Police Department, and the various components of the Manhattan Family Court including the probation department, Legal Aid, corporation council, and the judiciary.

The probation department is divided into four functional units: (1) intake, which is responsible for making the initial decision either to dismiss a case, refer for services or process to court; (2) investigation, which constructs a social history for juvenile offenders that is used by the judge in determining the disposition of the case; (3) supervision, which supervises youths placed on formal probation by the court; and (4) liaison. which reports on the work of officers in the other three units during court proceedings.

The Legal Aid Society is a private, nonprofit agency that represents juveniles in the Family Court. Their staff members serve as public defenders for nearly all PINS (person in need of supervision) cases and the majority of juvenile delinquency cases. In addition to attorneys who argue cases in court, the organization's social services division employs social workers and counselors who refer youths to community agencies for services. The social service emphasis, which is relatively new to Legal Aid. serves the dual purpose of obtaining services for clients in need and helping their cases when they come before a judge at the dispositional hearing. If the youth is making progress in a social program, the judge is more likely to be lenient in disposing the case. About half of the cases in the juvenile services unit of Legal Aid are referred for placement in service programs. The Legal Aid attorneys' adversaries in Family Court proceedings are the Corporation Counsel. These attorneys prosecute all juvenile cases except those involving designated felonies (i.e., most serious offenses such as murder, arson, first degree assault, and kidnapping) which are handled by the district attorney's office.

Client Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

Offenses committed in New York City are classified into three categories, according to their seriousness: violations, misdemeanors, and felonies. The

action taken by the apprehending police officer depends, in large part, on which kind of offense had occurred.

Juveniles who are apprehended for alleged violations of law are dealt with in two ways. The officer can informally admonish and release the youth or he can initiate an informal juvenile record by preparing a juvenile report form (YD-1). If an officer in the field issues a juvenile report, the youth is released immediately. The juvenile report is forwarded to the Youth Aid Division of the New York City Police Department where officials either notify the youth's parents via letter or conduct an investigation and refer the youth to social service agencies. If the offense is a misdemeanor, the officer has three choices. He can lecture and release the youth, he can prepare a juvenile report, or he can arrest the youth. If the offense is a felony or one of certain classes of more serious misdemeanors, called "photographable" misdemeanors, the officer must arrest the youth.

When a juvenile is arrested and taken into custody, he is brought to the nearest precinct station. There, the arresting officer notifies the child's parents, checks with the Central Warrants Unit for outstanding warrants, and prepares an arrest work sheet. When the parents arrive, the officer must read the Miranda warnings to the child in their presence, call Central Booking for an arrest number, and finally, call the Family Court Calendar Control Office to obtain a date for the juvenile's initial court appearance. It is necessary for a parent to sign a recognizance agreement stating that the child will appear in court on the given date in order for police to release the child to parental custody. If parents are not present, the child is taken directly to Family Court or to a shelter if the court is closed.

At Family Court intake, a probation officer interviews the complainant, the juvenile, and the parents to determine if the case can be adjusted without

further court action. The intake probation officer has considerable discretionary power. He may counsel and release the youth or dismiss the case outright. If the offense is not a designated felony and if the complainant agrees to the adjustment, the probation officer can decide to leave the case open for sixty days to six months. He may refer the youth to a social service agency outside the court or he may merely monitor the youth's behavior. If the youth does not become involved in any delinquent activity during that period, the case can be closed. However, if no adjustment is made or if the child is rearrested during the probationary period, the case must be sent on to the petition clerk of the Family Court for filing.

If the probation officer decides to file a petition, Legal Aid appoints an attorney for the case (or a private attorney is retained) and a hearing is held before a judge of the court. If the child pleads guilty, the judge orders a dispositional hearing to be held seven to fourteen days later; if a plea of not guilty is entered, the case is referred to trial. In the formal trial, another judge hears the case and renders a verdict. If he decides that the juvenile is not guilty, the case is closed; otherwise, the judge schedules a dispositional hearing seven to fourteen days later.

Before the dispositional hearing is held, the judge orders an investigation of the juvenile's background by a probation officer and uses this information in selecting one of the following actions: (a) place the youth on formal probation for a period of not more than two years; (b) place the youth in a residential facility; (c) set conditions for a one-year suspension of judgment (if the youth becomes involved in delinquent activities during that period, the case can be re-opened); or (d) dismiss the case because of some overriding circumstance. Finally, if the youth is found

guilty of a designated felony and is over 15 but not yet 16, the judge can commit him or her to a juvenile correctional facility for a period not to exceed three years.

Eligibility Criteria and Referral to the Diversion Program

At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, the YES program was accepting referrals primarily from the probation intake unit and Legal Aid and, to a lesser extent, from the probation supervision unit, the probation liaison unit, and the John Jay College-Transit Police diversion project. Although the grant proposal outlined procedures for accepting referrals from the New York City Police Department, they have never agreed to refer cases to the project at the precinct level and none have been referred to date. The New York City Police Department did agree to refer cases processed through their Youth Aid Division. However, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention would not permit the diversion project to accept these cases since the youths involved had already been placed out of jeopardy of further penetration into the justice system.

According to the project's original agreement with an administrative judge of the Family Court, juveniles eligible for the YES program must:

1. Be between the ages of 12 and 16;
2. Reside in the Lower East Side of Manhattan (south of Fourteenth Street, north of Delancy Street, west of FDR Drive, east of Second Avenue);
3. Be multiple misdemeanants or lesser felons;
4. Be non-violent; and
5. Not be known drug abusers or mentally ill.

Project staff have broadened the definition of eligible youths to include less serious offenders and more serious offenders because of the difficulty of obtaining the proposed number of referrals from the Family Court. YES's eligibility criteria specify a group of clients that probation officers have

not usually diverted. With the wide range of programs available to the officers, YES is in a very weak position for negotiating any significant change in the court's policies about which cases will be diverted. Even though many of the cases referred to the YES program meet the program's eligibility criteria, virtually all of these youths would be referred out of the juvenile justice system and sent to one of the twenty-odd social service programs at the court even if YES did not exist.

The procedure for securing social services for clients is similar for probation intake and Legal Aid, YES's two main referral sources. The probation officer or Legal Aid social worker makes the decision to refer a case. The former bases the decision on the seriousness of the offense (designated felons cannot be referred), the youth's arrest record, and the complainant's agreement; the latter on how much the youth's participation will help his or her case in court and whether or not the youth appears to be in need of service. A particular program is selected on the basis of the agency's reputation, the child's needs, and perhaps most importantly, the child's cultural background and the proximity of the program to the child's residence. Virtually none of the court personnel knew the official criteria for referral to MFY and many did not know that there were criteria aside from rather obvious restrictions such as the exclusion of violent offenders and drug addicts. When a probation officer or social worker selects YES as a resource, the choice is discussed with the youth (and with the family, in the case of probation referral) and the program is described in broad outline. Court personnel varied greatly in their knowledge of MFY activities and responsibilities; one suggested that "after while, all programs start to sound alike." If the youth expresses interest, the person initiating the referral

contacts the casework specialist who ultimately determine the appropriateness of referral to MFY. As had been mentioned, the project has relaxed the eligibility criteria and accepted some PINS cases, first offenders, and designated felons. This has reportedly been done not only to raise the number of referrals to the YES program, but also to gain the good will of court personnel who make the referrals.

Probation officers agreed that participation in social services programs is presented to the youth as an alternative to court, rather than as a requirement. Respondents also suggested, however, that varying amounts of pressure may be applied to a youth to encourage participation, depending on the seriousness of the crime. Clients are under the jurisdiction of the court, and probation officers will not hesitate to remind a youth of that fact if his offense is a serious one.

Legal Aid social workers, on the other hand, emphasized that participation is an important factor in obtaining a favorable disposition. Court personnel were unanimous in stating that admission of guilt is not a prerequisite for referral and that court policy forbids the referral of youths who believe that are innocent. However, a few respondents gave the impression that youths who claimed innocence were encouraged to participate in a referral program, rather than go to court, because the referral alternative was "easier."

The juvenile justice system status of youths diverted to YES is either informal probation (for those cases referred at probation intake) or case pending a dispositional hearing (for those referred by Legal Aid social workers). For Legal Aid referrals, final status of the case is not determined until the hearing is held, two to four weeks later. Also, in a few cases YES has accepted youths on formal probation. Court personnel agreed that a

diverted youth who failed to participate, with the exception of those on formal probation. would probably not be penalized in any way (although technically he or she remains under the jurisdiction of the court for 60 days). Instead, probation officers would file the information for reference in the event of a future arrest and perhaps try to place the youth with a different social program.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

Youths placed on formal probation by the court are assigned to an officer in the service unit of the probation department. The minimum qualifications for a probation officer in the Manhattan Family Court are an M.S.W. or a B.A. with two years of relevant work experience.

Services provided by the probation department are minimal, consisting of psychological evaluation. referral to community social service agencies, and monitoring the youth's behavior during the probation period. The probation department's mental health clinic serves approximately two-thirds of the youths on formal probation by offering psychological diagnostic services; a smaller number receive on-going psychotherapy. both individually and in groups. Referral to agencies outside the probation department is used extensively. Nevertheless. one respondent indicated that many community agencies are reluctant to take probationers as clients, so placement is often difficult. In general, probation officers do not have regular contact with the youths assigned to them. Instead, they follow up on clients' progress by contacting referral agencies and meet with clients only when problems arise. Probation officers are required to report on the progress of their clients in bi-weekly meetings with probation supervisors. The probationary period usually lasts one year for PINS cases and two years for delinquency cases,

though officers can recommend that supervision be terminated earlier if a child is making good progress.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

In the course of planning and implementing the YES program, project representatives have made presentations to the staffs of the various units in the Family Court, the director of the Housing Authority Police, the deputy commissioner of the City Police Department. and the Youth Aid Division. Nearly all of the justice system personnel who were interviewed - Legal Aid social workers. intake and liaison probation officers, police officers - recalled meeting with diversion project staff, though many could not recall the details of the meetings. Aside from the fact that persons who make referrals to the program (with one exception) did not know the YES criteria for eligibility; most knew little about the project services and only a few were aware of the job-training aspects of the program. To a great extent their ignorance was the result of the project's newness (the project had been operational for three months at the time of the interviews). but clearly the sheer number of social programs competing for their attention at the Family Court must be considered as another factor.

Although court personnel were not familiar with the specifics of the YES program. many were aware of MFY's record of service to the Hispanic community of the Lower East Side. Legal Aid staff, in particular, were pleased with the willingness of the project staff to come to dispositional hearings with reports on the progress of diverted youths. The YES project staff was keenly aware of the need to build relationships with court personnel and to increase their visibility in a court crowded with referral resources. They were hopeful, however, that the casework specialist and the counselors who visited

the court could establish rapport with court personnel and increase the number of referrals to the project. Court personnel agreed that only through continued interaction with the project staff would they gain the confidence necessary to make referrals to the YES program. The casework specialist sought to hasten this process by assisting court personnel whenever possible, for example, by serving as a translator with Spanish-speaking families.

Few court personnel who were interviewed were familiar with the theory behind diversion programming, yet all of them acknowledged the necessity of diverting youths out of the understaffed and overcrowded juvenile justice system. They agreed that the services provided by the probation department were minimal because caseloads were enormous, and they welcomed the YES programs as an additional service resource. Some specific advantages of YES over traditional probation services were cited; such as better knowledge of youth's community, culture, and language; greater individual attention and more indepth casework; and greater ability to visit homes and do outreach work. Most court personnel reported favorable first impressions of YES operation, but were reluctant to compare YES to other youth service programs because of the project's newness.

Feedback to referral sources consisted of monthly progress and attendance reports. Probation officers admitted that feedback would rarely influence the handling of a case, though poor progress in the YES program might result in a conference with the youth or even placement in another social service program. Some court personnel believed that the purpose of the diversion project is to "lighten the court's load of kids who shouldn't be there" and suggested that the project should continue to serve the less serious offenders. Diversion project staff members agreed with this position, largely

because of the slow rate of referrals to YES. They complained that the project's target population is too narrowly defined. Because of the limitations on referrals imposed by the LEAA guidelines, the reduced number of divertable cases due to mandatory sentencing, and the police department's reluctance to make referrals project goals may be impossible to reach. Many felt that the future of the YES program depends on the ability of the project staff to change the policies of their referral sources by encouraging them to divert youths who otherwise would not have been diverted. Unfortunately, interviews with probation officers suggested that it is unlikely that they will change their policies for a single program, especially given the range of alternatives already available. Representatives of the Housing Authority and Transit Authority Police Departments, while sympathetic with the goals of the diversion project, reported that they could not comply with the project's request for referrals at the police level because of an explicit policy against referrals formulated by their respective commissioners.

HARLEM JUVENILE DIVERSION PROJECT

CONVENT AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH

(November 11-18, 1977)

Overview

The target area for the Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project comprises three contiguous New York City Police precincts - the 28th, the 30th, and the 32nd. According to data presented in the project grant proposal, 70% of the 255,663 people living in this area are black, 20% are Hispanic, and 10% are white. Of the total number of juvenile delinquency proceedings disposed of in the borough of Manhattan in 1975, a full 25% involved juveniles residing in the three target precincts. Harlem in general is a socioeconomically disadvantaged area; families living there had a median income (in 1970) of \$4055 per year compared with \$7318 per year for the entire New York metropolitan area. Only 25% of the students in Harlem's elementary schools were reading at or above grade level in 1973 compared with an average of 40.3% of the students in the five boroughs of New York City.

The Harlem project was one of three diversion projects operating in New York City when BRI conducted interviews in November, 1977. Like the Youth Employment Skills program of Mobilization for Youth, the Harlem project receives most of its referrals from the Family Court and maintains an office at the court to facilitate the referral process. Unlike the other programs, however, the Harlem project provides services to only those juveniles residing in the three target precincts. Agreements with the other two projects allow

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for the referral of YES and John Jay-Transit Police diversion to the Harlem project if the youths live in the three Harlem precincts. In order to describe the referral process and the services offered by the Harlem project, interviews were conducted with representatives of the project staff, the New York City Police Department, and the Manhattan Family Court.

History

The Harlem Juvenile Diversion project is one of a number of youth service programs operated under the auspices of the Convent Avenue Baptist Church. Since 1945, the church has sponsored various recreation, education, and religious programs for boys and girls in the Harlem community. In an attempt to broaden their delinquency prevention programs to include juvenile offender diversion, the church had applied to the New York State Criminal Justice Coordinating Committee for funds. Unfortunately, funds for such a project were not available at that time. Some months later when the LEAA program was announced, the church's pastor, who served for many years on the New York City Board of Corrections, and the church's minister of education, who has considerable experience in developing educational programs for disadvantaged youth, wrote the grant application for LEAA funding. This time they were successful: official notification of grant approval came in November, 1976.

Despite the early approval of funding, the Harlem project received no federal money until July, 1977. According to the project director, most of the problems of program start-up stem from the eight-month delay in obtaining funds. Thus, the majority of the staff were not hired until July, 1977. In August, the diversion project notified the probation department of the Manhattan Family Court, its chief referral source, that it was ready to accept clients, but fewer than a dozen youths were referred to the project in its

first two months of operation. About a month before the BRI interviews were conducted, the project's liaison to the court assumed his responsibilities there. The result was a moderate increase in the number of referrals from the court, but project staff members reported that the rate was still disappointingly low.

Goals

In the original proposal, program goals were stated exclusively in terms of reducing the caseload of those parts of the justice system that process juveniles. (When the proposal was written, its authors had hoped to divert youths at the precinct level. However, political and legal pressures resulted in a change to diversion at the Family Court as described below.) It is interesting to note that no member of the project staff mentioned the potential benefit to the police and court, and only a few mentioned diversion from the juvenile justice system as program goals. Instead nearly all of the staff members who were interviewed named improving the quality of life for the youths they serve as a primary objective of the program. This emphasis on services was reflected in staff descriptions of project philosophy and the strategies used to accomplish their goals. Involving the youth's family and focusing on the youth-parent relationship were frequently mentioned in this regard. Service workers said that they attempt to create a positive atmosphere and try to serve as positive role models in order to maximize the effectiveness of the guidance and counseling they provide.

Structure and Function

At the time the BRI interviews were conducted, nearly all youth services were provided by a relatively large, in-house, paid staff consisting of two administrators, two clerical workers, one senior counselor, one senior social

worker, four counselors, one half-time social worker, four half-time program specialists, and one fiscal officer (see Figure A-12). In addition, eight volunteer social work interns from local colleges assisted service workers by offering tutoring and other task-specific activities to diverted youth on a one-to-one basis. The following are brief descriptions of the administrative and service positions and of the program at the time of the interviews.

Director. As the program's chief executive, the director sets the policy and overall tone of the project. He is in charge of fiscal management, planning, and negotiations with LEAA and other outside agencies.

Deputy Director. The duties of the deputy director include managing the day-to-day operation of the project, serving as staff supervisor, and monitoring the project's recordkeeping system.

Senior Counselor. When the project first got underway, the senior counselor served as the project's liaison to the court and set up the project's intake office there. Though he had had primary responsibility for conducting the initial interview with new clients, it was planned that the intake role would rotate among counselors and that each would spend some period of time at the Family Court office. The senior counselor's other responsibilities include supervising the four counselors, scheduling their work and carrying a caseload of diverted youths.

Counselors. The four counselors serve as case managers for project youths; they devise treatment plans, counsel youths individually and in groups, arrange meetings between clients and program specialists when necessary, and monitor the services delivered to clients as they progress through the program.

Senior Social Worker and Social Workers. The senior social worker primarily advises, rather than supervises, the two part-time social workers.

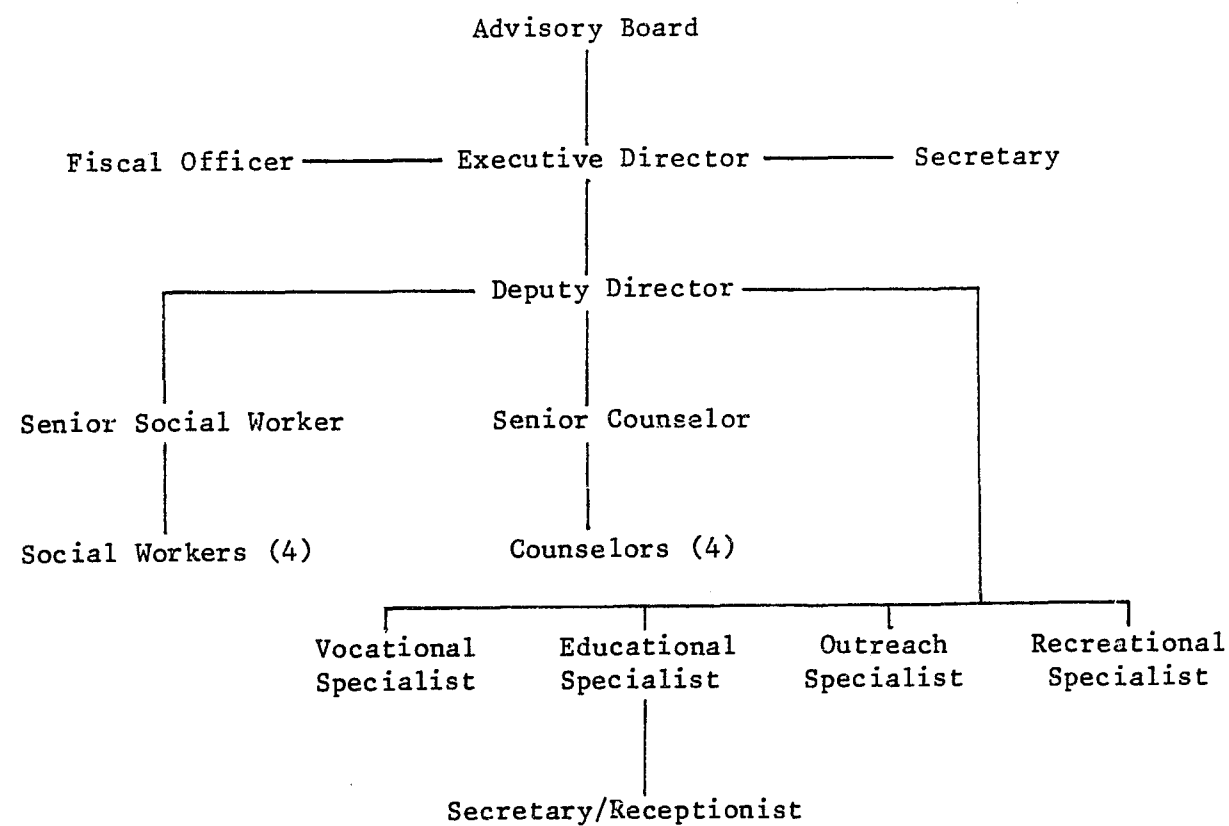


Figure A-12
Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project Organization Chart

- A-314 -

All three perform similar tasks for the project. After discussing a client's initial intake with the senior counselor, they visit the child and parents at home and conduct an in-depth interview concerning the child's background and social situation. Then, they collaborate with a counselor and the senior counselor in developing a service plan. After the intake period, the social worker may see the family on an as-needed basis to deal with more severe or family-related psychological problems.

Program Specialists. The project employs four half-time specialists for the purpose of organizing specific programs: (1) an educational specialist, is responsible for developing educational programs and supervising student-intern tutors; (2) a recreation specialist seeks out opportunities for cultural and recreational activities; (3) a vocational specialist with a background in developing jobs for the underemployed arranges meetings between project youths and persons in various occupations for the purpose of informing youths about vocational opportunities; (4) an outreach specialist. assists staff in locating services not available through the project, arranges transportation for youths to and from the project, solicits contributions of funds and materials from foundations and corporations. and helps families deal with other agencies, such as the Welfare Department and the utilities companies.

Project Administration

General staff meetings, attended by all paid staff members, occur every two weeks and may last up to three hours. Their function is to provide the staff with information about project operations, bring them up-to-date on policy and funding changes. and offer a forum for staff communication and complaints. There is some discussion of counseling practice and individual

cases, though these issues are dealt with more fully at weekly case conferences involving the five counselors.

Day-to-day decisions concerning project operations are generally made by the deputy director. Longer range policy and procedural decisions are made by the director after consulting with the deputy director and the appropriate staff component (counselors or social workers) if the decision concerns them. Most project staff were satisfied with the input they have in the operation of the project and with the recognition they receive for their work; nevertheless one complained about the lack of structure in his job assignment and in the organization as a whole.

Orientation and Training

Initial training by a representative of the National Office of Social Responsibility for the entire staff and by the director and the senior counselor for the rest of the staff totaled about two days. These sessions covered the policies and procedures of the Harlem project and the philosophy of diversion programming in general. Project staff who were hired after the orientation were trained more informally by project supervisors. Although there were no formal arrangements for in-service training, one staff member expressed the opinion that it goes on continually in the form of staff meeting discussions on the juvenile justice system and the role of the diversion project. Training on the job was provided by senior staff. Despite staff members' assertions that they are adequately trained for their jobs, a number of staff commented on the relative inexperience of some of the counselors and the need for additional training in this area.

Intake and Referral

Aside from their primary referral source - the probation department of the Family Court - Harlem project had accepted referrals from Legal Aid, the

police department, and the John Jay College-Transit Police diversion project. The decision to accept cases from Legal Aid was an attempt to raise the unexpectedly low rate of referrals to the program; accepting police cases was initiated as a means of assisting local precincts by providing them with an additional alternative for dealing with requests from parents who need help with their acting-out children.

In a majority of cases, the client's first contact with the diversion project occurs at probation intake. The project's representative at Family Court meets the youth immediately after the referral decision is made, and describes the program and its voluntary nature. Then, an orientation meeting is arranged for the youth and his or her parents at the project office, usually for the following day. The senior counselor assigns the case to himself or to one of the other counselors; that person completes the intake form and assumes responsibility for the case throughout the youth's tenure with the program. Clients referred from sources other than the probation department are given an appointment over the phone and may not have personal contact with a project staff member until a day or two after the referral decision is made.

The diagnostic process begins with the counselor's assessment and may include interviews with program specialists and a home visit by a social worker. Counselors focus on personal, peer, and school problems, while social workers are responsible for diagnosing difficulties in family relationships. After several weeks, the process culminates in a treatment plan agreed upon by project staff who have had contact with the youth. Although the plan is not formally written up, counselors maintain a case file describing the progress of each youth assigned to them.

Case Management

Once a service plan is developed, the counselor is responsible for case management and service delivery. Counselors are expected to meet with their clients at least once a week, but youths reportedly have some contact with the project three or four days a week. These may be scheduled counseling sessions at the project office or more informal contacts, such as attending sporting events together. The counselors must insure that appointments with specialists and outside service facilities are kept, and they must describe the effect of treatment on their clients in case file notes.

Youths are expected to participate in project activities for a minimum of sixty days and a maximum of 120 days (though the maximum can be extended). Despite the putative voluntary nature of the program, the probation department maintains control over the cases they refer in that a youth will be returned to probation if he or she refuses to participate in the diversion project program or fails to perform in an acceptable manner. The Harlem diversion project has agreed to notify the probation department whether a youth is acceptable for participation within five days of referral. Furthermore, a formal report of the youth's progress in the program is sent to probation within twenty days of the initial referral.

Service Options

The diversion project staff planned to offer counseling, tutoring, vocational, and recreational experiences to diverted youth and to refer clients to community agencies for any other services which were needed. Because the project had received so few referrals at the time the BRI interviews were conducted, it is difficult to say to what extent brokered services would be used. Therefore, the following descriptions refer to both planned and ongoing activities available to project youths.

In-house services. Every client in the program receives individual counseling on a regular basis. On the basis of interviews with project staff, it appeared that counselors serve a guidance or "big brother" function, while social workers provide more psychological counseling. Group counseling will be conducted by a counselor or an intern supervised by a counselor. It is expected that groups will be composed of four or five youths with similar problems.

Tutoring is provided by the educational specialist, a counselor with a background in teaching, and the student interns. Hourly sessions are scheduled two or three times a week and focus on general academic skills rather than the child's regular school homework. Recreational activities include table games available on a drop-in basis (a ping pong table and fencing lessons are planned) and outings, led by counselors, for basketball and swimming. Youths not attending school are allowed to visit the project during school hours to participate in counseling and tutoring, but are not permitted access to the recreational activities.

Outside services. According to the outreach specialist, referral arrangements have been made with the following agencies: (1) Logan Hospital, Sydenham Neighborhood Health Care Center, New York City Department of Health and Dental Care - medical services; (2) YMCA - recreation, remedial reading, and drug and alcoholism counseling; (3) City College Gym - recreation; (4) Washington Heights Mental Health Clinic - outpatient psychiatric services; (5) Louis Wise Services - home for unwed mothers providing both outpatient services and group home placement; and (6) Area 145 - Convent Avenue Baptist Church program offering diagnostic testing, academic remediation, and cultural activities.

Juvenile Justice System Structure and Function

In the borough of Manhattan, the juvenile justice system consists of three autonomous police departments, the New York City Police Department, New York Transit Authority Police Department and New York Housing Authority Police Department. and the various components of the Manhattan Family Court including the probation department, Legal Aid, Corporation Counsel, and the judiciary. The probation department is divided into four functional units: (1) intake, which is responsible for making the initial decision either to dismiss a case, refer for services or process to court; (2) investigation, which constructs a social history for juvenile offenders which is used by the judge in determining the disposition of the case; (3) supervision, which supervises youths placed on formal probation by the court; and (4) liaison. reports on the work of officers in the other three units during court proceedings.

The Legal Aid Society is a private, nonprofit agency that represents juveniles in the Family Court. Their staff members serve as public defenders for nearly all PINS (person in need of supervision) cases and the majority of juvenile delinquency cases. In addition to attorneys who argue cases in court, the organization's social services division employs social workers and counselors who refer youths to community agencies for services. The social service emphasis, which is relatively new to legal aid, serves the dual purpose of obtaining services for clients in need and helping their cases when they come before a judge at the dispositional hearing. If the youth is making progress in a social program. the judge is more likely to be lenient in disposing the case. About half of the cases in the juvenile services unit of legal aid are referred for placement in service programs. The Legal Aid attorneys' adversaries in Family Court proceedings are the Corporation

Counsels. These attorneys prosecute all juvenile cases except those involving designated felonies (i.e., most serious offenses such as murder, arson. first degree assault, and kidnapping) which are handled by the district attorney's office.

Client Flow through the Juvenile Justice System

Offenses committed in New York City are classified into three categories according to their seriousness: violations, misdemeanors, and felonies. The action taken by the apprehending police officer depends, in large part. on which kind of offense has occurred. Juveniles who are apprehended for alleged violations of law are dealt with in two ways. The officer can informally admonish and release the youth or he can initiate an informal juvenile record by preparing a juvenile report form (YD-1). If an officer in the field issues a juvenile report, the youth is released immediately. The juvenile report is forwarded to the Youth Aid Division of the New York City Police Department where officials either notify the youth's parents via letter or conduct an investigation and refer the youth to social service agencies.

If the offense is a misdemeanor, the officer has three choices: he can lecture and release the youth, he can prepare a juvenile report, or he can arrest the youth. If the offense is a felony or one of certain classes of more serious misdemeanors, called "photographable" misdemeanors, the officer must arrest the youth.

When a juvenile is arrested and taken into custody. he is brought to the nearest precinct station. There, the arresting officer notifies the child's parents, checks with the Central Warrants Unit for outstanding warrants, and prepares an arrest work sheet. When the parents arrive, the officer must read the Miranda warnings to the child in their presence, call Central Booking for

an arrest number. and finally, call the Family Court Calendar Control Office to obtain a date for the juvenile's initial court appearance. It is necessary for a parent to sign a recognizance agreement stating that the child will appear in court on the given date in order for police to release the child to parental custody. If parents are not present, the child is taken directly to Family Court or to a shelter if the court is closed.

At Family Court intake. a probation officer interviews the complainant, the juvenile, and the parents to determine if the case can be adjusted without further court action. The intake probation officer has considerable discretionary power. He may counsel and release the youth or dismiss the case outright. If the offense is not a designated felony and if the complainant agrees to the adjustment, the probation officer can decide to leave the case open for sixty days to six months. He may refer the youth to a social service agency outside the court or he may merely monitor the youth's behavior. If the youth does not become involved in any delinquent activity during that period, the case can be closed. However, if no adjustment is made or if the child is rearrested during the probationary period, the case must be sent on to the petition clerk of the family court for filing.

If the probation officer decides to file a petition, Legal Aid appoints an attorney for the case (or a private attorney is retained) and a hearing is held before a judge of the court. If the child pleads guilty, the judge orders a dispositional hearing to be held seven to fourteen days later; if a plea of not guilty is entered, the case is referred to trial. In the formal trial. another judge hears the case and renders a verdict. If he decides that the juvenile is not guilty, the case is closed; otherwise, the judge schedules a dispositional hearing seven to fourteen days later.

Before the dispositional hearing is held, the judge orders an investigation of the juvenile's background by a probation officer and uses this information in selecting one of the following actions: (a) place the youth on formal probation for a period of not more than two years; (b) place the youth in a residential facility; (c) set conditions for a one-year suspension of judgment (if the youth becomes involved in delinquent activities during that period. the case can be reopened); or (d) dismiss the case because of some overriding circumstance. Finally, if the youth is found guilty of a designated felony and is over 15 but not yet 16, the judge can commit him or her to a juvenile correctional facility for a period not exceeding three years.

Eligibility Criteria and Referral to the Diversion Project

According to interviews with project staff, the original target population for the project consisted of juvenile offenders between the ages of seven and fifteen, living between 110th and 165th streets. exclusive of designated felons (i.e. youths charged with serious felonies such as murder, rape, first degree assault, and kidnapping) and first offenders. Because of the slow rate of referrals to the program, however, these criteria have been relaxed. At the time of the interviews, the diversion project was accepting less serious offenders from the Legal Aid unit of the Family Court and youths who ordinarily would have been lectured and released from local police precinct stations, in addition to cases meeting the original criteria referred by intake probation officers and legal aid social workers.

The project staff's motivation for broadening the definition of eligibility emerges, in part, from the competition for referrals that exist among the twenty or so social programs with offices at the Manhattan Family Court. The project's eligibility criteria specify a group of clients whom

probation officers have not usually diverted. With the wide range of programs available to the officers, the Harlem project is in a very weak position for negotiating any significant changes in the court's policies about which cases will be diverted. Even though many of the cases referred to the project meet the eligibility criteria, virtually all of them would have been referred out of the juvenile justice system and sent to one of the twenty-odd social programs at the court even if the project did not exist. (It is important to note that the three New York City diversion projects funded by OJJDP's initiative do not compete for clients, since the John Jay project gets referrals exclusively through Transit Authority district stations and the Harlem and YES projects have target areas located at opposite ends of Manhattan.)

The procedure for securing social services for clients is similar for probation intake and Legal Aid, the diversion project's two main referral sources. The probation officer or Legal Aid social worker makes the decision to refer a case. The former bases the decision on the seriousness of the offense (designated felons cannot be referred), the youth's arrest record, and the complainant's agreement; the latter on how much the youth's participation will help his or her case in court and whether or not the youth appears to be in need of service. Selection of a particular program is based on the agency's reputation, the child's needs, and perhaps most importantly, the child's cultural background and the proximity of the program to the child's residence. None of the court personnel knew the official criteria for referral to the Harlem project and many did not know that there were criteria aside from rather obvious restrictions such as the exclusion of violent offenders and drug addicts. It is the responsibility of the counselor assigned

to the court to monitor the kinds of cases being referred to the project. When a probation officer or social worker selects the project as a resource, the choice is discussed with the youth (and with the family, in the case of probation referral) and the program is described in broad outline. Court personnel knew very little about the specifics of the project's activities and responsibilities. If the youth expresses interest, the person initiating the referral contacts the counselor who ultimately decides on the appropriateness of the case for referral to the Harlem project. As has been mentioned, the project has relaxed the eligibility criteria and accepted some PINS cases and first offenders.

Probation officers agreed that participation in social service programs is presented to the youth as an alternative to court, rather than as a requirement. Respondents also suggested, however, that varying amounts of pressure may be applied to a youth to encourage participation, depending on the seriousness of the crime. Clients are under the jurisdiction of the court, and probation officers will not hesitate to remind a youth of that fact if his offense is a serious one. Legal aid social workers, on the other hand, emphasized that participation is an important factor in obtaining a favorable disposition.

Although court personnel were unanimous in stating that guilt is not a prerequisite for referral and that court policy forbids the referral of youths who believe they are innocent, a few respondents gave the impression that youths who claimed innocence were encouraged to participate in a referral program, rather than go to court because the referral alternative was "easier." The juvenile justice system status of youths diverted to the project is either informal probation, for those cases referred at probation

intake, or case pending a dispositional hearing, for those referred by legal aid social workers. For the later, final status of the case is not determined until the hearing is held two to four weeks later. Court personnel agreed that youths who failed to participate would probably not be penalized in any way (although technically they remain under the jurisdiction of the court for sixty days).

When the project grant proposal was being formulated, staff members tried unsuccessfully to obtain referrals that meet the project's eligibility criteria directly from police precincts. Because police department policy forbids the diversion of arrested youths prior to an appearance at the Family Court, the diversion project reportedly had to settle for cases of a less serious nature. Referral at the police level is arranged differently from court referrals. Parents occasionally call the police to ask for assistance in dealing with their children. If a police officer feels that the Harlem project may be able to help, he will call the project director or deputy director and arrange an interview with the family and one of the counselors. After these youths are accepted into the program, they are treated the same as youths referred from other sources.

Juvenile Justice System Service Options

Youths placed on formal probation by the court are assigned to an officer in the service unit of the probation department. The minimum qualifications for a probation officer in the Manhattan Family Court are an M.S.W. or a B.A. with two years of relevant work experience.

Services provided by the probation department are minimal, consisting of psychological evaluation, referral to community social service agencies, and monitoring the youth's behavior during the probation period. The probation

department's mental health clinic services approximately two-thirds of the youths of formal probation by offering psychological diagnostic services; a smaller number receive on-going psychotherapy, both individually and in groups. Referral to agencies outside the probation department is used extensively. Nevertheless, one respondent indicated that many community agencies are reluctant to take probationers as clients, so placement is often difficult. In general, probation officers do not have regular contact with the youth assigned to them. Instead, they follow up on clients' progress by contacting referral agencies and meet with clients only when problems arise. Probation officers are required to report on the progress of their clients in bi-weekly meetings with probation supervisors. The probationary period usually lasts one year for PINS cases and two years for delinquency cases, though officers can recommend that supervision be terminated earlier if a child is making good progress.

Interagency Attitudes and Relations

Court personnel derived their information about the diversion project from briefings held to describe the project and its services. Although many of the intake probation officers, legal aid social workers, and police officers who were interviewed said that they knew little about the diversion project, a few indicated that the promise of community outreach practices and varied service options would be a welcome alternative to current referral resources. Some court personnel said that, based on the meetings with project staff, diversion project personnel seemed well-informed and responsive to the needs of the youths they would be serving. To a great extent the ignorance of the court staff was related to the short period of time a representative of the court had been stationed at the court (less than a month), but clearly the sheer

number of social programs competing for their attention at the Family Court was another factor.

Although court personnel were not familiar with the specifics of the diversion project, some were aware of the church's record of service to the Harlem community. Legal Aid, in particular, was pleased with the willingness of the project staff to come to court with reports on the progress of diverted youths. The diversion project staff was keenly aware of the need to build relationships with court personnel and to increase their visibility in a court crowded with referral resources. They hoped, however, that the counselors who visited the court could establish rapport and increase the number of referrals to the project.

Few Court personnel who were interviewed were familiar with the theory behind diversion programming, yet all of them acknowledged the necessity of diverting youths out of the understaffed and overcrowded juvenile justice system. They agreed that the services provided by the probation department were minimal because caseloads were enormous, and they welcomed the diversion project as an additional service resource. Some specific advantages of the Harlem project over traditional probation services were cited, such as better knowledge of youths' community and culture, greater individual attention and more in-depth casework, and greater ability to visit homes and do outreach work.

Feedback to referral sources consisted of immediate notification of acceptance to the project and bi-monthly progress and attendance reports. Probation officers admitted that feedback would rarely influence the handling of a case, though poor progress in the program might result in a conference with the youth or even placement in another social service program. Some

court personnel believed that the purpose of the diversion project is to "lighten the court's load of kids who shouldn't be there" and suggested that the project should continue to serve the less serious offenders.

APPENDIX B

IMPACT ASSESSMENT VARIABLES

I. Labeling Measures

NEGATIVE LABELING - PARENTS

I'd like to know how your parents would describe you. I'll read a list of words or phrases, and will then ask you to tell me how much you think your parents would agree with that description of you.

Your parents think that you . . .	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<u>Conforming</u>					
1. are well liked.	5	4	3	2	1
2. are a good citizen.	5	4	3	2	1
3. get along well with other people.	5	4	3	2	1
4. are likely to succeed.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Sick</u>					
1. need help emotionally.	5	4	3	2	1
2. are often upset.	5	4	3	2	1
3. have a messed-up head.	5	4	3	2	1
4. have a lot of personal problems.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Bad</u>					
1. are a bad kid.	5	4	3	2	1
2. break rules.	5	4	3	2	1
3. get into trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
4. do things that are against the law.	5	4	3	2	1

NEGATIVE LABELING - FRIENDS

I'd like to know how your friends would describe you. I'll read a list of words or phrases, and will then ask you to tell me how much you think your friends would agree with that description of you.

Your friends think that you . . .	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<u>Conforming</u>					
1. are well liked.	5	4	3	2	1
2. get along well with other people.	5	4	3	2	1
3. are likely to succeed.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Sick</u>					
1. need help emotionally.	5	4	3	2	1
2. are often upset.	5	4	3	2	1
3. have a messed-up head.	5	4	3	2	1
4. have a lot of personal problems.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Bad</u>					
1. are a bad kid.	5	4	3	2	1
2. break rules.	5	4	3	2	1
3. get into trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
4. do things that are against the law.	5	4	3	2	1

NEGATIVE LABELING - TEACHERS

I'd like to know how your teachers would describe you. I'll read a list of words or phrases and will then ask you to tell me how much you think your teachers would agree with that description of you.

Your teachers think that you . . .	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<u>Conforming</u>					
1. are well liked.	5	4	3	2	1
2. are a good citizen.	5	4	3	2	1
3. get along well with other people.	5	4	3	2	1
4. are likely to succeed.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Sick</u>					
1. need help emotionally.	5	4	3	2	1
2. are often upset.	5	4	3	2	1
3. have a messed-up head.	5	4	3	2	1
4. have a lot of personal problems.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Bad</u>					
1. are a bad kid.	5	4	3	2	1
2. break rules.	5	4	3	2	1
3. get into trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
4. do things that are against the law.	5	4	3	2	1

NEGATIVE LABELING - SELF

I'd like to know how you would describe yourself. I'll read a list of words or phrases, and will then ask you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with that description of you.

You think that you . . .	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<u>Conforming</u>					
1. are well liked.	5	4	3	2	1
2. get along well with other people.	5	4	3	2	1
3. are likely to succeed.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Sick</u>					
1. need help emotionally.	5	4	3	2	1
2. are often upset.	5	4	3	2	1
3. have a messed-up head.	5	4	3	2	1
4. have a lot of personal problems.	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Bad</u>					
1. are a bad kid.	5	4	3	2	1
2. break rules.	5	4	3	2	1
3. get into trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
4. do things that are against the law.	5	4	3	2	1

COUNTER LABELING
MOTHER, FATHER, TEACHERS, FRIENDS

1. If you were to get into trouble at school, how often would each of the following people defend you or stick up for you?

How often would:	Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Seldom	Never
a. Your mother (or mother figure)	5	4	3	2	1
b. Your father (or father figure)	5	4	3	2	1
c. Your teachers	5	4	3	2	1
d. Your close friends	5	4	3	2	1

2. If you were to get into trouble and the police brought you home and told your parents that you were a delinquent, how often would each of the following people tell you that you were still a good person?

How often would:

a. Your mother (or mother figure)	5	4	3	2	1
b. Your father (or father figure)	5	4	3	2	1
c. Your teachers	5	4	3	2	1
d. Your close friends	5	4	3	2	1

3. If someone in the neighborhood saw you doing things you should not have been doing and was telling everyone what a bad person you were, how often would each of the following people tell you they believed in you and still trusted you?

How often would:

a. Your mother (or mother figure)	5	4	3	2	1
b. Your father (or father figure)	5	4	3	2	1
c. Your teachers	5	4	3	2	1
d. Your close friends	5	4	3	2	1

4. If there were rumors of your bad behavior, how often would each of the following people try to get information from you before deciding whether or not to believe the rumors?

How often would:

a. Your mother (or mother figure)	5	4	3	2	1
b. Your father (or father figure)	5	4	3	2	1
c. Your teachers	5	4	3	2	1
d. Your close friends	5	4	3	2	1

II. Family Measures

PARENTAL REJECTION

What do you say about these statements? How often do they apply to you?

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Most of the Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
1. My parents would help me if I got into serious trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
2. My parents find fault (things wrong) with me even when I don't deserve it.	5	4	3	2	1
3. My parents really care about me.	5	4	3	2	1
4. My parents are dissatisfied (not pleased) with the things I do.	5	4	3	2	1
5. My parents blame me for all their problems.	5	4	3	2	1

PARENTAL REJECTION

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Most of the Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
1. I feel like an outsider with my family.	5	4	3	2	1
2. My family is willing to listen if I have a problem.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I am close to my family.	5	4	3	2	1
4. My family doesn't take much interest in my problems.	5	4	3	2	1

DISAPPROVAL OF DEVIANCE
FAMILY

I'm going to read a list of behaviors to you and then ask you how wrong others would think it was if you were to behave in these ways.

How wrong would your <u>parents</u> think it was if you . . .	<u>Very Wrong</u>	<u>Pretty Wrong</u>	<u>A Little Wrong</u>	<u>Not Really Wrong</u>	<u>Not Wrong At All</u>
1. cheated on school tests?	5	4	3	2	1
2. stole something worth less than \$5?	5	4	3	2	1
3. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD?	5	4	3	2	1
4. used marijuana?	5	4	3	2	1
5. stole something worth more than \$50?	5	4	3	2	1
6. hit or threatened to hit someone?	5	4	3	2	1
7. used alcohol (beer, wine or liquor)?	5	4	3	2	1
8. purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you?	5	4	3	2	1
9. broke into a vehicle or building to steal something?	5	4	3	2	1

IMPORTANCE OF GOALS & SUCCESS AT REACHING THEM
FAMILY

	How important is it to you?			How are you doing at this?		
	<u>Very Impor- tant</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not Im- portant at All</u>	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>O.K.</u>	<u>Not Well at All</u>
1. to have a family that does lots of things together?	5	4	3	2	1	
2. to have parents you can talk to about almost everything?	5	4	3	2	1	
3. to have parents who try to help you when you're unhappy about something?	5	4	3	2	1	
4. to have your parents think you do things well?	5	4	3	2	1	
5. to get along well with your parents?	5	4	3	2	1	

COMMITMENT TO PARENTS

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither</u> <u>Agree nor</u> <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
1. It is very important to me to be close to my parents.	5 5	4 4	3 3	2 2	1 1
2. In general I feel very committed to my parents.	5	4	3	2	1
3. My parents depend on me.	5	4	3	2	1
4. My parents mean a lot to me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Nothing is more important to me than having close personal ties with my parents.	5	4	3	2	1

PARENTAL DISORGANIZATION

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1. Are your (real) parents presently married to each other?	2	1
2. Have your parents ever been separated (i.e., decided not to live together because they couldn't get along)?	2	1
3. Have your parents ever been divorced?	2	1
4. Have you ever lived with a step-parent, foster parent, or other relative for more than a few days?	2	1
5. Has your father (father figure) been unemployed in the last 6 months?	2	1
6. Has your mother (mother figure) been unemployed in the last 6 months?	2	1
7. Has your family received any welfare help (money, food stamps, or other financial assistance) during the last 6 months?	2	1

III. School Measure

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL

1. If something happened and you had to drop out of school now, how would you feel?	(1) Very happy	(5) You would be terribly upset	
	(2) You wouldn't care		
	(3) You would be somewhat disappointed	Don't know	
	(4) You would be quite disappointed	Not applicable	
2. How important is it to you personally to get good grades.	(1) Very important	(5) Not important at all	
	(2) Pretty important		
	(3) Somewhat important	Don't know	
	(4) Not too important	Not applicable	
	<u>Very</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Not Important</u> <u>at All</u>
3. How important is it to you to have other students think of you as a good student?	5	3	1
4. How important is it to you to have teachers think of you as a good student?	5	3	1

ATTENUATION AT SCHOOL

	<u>Never</u>	<u>Once</u> <u>or</u> <u>Twice</u>	<u>Once or</u> <u>Twice a</u> <u>Month</u>	<u>Once a</u> <u>Week</u>	<u>More Than</u> <u>Once a</u> <u>Week</u>
How many times in the last six months have you:					
1. been truant (absent without permission) from school?	1	2	3	4	5
2. been suspended (not allowed to attend for a few days) from school?	1	2	3	4	5
3. cut classes at school?	1	2	3	4	5
4. been expelled (kicked out) from school?	1	2	3	4	5
5. dropped out of school for more than a few days?	1	2	3	4	5

INTEGRATION AT SCHOOL

How many times in the last six months have you:	<u>Never</u>	<u>Once or Twice</u>	<u>Once or Twice a Month</u>	<u>Once a Week</u>	<u>More Than Once a Week</u>
1. received awards or honors for your school work?	1	2	3	4	5
In the last six months how many:					
2. school athletic teams have you belonged to?	1	2	3	4	5
3. other school clubs or organizations have you belonged to?	1	2	3	4	5
4. school offices have you held?	1	2	3	4	5

STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree nor Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
1. Most of my teachers care a lot about me.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Many of my teachers pick on me.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I talk to my teachers about personal matters unrelated to school.	5	4	3	2	1
4. Many of my teachers seem to dislike me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. All that my teachers care about is whether or not I keep my mouth shut.	5	4	3	2	1
6. Most of my teachers try to help me do well.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Most of my teachers don't care what happens to me.	5	4	3	2	1
8. Some of my teachers try to embarrass students in front of their classmates	5	4	3	2	1
9. I like most of my teachers a lot.	5	4	3	2	1

CONTINUED

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- B-11 -

IMPORTANCE OF GOALS & SUCCESS AT REACHING THEM SCHOOL

	How important is it to you?			How are you doing at this?		
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important at All	Very Well	O.K.	Not Well at All
1. to have other students think of you as a good student?	5	3	1	5	3	1
2. to do well even in hard subjects?	5	3	1	5	3	1
3. to do your own school work without help from somebody?	5	3	1	5	3	1
4. to have teachers think of you as a good student?	5	3	1	5	3	1
5. to have a high grade point average?	5	3	1	5	3	1

SOCIAL ISOLATION - SCHOOL

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Teachers don't call on me in class, even when I raise my hand.	5	4	3	2	1
2. I'm not asked to take part in school activities as often as I'd like to be.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I don't feel as if I really belong at school.	5	4	3	2	1
4. I often feel like nobody at school cares about me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Even though there are lots of kids around, I often feel lonely.	5	4	3	2	1
6. Teachers don't ask me to work on special classroom projects.	5	4	3	2	1

- B-12 -

IV. Peer Measures

COMMITMENT TO PEERS

The next few questions concern how you feel about friends. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is very important for me to have close friends.	5	4	3	2	1
2. In general, I feel very committed to my friends.	5	4	3	2	1
3. My friends depend on me.	5	4	3	2	1
4. My friends mean a lot to me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Nothing could be more important to me than having close personal ties with my friends.	5	4	3	2	1

SOCIAL ISOLATION - PEERS

Here are some questions about your feelings and beliefs. I'd like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I don't fit in very well with my friends.	5	4	3	2	1
2. My friends don't take much interest in my problems.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I am close to my friends.	5	4	3	2	1
4. My friends are willing to listen if I have a problem.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Sometimes I am lonely when I am with my friends.	5	4	3	2	1

- B-13 -

DELINQUENCY OF PEERS

Think of the people you consider to be your close friends. During the last six months how many of them have:

	All of Them	Most of Them	Some of Them	Very Few of Them	None of Them
1. cheated on school tests?	5	4	3	2	1
2. purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to them?	5	4	3	2	1
3. used marijuana?	5	4	3	2	1
4. stolen something worth less than \$5?	5	4	3	2	1
5. hit or threatened to hit someone?	5	4	3	2	1
6. used alcohol (beer, wine, or liquor)?	5	4	3	2	1
7. Broken into a vehicle or building to steal something?	5	4	3	2	1
8. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD?	5	4	3	2	1
9. stolen something worth more than \$50?	5	4	3	2	1
10. suggested you do something that was against the law?	5	4	3	2	1

- B-14 -

NEGATIVE INFLUENCE OF PEERS

I will read you a number of statements and I'd like you to tell me how often the kids in your friendship group (the kids you hang around with) would feel that way.

	Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Seldom	Never
1. The kids in my group would think less of me if I were to get in trouble with the law.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Getting into trouble in my group is a way of gaining respect.	5	4	3	2	1
3. The members of my group feel that laws are good and should be obeyed.	5	4	3	2	1
4. The kids in my group get into trouble at home, in school, and in the community.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Kids that get into trouble a lot feel very uncomfortable in my group.	5	4	3	2	1
6. When I choose a group of friends, I choose kids who are not afraid to have a little fun even if it means breaking the law.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Kids who get into trouble with the law are "put down" in my group.	5	4	3	2	1
8. If you haven't gotten into some kind of trouble the kids in my group think you are "chicken" or something.	5	4	3	2	1

CONFORMITY OF PEERS

Think of the people you consider to be your close friends. During the last six months how many of them have:

	All of Them	Most of Them	Some of Them	Very Few of Them	None of Them
1. helped someone who was badly hurt?	5	4	3	2	1
2. donated money to charity?	5	4	3	2	1
3. tried to comfort someone who was really sad?	5	4	3	2	1
4. phoned for help when someone needed it?	5	4	3	2	1
5. found something valuable and returned it?	5	4	3	2	1
6. tried to cheer people up who were upset?	5	4	3	2	1
7. offered to help you with your jobs around the house?	5	4	3	2	1
8. visited someone who was sick?	5	4	3	2	1

IMPORTANCE OF PEER GOALS & SUCCESS AT REACHING PEER GOALS

	How important is it to you?			How are you doing at this?		
	Very Impor- tant	Somewhat Important	Not Im- portant at All	Very Well	O.K.	Not Well at All
1. to have lots of dates?	5	3	1	5	3	1
2. to do well even in hard subjects?	5	3	1	5	3	1
3. to have a special boyfriend/girlfriend?	5	3	1	5	3	1
4. to have friends ask to spend time and do things with you?	5	3	1	5	3	1

DISAPPROVAL OF DEVIANCE - PEERS

I'm going to read a list of behaviors to you and then ask you how wrong others would think it was if you were to behave in these ways. I'll repeat the list twice to learn how wrong your close friends would think it was if you did each thing.

	Very Wrong	Pretty Wrong	A Little Wrong	Not Really Wrong	Not Wrong At All
1. cheated on school tests?	5	4	3	2	1
2. stole something worth less than \$5?	5	4	3	2	1
3. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD?	5	4	3	2	1
4. used marijuana?	5	4	3	2	1
5. stole something worth more than \$50?	5	4	3	2	1
6. hit or threatened to hit someone?	5	4	3	2	1
7. used alcohol (beer, wine, or liquor)?	5	4	3	2	1
8. purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you?	5	4	3	2	1
9. broke into a vehicle or building to steal something?	5	4	3	2	1

V. Self Reported Delinquency Measures

SERIOUS DELINQUENCY

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
How many times in the last six months have you:					
<u>Felony Assault</u>					
1. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her	1	2	3	4	5
2. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will	1	2	3	4	5
3. been involved in gang fights	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Robbery</u>					
4. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other students	1	2	3	4	5
5. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
6. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or other things from other people (not students or teachers)	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Felony Theft</u>					
7. stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle	1	2	3	4	5
8. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than \$50	1	2	3	4	5
9. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around	1	2	3	4	5

MINOR DELINQUENCY

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
How many times in the last six months have you:					
<u>Minor Assault</u>					
1. hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
2. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents	1	2	3	4	5
3. hit (or threatened to hit) other students	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Minor Theft</u>					
4. knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)	1	2	3	4	5
5. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth \$5 or less	1	2	3	4	5
6. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food	1	2	3	4	5
7. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between \$5 and \$50	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Damaging Property</u>					
8. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members	1	2	3	4	5
9. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school	1	2	3	4	5
10. purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property)?	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
<u>Public Disorder</u>					
11. thrown objects (other than snowballs), such as rocks or bottles, at cars or people	1	2	3	4	5
12. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife	1	2	3	4	5
13. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)	1	2	3	4	5
14. been drunk in a public place	1	2	3	4	5
15. begged for money or things from strangers	1	2	3	4	5
16. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things	1	2	3	4	5

ALCOHOL & DRUG USE

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
<u>Hard Drugs</u>					
1. used hallucinogens	1	2	3	4	5
2. used amphetamines	1	2	3	4	5
3. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD	1	2	3	4	5
4. used barbiturates	1	2	3	4	5
5. used heroin	1	2	3	4	5
6. used cocaine	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Marijuana</u>					
7. used marijuana	1	2	3	4	5
8. sold marijuana or hashish	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Alcohol</u>					
9. used alcoholic beverages	1	2	3	4	5
10. bought or provided liquor for a minor	1	2	3	4	5

DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
How many times in the last six months have you:					
1. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her	1	2	3	4	5
2. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will	1	2	3	4	5
3. been involved in gang fights	1	2	3	4	5
4. hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
5. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents	1	2	3	4	5
6. hit (or threatened to hit) other students	1	2	3	4	5
7. stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle	1	2	3	4	5
8. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than \$50	1	2	3	4	5
9. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around	1	2	3	4	5
10. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other students	1	2	3	4	5
11. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
12. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or other things from other people (not students or teachers)	1	2	3	4	5
13. knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)	1	2	3	4	5
14. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth \$5 or less	1	2	3	4	5
15. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
16. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between \$5 and \$50	1	2	3	4	5
17. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members	1	2	3	4	5
18. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school	1	2	3	4	5
19. purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property)	1	2	3	4	5
20. thrown objects (other than snowballs), such as rocks or bottles, at cars or people	1	2	3	4	5
21. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife	1	2	3	4	5
22. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)	1	2	3	4	5
23. been drunk in a public place	1	2	3	4	5
24. begged for money or things from strangers	1	2	3	4	5
25. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things	1	2	3	4	5

DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
How many times in the last six months have you:					
1. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her	1	2	3	4	5
2. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will	1	2	3	4	5
3. been involved in gang fights	1	2	3	4	5
4. hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
5. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents	1	2	3	4	5
6. hit (or threatened to hit) other students	1	2	3	4	5
7. stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle	1	2	3	4	5
8. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than \$50	1	2	3	4	5
9. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around	1	2	3	4	5
10. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other students	1	2	3	4	5
11. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school	1	2	3	4	5
12. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or other things from other people (not students or teachers)	1	2	3	4	5
13. knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)	1	2	3	4	5
14. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth \$5 or less	1	2	3	4	5
15. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Once or Twice	Once or Twice a Month	Once a Week	More Than Once a Week
16. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between \$5 and \$50	1	2	3	4	5
17. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members	1	2	3	4	5
18. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school	1	2	3	4	5
19. purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property)?	1	2	3	4	5
20. thrown objects (other than snowballs), such as rocks or bottles, at cars or people	1	2	3	4	5
21. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife	1	2	3	4	5
22. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)	1	2	3	4	5
23. been drunk in a public place	1	2	3	4	5
24. begged for money or things from strangers	1	2	3	4	5
25. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things	1	2	3	4	5
26. used hallucinogens	1	2	3	4	5
27. used amphetamines	1	2	3	4	5
28. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, or LSD	1	2	3	4	5
29. used barbiturates	1	2	3	4	5
30. used heroin	1	2	3	4	5
31. used cocaine	1	2	3	4	5
32. used marijuana	1	2	3	4	5
33. sold marijuana or hashish	1	2	3	4	5
34. used alcoholic beverages	1	2	3	4	5
35. bought or provided liquor for a minor	1	2	3	4	5

VI. ADDITIONAL IMPACT

NORMLESSNESS

Here are some questions about your feelings and beliefs. I'd like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strong Disagr
1. It is sometimes necessary to lie to teachers to stay out of trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
2. At school it is sometimes necessary to play dirty in order to win.	5	4	3	2	1
3. You can make it in school without having to cheat on exams/tests.	5	4	3	2	1
4. It is important to do your own work at school even if it means some kids won't like you.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Making a good impression is more important than telling the truth to teachers.	5	4	3	2	1
6. It is important to be honest with your parents, even if they become upset or you get punished.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Making a good impression is more important than telling the truth to parents.	5	4	3	2	1
8. Sometimes it's necessary to lie to your parents in order to keep their trust.	5	4	3	2	1
9. It may be necessary to break some of your parents' rules in order to keep some of your friends.	5	4	3	2	1
10. It is not worth breaking rules or laws just to keep your friends.	5	4	3	2	1
11. Making a good impression is more important than telling the truth to friends.	5	4	3	2	1
12. It's okay to lie if it keeps your friends out of trouble.	5	4	3	2	1
13. In order to gain the respect of your friends, it's sometimes necessary to beat up on other kids.	5	4	3	2	1
14. You have to be willing to break some rules if you want to be popular with your friends.	5	4	3	2	1

NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEVIANCE - RESPONDENT

For this next set of questions, please tell me how wrong you think each of the following things is for you or someone your age.

	Very Wrong	Pretty Wrong	A Little Wrong	Not Really Wrong	Not Wrong At All
How wrong is it for someone your age to . . .					
1. cheat on school tests?	5	4	3	2	1
2. purposely damage or destroy property that does not belong to him or her?	5	4	3	2	1
3. use marijuana?	5	4	3	2	1
4. steal something worth less than \$5?	5	4	3	2	1
5. hit or threaten to hit someone without any reason?	5	4	3	2	1
6. use alcohol?	5	4	3	2	1
7. break into a vehicle or building to steal something?	5	4	3	2	1
8. sell hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine and LSD?	5	4	3	2	1
9. steal something worth more than \$50?	5	4	3	2	1

BLIGHTED NEIGHBORHOOD

. . . tell me whether you think each is a problem in your neighborhood, whether it's a Big Problem, Somewhat of a Problem, or Not a Problem at all.

	Big Problem	Somewhat of a Problem	Not a Problem
1. Buildings and personal belongings broken and torn up	3	2	1
2. Winos and junkies	3	2	1
3. Abandoned houses	3	2	1
4. Burglaries and thefts	3	2	1
5. Run down and poorly kept buildings and yards	3	2	1
6. Assaults and muggings	3	2	1

FIGHTING RISK

- How often in the last six months have you thought you might have to fight because other kids were bothering (threatening) you in your neighborhood?

(1) Never	(4) Once a week
(2) Once or twice	(5) More than once a week
(3) Once or twice a month	
- How often in the last six months have you thought you might have to fight because other students were bothering (threatening) you at school?

(1) Never	(4) Once a week
(2) Once or twice	(5) More than once a week
(3) Once or twice a month	

RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT

- How important is religion in your life? (READ RESPONSES)

(5) Very important	(2) Not too important
(4) Pretty important	(1) Not important at all
(3) Somewhat important	
- How often do you attend church, synagogue, or other religious services? (READ RESPONSES)

(5) Several times a week	(2) Several times a year
(4) About once a week	(1) Never
(3) Once or twice a month	

SOCIAL ISOLATION - COMMUNITY GROUPS

Think about the group (such as service club, religious youth group, recreation group, hobby club, or athletic team) in which you are most active. Tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements about that group.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I don't fit in very well with other people in that group.	5	4	3	2	1
2. I am close to people in that group.	5	4	3	2	1
3. Sometimes I feel lonely when I am with that group.	5	4	3	2	1
4. Other people in that group don't take much interest in me.	5	4	3	2	1
5. It often seems like no one in that group cares about me.	5	4	3	2	1

PARENTAL HARMONY & CONFLICT

Next are some questions about your parents. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I feel that my parents like each other a lot.	5	4	3	2	1
2. My parents like living together	5	4	3	2	1
3. My parents get along very well with each other.	5	4	3	2	1
4. When my parents don't agree, they manage to work out their differences in a pleasant manner.	5	4	3	2	1
5. It seems like my parents are always fighting.	5	4	3	2	1
6. My parents don't care what happens to each other.	5	4	3	2	1

The next questions about your parents (parent figures) are about how often certain things happen at your house.

	Almost Every Day	About Once a Week	About Once a Month	Once or Twice a Year	Never
7. How often do your parents have disagreements over money matters?	5	4	3	2	1
8. How often do your parents have arguments about who does what work at your house?	5	4	3	2	1
9. How often do your parents get really angry with each other?	5	4	3	2	1
10. How often do your parents have really serious fights?	5	4	3	2	1
11. When your parents fight, how often does it get physical?	5	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX C

SERVICE DATA COLLECTION FORMAT - LONG

- C-1 -

1. Birthdate _____
2. Sex _____ (1) Male _____ (2) Female
3. Ethnicity: _____
 _____ (1) White _____ (3) Hispanic _____ (5) Asian _____ (7) Other
 _____ (2) Black _____ (4) American Indian _____ (6) Puerto Rican
4. Date agency received referral _____ (mo/yr)
5. Referral Source: _____
 _____ (1) Police _____ (5) Judge or Referee
 _____ (2) Court Intake _____ (6) Schools
 _____ (3) Prosecutor _____ (7) Other service agency or provider
 _____ (4) Supervising Prob. Officer _____ (8) Self or family
6. Was client enrolled? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
7. Did client receive services beyond intake? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
8. Justice status at time of referral: _____
 _____ (1)diverted without further jeopardy _____ (3)case continued after hearing
 _____ (2)case held open prior to hearing _____ (4)diverted while client on formal probation
9. Were goals for service or a service plan recorded? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
10. Rating of client adjustment at intake: Use these categories, writing appropriate number in each blank:
 (a) Home _____ (5) Very Good (2) Poor
 (b) School _____ (4) Good (1) Very Poor
 (c) Work _____ (3) Fair
 (d) Peers _____
11. Date terminated _____ (mo/yr)
12. Reason terminated: _____
 _____ (1) Service completed (4) Moved or died
 _____ (2) Declined to participate (includes never contacted) (5) Rearrest
 _____ (3) Failure to cooperate (includes unable to locate) (6) Inappropriate Referral
13. Was client returned to justice system for further processing? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
14. Most important service as rated by service provider (use numbers in parentheses on back page to code) _____
15. Was treatment plan completed? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
16. Does client need more services? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
17. Probability of further trouble with justice system: _____
 (5) 80-100% (2) 20-39%
 (4) 60-79% (1) Less than 20%
 (3) 40-59%

18. Probability of further delinquent activity: _____ (use categories from #17)

19. Rating of client adjustment at time of termination: (use categories from #10)
(a) Home _____ (b) School _____ (c) Work _____ (d) Peers _____

20. Using the entries noted in the record of services, count the number of contacts for each month and enter that number in the appropriate box below to indicate the exact number of service contacts each month.

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC
1977			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1978	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
1979	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)

21. Date of first services _____ (mo/yr)

22. Date of last services _____ (mo/yr)

23. Total number of months services were provided (count entries in question 20) _____

24. Longest gap between services _____ (mos)

Using the entire notes in the record of services, indicate the number of hours and contacts for each service received. If an activity is regularly scheduled, calculate total hours and number of contacts and enter at appropriate service line. Count only actual contacts between clients and service providers, except telephone contacts with the family. If "Beneficiality to Youth" has been indicated, place that in the rating column using these categories: (1) Very beneficial (2) Somewhat beneficial (3) Not very beneficial (4) Not beneficial at all.

	TOTAL SERVICE HOURS	TOTAL NUMBER CONTACTS	RATING OF SERVICES
Diagnostic Services (1)			
Individual Counseling (2)			
Family Counseling (3)			
Group Counseling (4)			
Employment/Career Counseling (5)			
Job Placement (6) (Count only time actually placed in job)			
Job Training (20)			
Tutoring (7)			
Education Placement (8) (Count only if placed)			
Residential Placement (9)	days	N/A	
Athletics/Games (10)			
Arts/Crafts (11)			
Cultural Enrichment (12)			
Big Brothers/Sisters, etc. (13)			
Youth Advocacy (14) (15)			
Camping/Wilderness (16)			
Medical Services			
Drop-in Activity (18)			
Volunteer Placement (19)			
Emergency Assistance (21) (food, clothing money, etc.)			
Telephone contacts-client (22)			
Telephone contacts-family (23)			
Other (24)			

25. Was there a referral to any other agency for services? _____ (1) No _____ (2) Yes

26. Is there any indication that the referral resulted in any services? _____ (1) No _____ (2) Yes

27. If yes to #26, were services recorded in the chart above? _____ (1) No _____ (2) Yes

APPENDIX D

SERVICE DATA COLLECTION FORMAT - SHORT

- D-1 -

1. Birthdate _____
2. Sex _____ (1) Male _____ (2) Female
3. Ethnicity:
_____ (1) White _____ (3) Hispanic _____ (5) Asian _____ (7) Other
_____ (2) Black _____ (4) American Indian _____ (6) Puerto Rican
4. Date agency received referral _____ (mo/yr)
5. Referral Source:
_____ (1) Police _____ (5) Judge or Referee
_____ (2) Court Intake _____ (6) Schools
_____ (3) Prosecutor _____ (7) Other service agency or provider
_____ (4) Supervising Prob. Officer _____ (8) Self or family
6. Was client enrolled? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
7. Did client receive services beyond intake? _____ (1) no _____ (2) yes
8. Date terminated _____ (mo/yr)
9. Reason terminated:
_____ (1) Service completed _____ (4) Moved or died
_____ (2) Declined to participate (includes never contacted) _____ (5) Rearrest
_____ (3) Failure to cooperate (includes unable to locate) _____ (6) Inappropriate Referral
10. Date of first services _____ (mo/yr)
11. Date of last services _____ (mo/yr)

APPENDIX E

EVALUATION OF THE DERIVED TYPOLOGY

Appendix E

EVALUATION OF THE DERIVED TYPOLOGY

The importance of evaluating a numerically constructed typology has often been noted (Huizinga, 1978a; Everitt, 1974; Ling, 1971; and Hartigan, 1975). In this appendix, a brief evaluation of the distinctness and homogeneity of the clusters described in the main body of this report and the identifiability of the cluster solution is offered.

In Table E-1, the cluster centroids, intercentroid distances, and the cosine of the angle between cluster centroids are given. A central density parameter measuring the proportion of points in each cluster that are gathered near its centroid and the deviation scores are provided in Table E-2. Table E-3 lists the variable, cluster, and variable by cluster homogeneities as defined by Tryon and Bailey (1970).

As Tables E-1 and E-2 indicate, the clusters are not well separated and do not meet the criteria for a ideal clustering; i.e., objects in any one cluster are more similar than objects in different clusters. (Of course, such a clustering is almost never found in practice.) The central density parameters indicate that the points are not tightly grouped around the cluster centroids. The homogeneity values contained in Table E-3 also indicate that none of the clusters are homogeneous and that no one variable is particularly good in segregating or defining the clusters.

Thus, the clusters do not represent clearly isolated types. Rather, they represent a partition of the multivariate data set into regions that are not

Table E-1
Centroids, Distances, Cosines of the Original Clustering

CLUSTER CENTROIDS Clusters	Variables								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	-1.413	.989	1.523	1.167	1.169	.915	1.103	1.493	-1.381
2	-.509	.544	.348	.352	.813	.359	.252	.248	-.464
3	-.465	.129	.269	.385	-.551	-.979	.094	.241	-.121
4	.237	.081	-.350	-.338	-.236	-.115	-.775	-.080	.823
5	.743	-.204	-.051	.115	-.065	.722	.552	-.732	.025
6	.807	-1.241	-1.100	-.983	-.792	-.503	-.720	-.799	.364

INTER-CLUSTER CENTROID DISTANCES						
1	0.000	2.572	3.813	4.825	4.296	6.236
2	2.572	0.000	1.994	2.430	2.129	3.853
3	3.813	1.994	0.000	2.006	2.460	3.083
4	4.825	2.430	2.006	0.000	2.050	2.053
5	4.296	2.129	2.460	2.050	0.000	2.674
6	6.236	3.853	3.083	2.053	2.674	0.000

COSINE OF THE ANGLE BETWEEN CLUSTER CENTROIDS						
1	1.000	.910	.146	-.760	-.213	-.941
2	.910	1.000	-.067	-.643	-.161	-.897
3	.146	-.067	1.000	-.162	-.605	-.171
4	-.760	-.643	-.162	1.000	-.154	.604
5	-.213	-.161	-.605	-.154	1.000	.190
6	-.941	-.897	-.171	.604	.190	1.000

Table E-2
Central Density Measures and Deviation Scores of Original Clustering

MAXIMUM RADIUS AND CENTRAL DENSITY PROPORTION FOR ONE-HALF THE MAXIMUM RADIUS						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Maximum Radius	2.9209	2.9963	2.9560	2.9821	2.9304	2.9754
Central Density	.0465	.2316	.1622	.1236	.1148	.0769

CLUSTER SQUARED DEVIATION SCORE AND NUMBER OF ELEMENTS

1	198.918	43
2	369.247	95
3	279.598	74
4	380.185	89
5	279.158	61
6	321.395	65

Average Squared Deviation = 4.28

Table E-3
Cluster and Variable Homogeneities of Original Clustering

VARIABLE X CLUSTER HOMOGENEITIES						
Variable	Cluster					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	.270	.687	.628	.548	.438	.567
2	.671	.565	.358	.604	.357	.329
3	.250	.723	.661	.658	.521	.384
4	.790	.607	.625	.538	.366	.380
5	.584	.400	.548	.397	.479	.513
6	.373	.510	.622	.456	.680	.360
7	.530	.464	.581	.475	.533	.477
8	.504	.403	.535	.558	.494	.567
9	.290	.714	.613	.445	.480	.401

VARIABLE HOMOGENEITIES									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	.552	.482	.571	.545	.472	.506	.505	.506	.517

CLUSTER HOMOGENEITIES						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	.474	.564	.574	.520	.483	.442

- E-5 -

particularly separated. A plot of the six clusters in the space spanned by the first two discriminant functions (not shown) shows the lack of cluster separation.

In evaluating a clustering produced by the K-means algorithm, it is particularly important to examine the identifiability or uniqueness of the clustering. Conceivably, there may be many solutions or different clusterings all attaining essentially the same minimum sum of squares. For this purpose, a different initial starting partition was employed to see if the same cluster solution would be obtained. While this does not "prove" the uniqueness of the solution, it often provides a good check on its identifiability.

Table E-4 contains the centroids, inter-centroid distances, inter-centroid cosines, and deviation scores of the second or new clustering. Table E-5 provides a crosstabulation of the two clusterings. Examination of these tables indicates that although the two clusterings group cases quite differently, they attain similar average squared deviations. Thus, it must be concluded that the clustering solution is not identifiable.

The relationship of the reported (original) clustering and the dense points of the density seeking method used to initiate the original K-means algorithm is presented in Table E-6. Only the dense points, located by the density algorithm, are used so that the cluster sizes are smaller than in the original clustering. Although not perfect, there is a reasonable degree of correspondence between the two clusterings. That the initial K-means and the mode algorithm produced similar clusterings provides the justification for our selection of the original clustering in the analysis. Although the selection was somewhat arbitrary, given the lack of identifiability for the original solution, the similarity of the two solutions provides some cross-validation of methods.

Table E-4
Centroids, Distances, and Cosines of Second Clustering

CLUSTER CENTROIDS									
Clusters	Variables								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	.049	-.849	-.167	-.891	-.524	-.453	-.094	-.154	-.235
2	.604	-.129	.040	.088	.584	.702	-.113	-.696	.144
3	-.906	.725	1.078	.982	-1.111	.747	.957	.977	-1.005
4	-.631	.617	.262	.400	.044	-.188	.239	.375	-.349
5	.171	.259	-.272	.021	-.615	-.529	-.552	-.014	.867
6	1.056	-1.056	-1.339	-.845	-.754	-.444	-.976	-.858	.832

INTER-CLUSTER CENTROID DISTANCES						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0.000	2.206	3.932	2.291	1.905	2.237
2	2.206	0.000	3.230	2.196	2.133	2.861
3	3.932	3.230	0.000	2.101	3.925	5.619
4	2.291	2.196	2.101	0.000	1.990	3.853
5	1.905	2.133	3.925	1.990	0.000	2.312
6	2.237	2.861	5.619	3.853	2.312	0.000

COSINE OF THE ANGLE BETWEEN CLUSTER CENTROIDS						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1.000	-.255	-.620	-.511	.091	.611
2	-.255	1.000	-.072	-.558	-.265	.194
3	-.620	-.072	1.000	.764	-.696	-.970
4	-.511	-.558	.764	1.000	-.233	-.854
5	.091	-.265	-.696	-.233	1.000	.574
6	.611	.194	-.970	-.854	.574	1.000

CLUSTER SQUARED DEVIATION SCORE	
1	225.518
2	334.849
3	305.301
4	383.834
5	283.466
6	269.748

Average Squared Deviation = 4.26

Table E-5
Crosstabulation of Original and Second Clusterings

Original Clustering	Second Clustering					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0	0	37	0	0	0
2	1	16	24	53	0	0
3	18	0	0	39	16	0
4	11	14	0	5	50	7
5	9	41	1	3	4	0
6	18	1	0	0	0	45

Table E-6
Crosstabulation of K means and Mode Clusters

Mode Clusters	K means Clusters					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	33	9	0	1	0	0
2	0	12	0	0	0	0
3	0	3	1	4	0	0
4	0	2	3	24	4	0
5	0	0	0	0	4	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	9