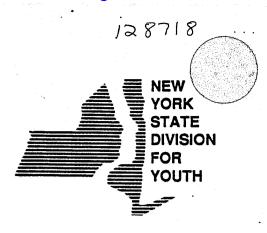
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Report to New York State Legislative Committees on Finance, Ways and Means, Codes, Crime and Correction, and Correction

The Need for and Effectiveness of New Intervention Strategies for the Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth and Success / Recidivism Rates

State of New York
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## Part I

The Need for and Effectiveness of New Intervention Strategies for the Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth

### INTRODUCTION

The Division for Youth has compiled this report as part of its response to a legislative directive appearing in the <u>FY 1989-90</u> Report of the Fiscal Committees on the Executive Budget, which mandates that it:

"... report to the Legislative Committees on Finance, Ways and Means, Codes, Crime and Corrections and Corrections by September 1, 1989, on the overall success/recidivism rate of its residents after release from DFY supervision and shall submit comprehensive recommendations for improvement" (p.72-3).

While Part II, "Recidivism Among Youth Released 1983-1985," discusses the recidivist behavior of youth released from the Division's custody during those years, this part focuses on the success the Division has achieved with youth during the recent past.

The Division for Youth has a dual mission: the prevention of juvenile delinquency in the State's communities, and the habilitation of adjudicated juvenile delinquents placed in its residential care programs by the courts. Section I of this part of the report discusses the social forces present in contemporary American society which contribute to delinquency: the transition of the American family, the shortcomings of our educational system, the effects of technological evolution on the economy and the failure of Corporate America to forge a new social contract with its workers. Collectively, these have spawned a segment of society that lacks any hope of achieving even a small part of the American dream, and which has become alienated from the American value system.

Section II presents a review of the various correction intervention strategies in an attempt to answer the question "can intervention strategies succeed in the rehabilitation of the adjudicated juvenile delinquent?" It outlines the types of approaches best suited to producing the greatest impact on such factors as recidivism reduction, and educational, institutional and community adjustment.

Section III details programs currently implemented within the Division's residential care system which have demonstrated success when subjected to evaluation/ monitoring. This section focuses on the Division's educational, vocational and sex offender programs.

Section IV presents a brief outline of the types of programs which the Division either intends to or is currently in process

of expanding, intensifying or initiating as part of its delinquency treatment regimen. This part of the report concludes with a short discussion of the broad directions in which it expects to move, and the types of programs it will seek to foster and encourage in the State's communities and the larger society. A more detailed and specific interim report in the progress and development of new specialized services will be forthcoming on October 1, 1989, and a final report with an evaluation component will be submitted on February 1, 1990, pursuant to Chapter 50 of the Laws of 1989.

### I. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: THE ETIOLOGY OF A SOCIAL DISEASE

Once a youth is apprehended by law enforcement officials, referred to the Family Court and remanded to the Division for Youth, the community already has failed. Subsequent habilitation programs, no matter how artfully applied, have significantly less potential for success than if they had been utilized before the youth's unlawful behavior occurred. By the time the youth arrives at the Division, he/she is only a half-step away from Department of Corrections incarceration. If the Division fails in its rehabilitative efforts, the youth it releases into the community is inexorably headed for the State's prisons.

Because the State's justice system holds juveniles who violate its laws responsible for their infractions and places sanctions on them in accordance with their misconduct, society thereby obligates itself to supply youth with the means — the educational, social and cultural background, the personal and economic security — to comprehend and accept responsibility. In the final analysis, the Division believes prevention is the most efficacious and likely formula for successfully dealing with crime; only prevention can ameliorate the hazards in life which steer people toward criminal behavior. If society fails to provide each of its citizens a personal stake in the good life that it can provide — and in the legal system that is a prerequisite to such a life — the Division doubts even a modernized system of criminal justice would be able to generate substantial impact on the current crime rate.

It is undoubtedly with young people that habilitative and preventive efforts are most needed and hold the greatest poten-Because they are the State's future, and their conduct will affect the future of society, it is critical that young people be guarded from criminality. The young are still malleable, still developing, and vulnerable to the influence of socializing institutions that will define their social reality: family, church, school, industry and the economy. The causes of delinquency, to the extent they are understood by social scientists, appear to be those most difficult to eliminate by the application of social action programs. The weakening of the family as an agent of social control, the prolongation of education and its concomittant effect of lengthening the span of childhood and parental dependence, our increasingly impersonal, technological, corporate and bureaucratic economy, accompanied by a radical shift in morality (especially in regard to sexual standards and drug use) are all phenomena that contribute to delinquency and with which society and government have yet to find a means of coping. Simply put, society is failing its young people. Families are failing. Schools are

failing. Social institutions normally counted on to guide and govern persons in their individual and mutual existence are failing to operate effectively. Instead of producing young men and women who have a stake in the future of their nation, state, city or town, socializing institutions are turning out a disenfranchised sub-class characterized by high rates of crime, violence and financial dependence. Such failures are self-inflicted wounds to the fabric of society, and result in billions of dollars spent annually to apprehend, adjudicate and treat criminals, forfeited lives, personal injuries, and loss and destruction of property. But more significantly and sadly, the failures also mean the loss of individual initiative, productivity, or basis for pride and sense of participation in society.

To reduce delinquency, if not eradicate it, the family must catechize strength against the harshness of the larger society. The school must make contact with and reclaim those who have no families. Job skills must be developed and employment opportunities must be made available. The Division for Youth understands that before it can hope to reduce crime among the State's young people, a commitment must be made to mount and maintain a comprehensive assault against the circumstances of life that breed it.

By the time a youth is placed in Division custody, he has already demonstrated overt defiance of the law. The "typical" DFY-placed delinquent generally is from the inner city, from a neighborhood that is low on the community socio-economic scale, perhaps 13 to 15 years of age (younger than his counterpart of a decade ago), frequently a black or Hispanic child, one of numerous children -- perhaps fathered by several different males -- who lives with his mother in what sociologists call a female-centered home. He may well have dropped out of school (or does not regularly attend), is probably unemployed and has little to offer a prospective employer. This is the profile of the youth whom the Division is committed to help restructure his life. The following discussion centers on the factors which contribute to this picture.

### A. The Family

Because other influences do not enter a child's life until after the first few formative years have passed, the family is the most basic institution in American society for developing a child's emotional, intellectual, moral, spiritual, physical and social potential. It provides the structure within which the child is trained to restrain his/her desires and to internalize rules which specify the time, place and circumstances in which personal needs may be fulfilled in socially appropriate ways. Such early

training, or lack of it, has been linked to the presence or absence of delinquent behavior in later years.

If one parent (especially the father of a son) is absent, this absence tends to increase the child's vulnerability to delinquent influences. The percentage of single-parent families, however, is increasing in New York State. 1970, 82 percent of all children in the State lived with two parents; in 1980, only 74 percent of the State's youth resided in two-parent families. -For black and Hispanic children, the likelihood of residing with both parents is much lower than for white children. Less than half of all black children and only slightly more than half of all Hispanic children lived with two parents in 1980, while 85 percent of all white children resided in a two-parent The percentage of all children living with a household. single parent rose from 15 percent in 1970 to 23 percent in 1980. In 1970, 40 percent of all black children lived with a single parent, compared to 30 percent of all Hispanic children and 9 percent of all white children. 1980 these percentages had increased to 50 percent for blacks, 42 percent for Hispanics and 13 percent for whites. These percentages are even higher for children living in New York City families. According to projections developed by the Council on Children and Families, it is estimated that single-parent households in the year 2000 will have increased by 45 percent from 1980; that is, 29 percent of the families having children will be singleparent families by the beginning of the next century. The overwhelming majority of all children in New York State living with single parents live with their mothers (91 percent in 1980). Thus it is immediately apparent that the number of youth at risk of delinquency due to the breakdown of the traditional family will increase during the next decade.

### B. <u>Economic Status and Poverty</u>

As previously mentioned, research by social scientists has revealed that the delinquent is disproportionately a child of the inner city, usually from the lower socio-economic class. During the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, the economic status of children has declined. The median income for households with children declined 3 percent during the 1970s, and was lower in New York City than it was in the rest of the State (by approximately \$7-,550.00). In 1979, the median household income of single mothers in the State was less than one-third that of married couples with children and less than one-half that of single fathers. The median incomes of white families in New York State (\$22,565) was substantially higher than median incomes for black families (\$12,305) or Hispanic

families (\$10,260). This overall trend also is apparent when one considers the median income of white single mothers (\$10,056) compared to black single mothers (\$7,005) and Hispanic single mothers (\$4,937).

Between 1979 and 1985, the median incomes of households with children declined another 6 percent. Approximately one of every four children in New York State was living in poverty, an increase of approximately 5 percent from 1979. By 1979, 19 percent of all New York State children were living in poverty, and by 1985 the children's poverty rate had increased to 25 percent. The majority of the children (63 percent) living in poverty resided in New York City in 1979.

Race and ethnicity are highly correlated with the likelihood of living in poverty. While 10 percent of all white children living in New York State dwell in poverty, 38 percent of all black children and 45 percent of all Hispanic children exist in similar circumstances. Youth living under these conditions are more likely to become involved with juvenile justice authorities than other youths, if for no other reason than there are more police patrolling poor neighborhoods, and police are more likely to apprehend poor juveniles than their more affluent counterparts (Bullock and Reilly, 1980; Gruber, 1980). Again, it is apparent that the number of children at risk of delinquency due to impoverishment has increased during the 1970s and has continued to increase during the 1980s.

### C. Schools and Education

Unlike the family, the school represents a public tool for training young people. Because it is a public institution, it is more susceptible to change through the development of new policies and additional resources. It is the primary public institution for fostering the growth of a basic allegiance by young people to the value system and goals of society.

Recent research has demonstrated that delinquency can be attributed in part to the school-child relationship and to problems which the schools themselves create or complicate. The school may merely be too passive to fulfill its obligation as one of the last social institutions with a chance to save the child from forces within himself and his community that are propelling him toward delinquency. Considerable evidence also exists which suggests that some schools may indirectly affect delinquency by employing methods that predispose certain types of students, such as the educationally handicapped, or the learning disabled, to fail. Mismanagement by the school can significantly

decrease a child's desire and motivation to learn, magnify his difficulty in complying with authority and create or increase hostility and alienation. It can undermine the child's self-confidence, deter his initiative, and induce the child to define himself as a failure.

Nearly one-third of all New York State students who enter high school never graduate. The State Education Department estimates that the annual dropout rates are three times,higher in New York City than for the rest of And finally, for the high school class of the State. 1985, estimated dropout rates for Hispanics (60 percent), blacks (54 percent) and Native Americans (36 percent) were at least twice that of whites (21 percent). Regular nonattendance at school, or leaving school before completion, adversely affects the odds against a child; there is mounting evidence that delinquency and failure in school are highly correlated. School failure, coupled with unemployability (discussed below), places a youth at risk of becoming delinquent.

### D. Employment, Employability and Unemployment

Obtaining and keeping a decent job is becoming much more difficult for those without preparation. The technological revolution of the past several decades has produced effects in the labor market which could be likened to those produced by the industrial revolution during the 19th century. Increasing mechanization of the agricultural segment of the economy has had, as one effect, a negative impact on the number of agricultural jobs. As more and more farm tasks were performed by machines, it took fewer people to accomplish such tasks, displacing farm workers from their traditional role in the labor As technological advances are applied to industry, the effect is identical; the need for fewer and better trained workers required by technology is inexorably producing not only more goods at a much faster rate, it is also decreasing the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs available in the labor market. actions of multi-national corporations and cartels are added to this equation (i.e., transferring heretofore good-paying domestic production jobs to developing and third-world countries), undereducated youngsters are eligible only for unskilled jobs.

Young people today face a variety of challenges when setting out to find a job. They must know how and where to look, decide what to look for, and make themselves acceptable. If the young person is a school dropout or has a history of delinquency, those challenges are significantly more serious. An all-too-familiar syndrome --

minority group member, school dropout, unemployed -- is often the result.

Historically, the trade guilds and unions acted as a source of employment and training for young people who, as apprentices, received a low wage and job training at the same time. But such trade unions are now all but moribund, and the modern monolithic unions that replaced them have entered a period of retrenchment, focusing less on member recruitment than on preserving the status and well-being of those who are already union members.

Reducing unemployment and underemployment is necessary to permit every adult to earn a decent living (with its concomitant defense against criminality), and to end the poverty and disadvantage that unemployment and its accompanying financial dependence pass on from generation to generation.

During 1980, 45 percent of the youth in New York State aged 16 through 19 were participating in the labor force, either employed or actively seeking employment, higher than the level of labor force participation of teenagers during 1970 (41 percent). By 1985, only 42 percent of the youth aged 16 through 19 were actively participating in the labor force. Forty-six percent of the State's white youth aged 16 through 19, and 27 percent of the State's black youth were labor force participants in 1985.

Of those youth participating in the labor force during 1985, 15 percent of the white youth and 42 percent of the black youth were unemployed. Such youth have, according to social science research findings, a higher risk of becoming delinquent than youth who are employed.

### E. Summary

The preceding sections have discussed some of the current social forces which predispose youth to delinquency. While there are those who would reply that such a position denies the personal responsibility of a youth for his/her delinquent acts, science increasingly stresses the impossibility of studying an organism separately from the environment in which it operates; in this instance, studying man separately from the society in which he lives.

Solutions to the problems previously outlined demand planned social change, something that is outside of the Division's charter and certainly beyond its limited resources to accomplish. However, the Division is committed to addressing these problems through delinquency prevention efforts in local communities, and through

habilitation efforts with youth committed to its residential care.

Socio-economic and technological evolution in our nation have created a disenfranchised underclass, a segment of society characterized by broken families, by youth who lack hope and internal discipline and who are alienated from the value system of mainstream America. Members of this social underclass have no hope of escape from the inner city ghetto, imprisoned there by the new economics of the job market and the old coin of racial and ethnic prejudice. It is a class peopled by victims who become victimizers.

The Division for Youth is not interested in building a prison industry for children, employing hundreds to cage thousands of desperate children and young adults, many of whom were victims who became predators in their efforts to survive. The cost of incarceration is not only fiscally prohibitive, but in the current world economy in which the people of a nation are its most precious natural resource, we cannot afford to imprison large proportions of our racial and ethnic minorities. A new social contract must be written, to which both government and Corporate America must be signatory; our position in the world economy offers no alternative. If significant proportions of our nation's human resources continue to be squandered through incarceration, we will no longer remain a world power.

Traditional world conflicts between governments have been virtually eliminated. The stakes are simply too high to risk world war. Yet the United States continues to divert in excess of \$300 billion annually to the nation's defense budget while its urban, sub-urban and extra-urban society dissolves into chaos and disorder. There is no place to hide; drugs and violent crime have become the cancer of American society. It is time for the Federal government to shift a significant portion of the defense budget monies into a search for successful correction and prevention interventions until our democratic society can regain its balance.

The following section of this report examines the possibility of successful intervention strategies for the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents based upon a review of recent literature evaluating various alternative intervention strategies.

### II. CAN INTERVENTION STRATEGIES SUCCEED?

Beyond whatever rate of recidivism a juvenile justice agency reports looms the question, "Can any rehabilitative or treatment approach reduce the rate of recidivism in a juvenile population?" In short, has any treatment approach to juvenile delinquency proven itself effective in reducing the rate of recidivism? The past two decades have witnessed a somewhat heated debate between the proponents of rehabilitative effectiveness, who suggest that rehabilitation is effective using certain treatments in certain settings with certain juvenile offenders (Glaser, 1974; Palmer, 1974, 1975, 1978, 1983; Romig, 1978; Martinson, 1979; Murray and Cox, 1979; Gendreau and Ross, 1979; Ross and Gendreau, 1980; Greenwood and Zimring, 1985), and the opponents of rehabilitative effectiveness who conclude that rehabilitation interventions are, on the whole, ineffective. This extreme position that "nothing works" relies heavily on the findings of Bailey (1966), Robinson and Smith (1971), Lipton, Martinson and Wilks (1975), Greenberg (1977), Wright and Dixon (1977), Sechrest, White and Brown (1979) and others. The claim that "nothing works" centers on the question of whether interventions reduce recidivism, and this position is summarized by Martinson's (1974) statement that "with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism."

### A. Garrett's Meta-Analysis

A recent review of the literature which reports the effectiveness of juvenile correctional treatment has been conducted by Garrett (1985), using a technique termed meta-analysis to calculate a statistic (effect size) that allegedly summarizes the individual statistics of each intervention into an overall measure of effectiveness. Garrett insists that "the major finding of this quantitative integration of primary research results is that, yes, treatment of adjudicated delinquents in residential settings does work." Her study demonstrated a positive change among treated juvenile delinquents, who performed at the 59th percentile relative to the comparison youths.

Garrett reviewed 111 evaluative studies of four categories of treatment approaches: (1) psychodynamic; (2) behavioral; (3) life skills; and (4) a category composed of 13 other miscellaneous approaches. Of the 34 studies that used recidivism as a dependent measure, she found that "the treated subjects recidivated somewhat less than did the untreated." She also found that the treatment

programs were substantially successful by other outcome criteria.

### 1. Recidivism

Programs which utilized a life skills approach (programs designed primarily to enhance skills thought to be related to successful functioning in everyday life, e.g., drug/alcohol, academic, vocational and outdoor experience) were reported as being the most effective at reducing recidivism. Closer examination of the programs using the life skills approach reveals that the Outward Bound programs appear to be the most effective. Comparison of programs using the psychodynamic and behavioral approaches suggests that those using the behavioral approaches (contingencymanagement, cognitive-behavioral, guided group interaction, positive peer culture and milieu) were more successful in reducing recidivism than those using the psychodynamic approaches (individual, group and family counseling or therapy). Of the behavioral approaches, cognitive-behavioral and contingencymanagement programs were the most successful.

### 2. Institutional Behavior

Not surprisingly, Garrett found that the psychodynamic and behavioral approaches to treatment were considerably more successful in improving the institutional behavior of youth than they were at reducing recidivism. Those programs using the behavioral approaches, particularly the contingency-management programs, produced substantial improvement. Programs using the psychodynamic approaches were not as effective as those using behavioral approaches.

### 3. Psychological Adjustment

All treatment approaches exerted an effect on measures of psychological adjustment, again with the behavioral approaches demonstrating the most success. The psychodynamic approaches to program were about as successful as the the life skills treatments in producing positive psychological adjustment. Within the group of behavioral programs, contingency-management was a more effective treatment to enhance psychological adjustment than were programs using cognitive-behavioral treatments. Guided group interaction also had a substantial program effect. Among the psychodynamic approaches, group treatment was somewhat more successful than interventions on the individual level.

### 4. Community Adjustment

Only the psychodynamic category had a sufficient number of studies that measured community adjustment to draw any scientific conclusions, and these interventions did result in better community adjustment for the treated than for the comparison youth. Programs whose primary modality was group counseling proved most effective here. There is some indication that behavioral approaches (contingency-management) and life skills approaches (drug/alcohol) will also be effective when enough programs of these types are evaluated.

### 5. Academic Adjustment

Measures of academic improvement were consistently positively related to all program approaches. Programs employing the behavioral treatments demonstrated treated youths performing at the 88th percentile relative to the comparison group, and the three cognitive behavioral studies showed the highest level of improvement to the 96th percentile. Among the psychodynamic approaches, group counseling had the greatest effect on academic improvement; life skills programs designed specifically to improve academic performance also were successful.

#### 6. Vocational Adjustment

Finally, the overall number of studies which assessed the effects of treatment on vocational adjustment showed no cumulative effect; however, due to the small size of the data base, one would hesitate to draw firm conclusions.

### B. The Lab/Whitehead Study

In a more recent analysis of juvenile correctional treatment, Lab and Whitehead (1988) reviewed the evidence on the effectiveness of correctional interventions presented in 55 research reports completed between 1975 and 1984, using the more conventional ballot-box or voting method. The researchers gathered as many evaluations of intervention efforts that met certain criteria for inclusion and then added up the findings of success, failure, and no difference. All studies used recidivism as the outcome measure.

Relying on the original authors' assessments of success, 40 of the 85 comparisons showed that the experimental (or treated) groups of youth had lower recidivism rates than the control (or untreated) groups, 34 showed no difference in recidivism between treated and untreated groups of youth, and 11 showed a higher rate of recidivism for the youth exposed to the intervention. Looking at comparisons in studies where the authors computed tests of statistical significance, 15 were in favor of the experimental group, 28 showed no difference in recidivism between experimental and control groups, and 5 demonstrated a higher rate of recidivism in the experimental (treated) group than in the control (untreated) group.

The 55 studies reviewed were placed in one of five different categories. The first set consisted of diversion programs that completely ended any system processing and sent the youth home or to a nonsystem diversion program (e.g., family counseling, Big Brother program, etc.). The second set was composed of diversion programs operating as part of the formal juvenile justice system. The third set consisted of community interventions, such as probation and parole, while the fourth group was composed of institutional/residential type interventions. Unique programs such as Outward Bound and Scared Straight were grouped in the fifth category.

Based on the authors' evaluations, one category of programs, system diversion, had more positive outcomes than other outcomes. System diversion studies showed lower recidivism for the experimental group than findings of nodifference between the groups or higher recidivism for the experimental group than for the control group. As many negative or no difference results were found in nonsystem diversion programs as findings of positive impact on recidivism. The other three categories of studies had more findings of no difference and/or higher recidivism for the experimental group.

Forty-eight of the 85 comparisons reported tests of statistical significance. Of these, 20 demonstrated a difference between control and experimental groups, while 28 of the statistical tests failed to reach significance, indicating no effect of experimental intervention. Fifteen of the 20 tests demonstrated that the experimental group had a significantly lower rate of recidivism than the control group, while five tests revealed that the experimental group had a significantly higher rate of recidivism than those youth not exposed to the rehabilitative program. System diversion fared best in these statistical comparisons; all six

significant comparisons showed a positive impact of experimental treatment. Nonsystem diversion was successful in six out of eight comparisons, while the remaining three treatment categories reflected few studies reporting statistically significant differences in results. Lab and Whitehead conclude that "where authors reported tests of significance, only 15 comparisons were in favor of the experimental group, whereas 33 showed no impact or a negative impact. Based on these statistics, it is hard to reaffirm rehabilitation."

### C. Summary

Thus, on one side of the coin we find the impact of programmatic intervention on the rate of recidivism among juveniles as reported in much of the professional literature is positive, but limited. On the flip side of the coin, the professional literature demonstrates positive effects of rehabilitative programs in the areas of institutional adjustment, psychological adjustment, community Indeed, a recent adjustment and academic improvement. study conducted by the Bureau of Program Analysis of the Division for Youth demonstrated that, on average, youth in the Division's residential program were making five times the amount of academic progress when compared with their progress prior to admission to a DFY residential program. Faced with such evidence, and the evidence supplied by a small number of scientifically conducted and controlled studies which do report a decrease in recidivism among juveniles, there is no scientific basis for adopting the position of "nothing works" when speaking of reducing Rather, the assertion that "nothing works" recidivism. should be restated to say that "no one type of program' works for all types of youth." The challenge facing juvenile rehabilitation experts is threefold: differentiate delinquent youth on the basis of a set of salient characteristics such that drivers of delinquent behavior are identified for each youth; (2) to design programs which are sufficiently focused to enable the treatment to ameliorate the drivers of deviant behavior; and (3) matching youth to appropriate programs.

The Division for Youth has recognized this challenge and is moving to answer it through the design and implementation of its Client Classification and Movement System. Each youth is screened at intake to determine his or her unique constellation of "needs" or characteristics which may act as drivers of delinquent behavior. On the basis of these need characteristics, the Division is establishing programs designed to address them, that is, to ameliorate the drivers which would cause further recidivism. Essentially, we are seeking to determine what the causes of delinquency

are on a youth-specific basis, and to design innovative programs to treat those causes within a realistic timeframe and at a reasonable cost. The success of this effort in reducing recidivism is possible because (1) the Division is defining, refining and implementing a set of diagnostic instruments which will accurately assess those needs or drivers of delinquent and recidivistic behavior; and (2) the Division is designing and implementing a variety of programs which use a variety of approaches to address a youngster's needs (assuming availability of funding).

The Client Classification and Movement System is a new system. The Division must have time to gain experience with and evaluate it, to ensure that, on the macro-level, it places youth in facilities which are able to properly control their behavior. On the micro-level, we must ensure that the system is capable of correctly assessing the individual needs of each youngster.

Data recently compiled by the Bureau of Program Analysis from the screening process of the Client Classification and Movement System gathered during June show that 56 percent of all youth admitted to DFY need substance abuse services, 37 percent need mental health services, 30 percent have special education needs which the Division is statutorally required to meet, 10 percent need sex-offender treatment, 9 percent require on-site medical personnel, 6 percent require access to medical specialists for other than pregnancy services, 4 percent need English as a Second Language educational services, 1 percent require mental retardation services and 1 percent require OB/GYN and pregnancy services. The Division clearly recognizes that while the drivers producing delinquent and/or recidivistic behavior may be identical for a group of youngsters, the delivery mechanisms of a program may need to be different to reach different types of youth. New York State must meet this challenge because it cannot afford to do other-Failure to rehabilitate these young people will necessitate an even more dramatic increase in the growth of prisons than has taken place during our State's recent history, or is about to take place, at a price we simply But failure to meet this challenge will cannot afford. cost us even more in terms of the State's future and the heritage of our society.

The following section of this report examines Division programs which have been evaluated and which have demonstrated measures of success.

### III. SUCCESSFUL DFY INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Division for Youth facility directors and habilitation practitioners have often emphasized that effective popoulation management is a prerequisite for effective treatment. Youth admitted to Division programs require a structured environment to guide their lives during the rehabilitative process. While not all youth require the same degree of structure, the Division's facility level system provides varying degrees of structure to which each youth may be matched, and has allowed the Division to achieve an outstanding record of population control and management. The Division has experienced no counterpart to the riots which have plagued prisons in the adult correctional system. Successful population management and control, exemplified in such facilities as MacCormick and Lansing, enable the Division to deliver effective treatment services to youth.

### A. <u>Educational Achievement of Youth in DFY Residential</u> <u>Programs</u>

### 1. 1980-81: Residential Education Program

In a study conducted during 1980-81 on Division clients, educational pre-test data demonstrated that youth admitted to DFY residential programs were not only below average in achievement level, but that large numbers of Division clients were seriously deficient in reading and math skills. Reading achievement data from the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT) and the Woodcock Word Identification Test found 41.8 percent of clients in either "Defective" or "Inferior" reading categories, that is, among the lowest 9 percent of readers their own age. Scores from the WRAT arithmetic test indicated that 67 percent of clients were likewise among the bottom 9 percent of youth in the "Defective" or "Inferior" achievement levels.

Pre-post analyses showed that, while 41.8 percent of the DFY clients were diagnosed at "Inferior" or "Defective" reading levels, upon release to the community, only 30.8 percent remained in these levels at post-test. Overall, 36 percent of the program clients had increased their reading achievement by at least one reading category, with 28.2 percent of the "Defective" readers, 48.7 percent of "Inferior" readers, and 45.5 percent of the "Low Average" readers experiencing such gains. While 67 percent of the pre-tests diagnosed clients at the "Inferior" or "Defective" math levels, only 45.3 percent performed at these levels at release

from the DFY residential program. Again, 47.7 percent of DFY clients had increased their math achievement by at least one math category, with 77.2 percent of the "Defective," 44.4 percent of the "Inferior," and 45.3 percent of the "Low Average" math scores experiencing such gains. Although these positive changes are encouraging, the majority of clients should still be considered in need of continuing reading and math remediation.

### 2. 1989: Residential Education Study

A more recent examination of educational data analyzed 647 youth who were both pre- and post-tested at the same facility during 1984, 1985 or 1986. Rather than comparing DFY-placed youth to the general population, this sought to depict reading and math achievement relative to each youth's own performance prior to DFY placement. The statistic developed for this purpose was called the "achievement rate ratio." It is simply the ratio of achievement rate during DFY placement relative to a youth's achievement rate during all of his/her school years prior to being admitted to DFY.

For example, a 15.6 year old youth with a pre-test grade equivalent score of 6.2 has made progress in reading at the rate of .6 grades of school for every year he/she should have been in school [6.2/(15.6-5) ]=.58. If this youth stays with DFY for 10 months and obtains a post-test score of 7.8, he/she has made 1.6 (7.8 - 6.2) grades of progress in .8 (10/12) years for a rate of 1.9 grades of school for every year in DFY education programs. The ratio of a youth's rate of achievement in DFY (1.9 in this example) to his/her rate prior to DFY (.6) is the achievement rate ratio, which is 3.3 in this example and can be interpreted as signifying that this youth acquired skills at more than three times the rate during his/her DFY stay than during his/her school years prior to placement with the Division.

The achievement ratio for youth whose pre- and post-tests were administered at the same facility was 5.2 in reading and in math, 5.9. Therefore, youth in Division education programs acquire reading and math skills over five times faster than they did prior to being placed with DFY.

### B. Vocational Programs and Achievement

### 1. 1980-81 Residential Vocation Program

A second part of the 1980-81 study of educational achievement of DFY clients reported on gains made by DFY program clients in the areas of work knowledge, work-seeking skills, work-relevant attitudes, vocational interests and occupational aspirations.

The job knowledge and job-seeking skills test is premised on the theory that national decisions about the amount and type of education and training to pursue are best made by youth who have knowledge of a broad spectrum of jobs, their characteristics and their requirements. This test measures a vouth's familiarity The job-seeking skills test deals with in these areas. ways of looking for jobs, including, for example, questions requiring the interpretation of newspaper want ads and portions of job application forms. Proficiency in this area can be fundamental to a suc-Youths administered one 30-item cessful job search. Job Knowledge Test averaged a score of 21.1. well below an established minimum competency standard of 26-30 points, and is typically lower than non-DFY youth in various employment development and training programs. Youth administered the Job Seeking Skills. Test averaged a score of 10.7, also well below an established minimum competency standard of 15-17 points, and again lower than scores obtained by other disadvantaged youth. Pre-post analyses indicated that DFY program clients experienced a positive and statistically significant gain of 2.08 points in Job Seeking Skills Test scores between pre-test and post-test.

The study also evaluated the appropriateness of DFY client work-relevant attitudes prior to DFY experience and post-release, as measured by the Walther's Work Relevant Attitudes Inventory. This instrument provides an overall measurement of youths' views about jobs, the importance of working, appropriate ways of behaving in job settings and general feelings about one's capabilities for succeeding in a work situation. Division clients obtained a mean total WRAI score of 45.8 points at pre-test, compared to a mean score of 49.4 obtained by a disadvantaged CETA-qualified, largely minority, high school student sample who participated in a Youth Career Development Demonstration project. Pre-post analyses showed that DFY clients had demonstrated a considerable and statistically significant gain of 5.49 points on the WRAI scale after program completion.

Follow-up status interviews were conducted with the program participants' Youth Service Team workers, and indicated that youth who have participated in the Division's facility-based employment programs were more likely to have worked during early periods of aftercare than non-program facility residents. The study's analyses estimated that clients have a 24 percent greater probability of working during the first three months following release, and a 21.4 percent greater probability of working during the second three-month period following release from facility.

### 2. Job Development Program

The Division for Youth's Job Development Program is a specialized initiative designed to assist transition from DFY facility placement to the community's economic mainstream. It is based on the principle that DFY youth require a variety of resources and services to aid their reintegration to the community. The Job Development Program's competency development system focuses on the skills, knowledge and attitudes employers have identified as necessary to achieve program goals, providing youngsters with: (1) job development and placement services; (2) assessment (to determine individual academic and vocational competencies); (3) job readiness instruction; (4) vocational counseling; and (5) support services (to increase access to employment, eliminate needs which may preclude employment, and help clients improve their ability to cope independently).

The Job Development Program's effectiveness is evaluated using a system which collects information at each program site on forms submitted monthly to the Division. These forms record all employment services and outcomes achieved by program participants.

During its three-year period of operation, the program experienced a 64 percent success rate; that is, positive outcomes were achieved by 64 percent of the programs participants. During its last nine months of operation (4/88-12/88), positive outcomes were achieved by 74 percent of the participants, a percentage substantially exceeding state and national employment and training standards established for similar target populations. The Division's experience with the Job Development Program continues to reinforce the concept that community-based organizations, in partnership with DFY, can be successful in addressing the employment and training needs of youth returning from Division residential placement.

### C. Highland Residential Center Sex Offender Unit

The Highland Sex Offender Unit began operation during 1984. Since then, it has identified, assessed and treated more than 70 adolescent sex offenders. The continual assessment of a youth's familial, psycho-genic, psycho-social, cognitive developmental and physical characteristics which may be contributing to his overall functioning frequently guides the selection of treatment strategies. Although the program has never been formally evaluated, the continual self-review and evaluation by program staff has demonstrated an 80 percent success rate. With properly equipped community-based residences able to provide a linkage with compatible community-based treatment services, it is reasonable to expect this rate to improve further.

### D. Survey of Discharged Youth

The Division's Bureau of Program Analysis currently is conducting a survey of a sample of youth discharged from Division care during 1983, 1984 and 1985. The sample, composed of approximately 2,600 youth who had an uninterrupted residential stay with the Division of at least six months, will determine the current educational and vocational statuses of the youth, and collect some basic demographic information, such as marital status. While response to the survey may not be representative, the results will allow the Division to gain some knowledge about youth released from its care and the success they have achieved during their post-release period. The survey results should be ready for release in late October.

### E. Summary

In summary, the Division has demonstrated that certain types of programs have been successful in rehabilitating certain kinds of youngsters. Plans call for carrying this history of success into the future, and the following section of this report discusses some areas in which the Division's program design and implementation process is proceeding.

### IV. FUTURE INTERVENTION STRATEGIES AT DFY

### A. Program Length of Stay

The Division is committed to designing new and innovative programmatic interventions for youth in the community or committed to its residential treatment, and also has intensified its efforts to redesign and modify many of its more traditional correctional intervention strategies. achieve this, the Division recognizes the need to provide each youngster in residence with a length of stay in facility of sufficient duration to allow any treatment intervention to be effective. Simply stated, the effectiveness of any rehabilitative program is directly related to how long a youngster is exposed to it. It is unreasonable to expect that six to nine months of treatment will reverse the 13 to 15 years of negative social experiences characteristic of most juvenile delinquents placed with the Division. Results from a survey of five model drug rehabilitation programs emphasizes this point. Not one of the models examined has a typical length of stay in program of less than a year.

Admissions to the Division's residential programs during the first half of 1989 have increased 20.4 percent over that of the first half of 1988. When any system with a finite number of beds (such as DFY) experiences this kind of increase, the only systemic response available is to decrease length of stay in program; that is, to shorten what is already too brief an exposure to rehabilitative programming. Predictably, therefore, the Division is seeing a decrease in its length of stay. Traditionally, about 11-12 percent of the juvenile delinquents admitted to Division care are released in less than six months; this figure has increased to 15 percent during the first half of About 42 percent of all juvenile delinquents are traditionally released between six and twelve months; this figure has increased to 47.8 percent. Thus, increasing numbers of youth are being released from program earlier.

Since 1978 the Division's capacity has increased by approximately 13 percent. In contrast, the New York State Department of Corrections has increased its capacity during the same time period by 138 percent. The Division believes that the time has come to increase capacity to provide adjudicated youngsters a longer, more meaningful and effective exposure to program. The result should be a decrease in recidivism and a slowing of the rapid growth in the State's prison system.

As a short-term solution to this problem, the Division has increased its capacity during FY 1989-90 by 54 beds, and is seeking approval during FY 1990-91 to further expand capacity by 142 beds at minimal capital construction costs. This planned expansion will be operational on September 1, 1990, achieved through minor rehabilitation of cottages at two sites (Tryon and Highland) and the addition of modular units at two other sites (MacCormick and Oatka).

Over the longer run, what the Division for Youth needs to solve this problem is not necessarily a large increase in fiscal resources. Indeed, the per diem cost of care is already too high: \$269 for secure services, \$208 for limited secure services, \$160 for non-community based services, \$223 for Youth Development Center services, and \$191 and \$133 for Special Residential Home services and Urban Home services, respectively. Rather, what is needed are more structured, formalized programs that can be implemented in a more stabilized and efficient milieu, in a larger and more modern model facility. Such a facility, housing 204 youth, would allow the aggregation of a sufficient number of program professionals -- psychologists, counselors and others -- to create the critical mass needed to deliver effective rehabilitative programs. Additional beds, coupled with a longer length of stay, would not only increase the effectiveness of programming but would lower the cost per unit of service. In other words, the delivery of program services to youth housed in a 204-bed model facility would enhance program delivery and results while bringing operating costs down to a more reasonable level.

To accomplish this end, the Division will seek appropriations for the construction of such a model 204-bed facility at a site to be determined, and is planning a major rehabilitation of the Highland facility, adding a total of 108 beds to create a second 204-bed facility. Both facilities would become operational during 1992.

Therefore, as the Division develops and modifies specific intervention strategies, one overall modification will be to seek longer lengths of stay for youth in residence. A second overall strategy will be to develop a more structured and resourced community care experience for youth released from DFY residential programs and those at high risk of delinquency in the community.

### B. Community Care and Prevention

The Division also realizes that, while it can demonstrate its delivery of educational, vocational and rehabilitative programs have achieved success within the structured setting of its residential facilities, it is quite another matter to ensure that these successes are sustained when a youth is returned to his/her home community. One reason programmatic success within the structured setting fails to carry over into community life or prevent recidivism is that the communities to which youth are returned lack adequate resources to support the youth while he/she learns to exercise newly acquired life and behavioral/ psychological skills.

The Division understands what must be accomplished in the community to decrease the risk of juvenile delinquency for the State's youth. Because it understands those factors associated with the etiology of delinquency, mentioned in the first section of the this report, it also knows the kinds of supportive and rehabilitative programs which must be established in the community to successfully transition youth from residential rehabilitative programs back to the community, and to prevent the occurrence of delinquency. Unfortunately, the agency's charter and fiscal resources are insufficient to allow control of families, churches, schools, unions, industry practices, the medical system, and other social institutions which must be mobilized to accomplish this task.

However, through the Special Delinquency Prevention Program, the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Program and the local youth bureaus, the Division intends to emphasize the establishment of multi-service community centers, similar to the Abraham Lincoln Centre in Chicago, directed by Othello Ellis. This program serves a neighborhood of 200,000 persons, most of whom reside in public housing and subsist on incomes below the poverty level. This multi-service agency's focus is strengthening the family and community by operating programs for youth, preschool through teenage years, as well as for adults. Services designed and provided by the center range from structured recreation to counseling, from food service programs for children to health and family planning services, and from mental retardation services to after-school care.

A second community program in Chicago, operated by Father George Clemmons, uses a parochial school as its center. The school is operated after hours and through the summer months, providing youth in the community with tutorial and structured recreational opportunities. It is unique, however, in that it charges a tuition to the youth's family for his/her participation in the program, under the assumption that what one gets for free is generally regarded as worthless. It also establishes a formal contract with the youth's parent(s), establishes linkages to the family, and emphasizes the importance of good role models for the

youth. The approach is clearly family-centered, and is designed not only to provide tutorial and structured recreational services to youth, but at strengthening families and providing youth with a larger stake in his/her participation in society.

Encouraging the establishment of programs of this type offers the best chance to accomplish the Division's mission of primary and secondary delinquency prevention and support its efforts in tertiary delinquency prevention. Wherever possible, the Division intends to form partnerships with federal, state and local government agencies and private corporations, to seek additional resources to accomplish its goals.

### C. Chemical Dependency Programs

Within its residential settings, one of the initiatives the Division is pursuing is the development and expansion of its chemical dependency treatment programs. Plans call for the development of specialized substance abuse treatment services at six residential facilities. Discrete treatment units will be established at several of these facilities for the most seriously disabled chemically dependent youth. Other services of a less intensive nature will be administered to youth who will remain in the general population within a facility. These youth, who have serious problems with chemical substances (including alcohol) but who have not reached the degree of impairment which would require them to be treated in a closed setting, will participate in specialized groups in which education and counseling related to their dependency problems will be emphasized.

The plan also calls for the training of all Community Care professionals in the area of chemical dependency (approximately 80 staff), thus enabling staff in the community to recognize the need for, and provide referrals to, services for youth returning to the community from Division facilities to their families, again emphasizing the philosophy that resources in the community will enhance the success achieved by youth in residential treatment.

### D. <u>Sex Offender Programs</u>

Another plan calls for expanding the Division's sex offender program. Currently, the Division has the living unit program at Highland Residential Center mentioned earlier; this is scheduled to be replicated in the form of focused intervention groups at MacCormick, Harlem Valley and Goshen, using an eight-stage implementation and training model. Successful completion of the training modules will bring sex offender treatment programs to these additional facilities and greatly enhance the Division's chances for success at rehabilitating a difficult to treat clientele. The training program for these facilities, as currently proposed, consists of a one-day orientation for administrative staff and the facility psychologist, a single-day orientation session for Sex Offender Unit staff, a five-day intensive training session conducted at each facility, and a second five-day, on-the-job training session at each facility. Already in the planning stages is a second phase, which would similarly equip Brookwood and the Tryon Boys facilities with programs during FY1990-91.

### E. Aggression Replacement Training

Aggression Replacement Training (ART) is a set of three coordinated interventions composed of: (1) structured learning (procedures designed to enhance prosocial skill levels); (2) anger-control training (a chain of responses which allows a youth to reduce, control and manage aggression); and (3) moral education (a set of learning situations designed to enhance the likelihood that chronically acting-out youth will opt to use the previously skills). The Division plans to train described staff at four to six additional facilities by the end of the current fiscal year. As proposed, the plan calls for a formal evaluation of this relatively new rehabilitative technology to assess its impact on delinquent behavior. Compared to the sex offender and chemical dependency programs, ART is a less specialized, more generic approach designed to reach youngsters who may be experiencing, in addition to problems which must be treated with more specialized approaches of the previously discussed programs, more general problems. underlying their delinquent behavior.

### F. Home-Based Intensive Supervision

This program is being established to reduce the cost of care for youth in residence with the Division, and to provide a more structured community environment for those who have made exceptional progress in program while in residential care and who are judged on the basis of such progress to be ready for early termination of their residential experience. Youth selected for transfer to the HBIS program will have been placed with the Division and resided in a non-community based facility for no less than seven months on their current placement, be eligible for transfer to a community-based facility, and have at least eight months remaining on their DFY placement. Additionally, no youth having a history of severe chemical dependency will be accepted by the HBIS program, nor will

any youth who has experienced major difficulties in adjusting to residential care.

The degree to which the goals of the HBIS program are achieved will be evaluated in three areas: aggression replacement skill acquisition while participating in HBIS, successful program completion, and post-termination ex-While aggression replacement skill acquisition will be assessed through structured questionnaires, successful program completion is defined as ratings of caretaker satisfaction with youth behavior, the absence of major behavioral events and program retention as well as to readmission to residential care. Post-program measures of success are assessed by completion of the youth's Community Care experience without the occurrence of major behavioral events, revocation or readjudication. These measures will be used to compare HBIS participants with a randomly selected control group composed of youth who were eligible for program participation, but for whom no program slot was available.

It is through the design and implementation of innovative programs such as those discussed above that the Division intends to continue demonstrating successful rehabilitation of the adjudicated delinquent, and to enlarge upon that success. Through the development of new programs, the enhancement of current programs and the creation of linkages between residential and community intervention strategies, the Division believes that it can successfully accomplish its mission of "preventing delinquency through positive youth development."

### G. <u>Beyond FY 1990-91</u>

One of the central themes of this report, though not expressly stated, deserves explication. The Division for Youth, in pursuing its mission, has opted to emphasize the medical model -- a treatment approach -- rather than the correctional model -- an incarcerative approach -- in its philosophy of juvenile delinquency. While the Division clearly recognizes its responsibility to protect the public by placing delinquent youth in appropriately secure residential settings, it also realizes that, in the long run, protection of the public and of its social and cultural heritage can be achieved only through prevention and rehabilitation. A recent survey conducted in California by Allen F. Breed, chairman of the board of directors of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, confirms the wisdom of this decision. The survey demonstrated that the public, when asked whether it preferred the rehabilitative or correctional approach as a solution to criminality, overwhelming chose the former.

As the April 19 "wilding" in Central Park illustrated, violent delinquent behavior may erupt anywhere; no neighborhood is safe. Drugs and gang warfare -- drive-by shootings and assassinations -- have invaded the heartland of America, emigrating from its coastal cities. Such events occur in cities of 3 million and in towns of 30,000. The Division has presented evidence that confirms the role of social forces in predisposing youth to delinquent behavior and subsequent criminality, and has presented evidence which confirms that treatment - rehabilitation - can and does ameliorate this behavior. The Division knows that primary prevention can work, and will explore whatever possibilities are open to it.

Should a companion to the Liberty Scholarship be created, a Freedom Scholarship, focusing on vocational as well as academic training? Such a scholarship might be a useful way to train personnel to staff the short-handed work force predicted in the <u>Workforce 2000</u> study. Would such an approach be useful in recruiting and training workers for jobs in industry suffering from serious worker shortages?

Should we encourage industry (through tax incentives) to establish a new social contract with workers, one which might include provisions for housing, further occupational training, and educational benefits for the workers' children?

Has the time come for all levels of government to be employers of last resort? Why should we hire people indirectly through a \$300+ billion Defense Budget to create weapons of destruction, when government can hire, or cause to be hired, entry-level health workers who receive a living wage, inservice training and promotional opportunities? Why not hire and train personnel to staff the day care centers which always seem to be in such demand? Why not hire and train environmental protection service workers to clean up the environment, rather than just monitor pollution levels and garbage dumps as is being done presently? Why not hire and train workers that can aid in the search for alternative energy sources? Shouldn't the Division for Youth train its outstanding graduates as surrogate parents for society's homeless youth, or for youth who must be removed from dysfunctional families, in effect creating a trained cadre of foster parents?

During the Decade of the Child, the Division for Youth will continue to apply its proven successful rehabilitative technologies on behalf of a generation of youngsters who have never known "a gentler and kinder America," while at

the same time seeking new solutions to the problems contributing to delinquency. A reorganized and revitalized Office of Program Services within the Division for Youth has already begun to act as a clearinghouse for the agency, setting program standards and distributing program information to both Residential and Local Services, designing innovative program approaches and carefully evaluating each to determine "what works for which youth". The Division will harness the advances made during the last 20 years in the psycho-social fields to refine diagnosis, assessment and treatment, to refine its battery of tools to more efficiently and effectively deliver services to youth. will make use of computer-assisted technologies for training youth in life, academic and vocational skills. insist that first-line staff at Division residential facilities be trained in the delivery of program services to youth, broadening the job duties of its YDAs, who need to be more actively involved in therapeutic work.

This report has presented evidence that rehabilitative and preventive intervention strategies work. The Division is committed to developing more of them. Additional structured programs and specific intervention strategies will be contained in two legislatively mandated reports to be issued on October 1, 1989 and February 1, 1990, by the Division's revitalized Office of Program Services. The design of these new programs and intervention strategies will be linked to the prevalence of individual youth needs currently being assessed through the new Client Classification and Movement System. We ask the Governor and the State's legislators to support these efforts. We appreciate the opportunity to present this report to you.

# Part II

Recidivism Among Youth Released 1983 - 1985

#### INTRODUCTION

This part of our report measures and describes the recidivous behavior of youth treated in residential programs of the New York State Division for Youth.

The Division for Youth's residential care system is one part of an overall State residential child care network. Four other State agencies also are primarily responsible for youth who do not live with their parents or legal guardians: the Department of Social Services, the Office of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities, the State Education Department and the Office of Mental Health. Nearly 45,000 youth are served through this system. The Division for Youth is responsible for approximately six percent of the total out-of-home care population. (Note that, in addition, the Division for Youth contracts for short and long term residential services to thousands of runaway and homeless youth).

The Division's residential care system is designed to serve court-placed youth. These are youth whose behaviors are so destructive that society's agents of justice, the Family Court and Criminal Court, have determined it necessary to remove them from home and community. Most Division for Youth clients are placed by the family court as a result of a Juvenile Delinquency (JD) or a Person In Need of Supervision (PINS) adjudication. Other youth are placed in the Division by the adult court system as a result of a Juvenile Offender (JO) conviction, a Youthful Offender (YO) adjudication, or as a condition of probation. (Profiles of the personal and legal characteristics of youth currently under custody in the Division's Level 1 - 6 facilities may be found in Appendices A and B, respectively).

Unfortunately, New York's juvenile and criminal justice systems are experiencing the challenge of crime and corrections at an unprecedented rate. for example, recent data show that in 1987 there were 2,725,146 crimes (i.e., 1,057,363 UCR Part I crimes and 1,667,783 UCR Part II crimes) reported or known to police in New York State, in contrast to 1,229,674 arrests (i.e., 1,150,535 adults and 79,139 juveniles) by police (DCJS, 1988, pp. 9, 83, 131, 145). The overwhelming magnitude of this criminal activity, coupled with the increased visibility of drug-related and violent crimes, has stirred strong public concern over criminal recidivism and a desire for more intensive government responses.

In this light, this part of the report provides information that can be used by human service practitioners and criminal

justice professionals to provide a strengthened focus on delinquency prevention and intervention strategies. The Division for Youth believes these data will offer further guidance for the establishment of more relevant, structured, program interventions to address such severe problems as drug and substance abuse, sexual deviance, aggressive behaviors and other severe antisocial activities. Now that the Division's Client Classification and Movement System is operational, DFY will be able to more effectively and efficiently identify individual client needs and match clients with appropriate programs — assuming such programs are funded and available.

Finally, given a lifetime of poor habits and a wanting environment, it is unrealistic to expect the Division for Youth or any other service agency to change a youth's behavior, inculcate new value systems, and train him or her for a productive life in less than a year. However, a severe bed shortage within the Division for Youth has forced it to release a large percentage of its Juvenile Delinquents and Persons In Need of Supervision after stays of less than seven months. Therefore, any youth with a stay of less than six months in a DFY facility has been excluded from this study.

### I. METHODOLOGY

This recidivism study involves a 30 month followup of a cohort of youth released from a qualifying episode of care in DFY residential facilities between January 1, 1983 and December 31, 1985.

# A. Defining "Recidivism"

In a broad sense, recidivism can be considered any relapse or regression toward dysfunctional behavior subsequent to treatment by the Division for Youth. As a practical matter it is possible to quantify only those recidivous behaviors that ultimately come to the attention of the police or the Division's community care workers. By nature, these are limited to arrests and judicial proceedings. Measuring such behaviors among juveniles, however, is complicated in that the documentation of an arrest is a function of fingerprinting regulations which limit the creation and retention of criminal history files on juveniles (see Family Court Act 306.1 and 354.1). In New York State, for example, 11-12 year olds may be fingerprinted only upon arrest for class A and B felonies, and 13-15 year olds only for class A, B and C felonies. The recording of an arrest in the Division of Criminal Justice Services' Computerized Criminal History system is contingent upon the submission of arrest fingerprints. If an arrest subsequently is disposed in favor of the youth, the arrest record is purged by DCJS, thus making it unavailable for counting in the present research. Upon conviction, an arrest record is preserved until the youth turns 21 years of age, when it also is purged and rendered unavailable if the youth has had no later arrests. These regulations obviously also exclude the quantification of other juvenile arrests such as class D and E felonies and misdemeanor arrests.

This study attempts to resolve these problems by tracking youth for evidence of criminal recidivism using both the Division for Youth Juvenile Contact System (JCS) and the Division of Criminal Justice Services' Computerized Criminal History/ Offender-Based Transaction Statistics (CCH/OBTS) System. Youth too young for fingerprinting and recording on the DCJS database may nevertheless have been rearrested and readjudicated to DFY custody where they can be identified on the JCS database. Though unfingerprintable juveniles rearrested but not readjudicated still remain excluded, the use of both the DFY and DCJS data systems significantly improves the identification of youthful recidivists.

Even with a viable tracking process, however, it is difficult for criminal justice practitioners to agree on an

operational definition of recidivism. Some would argue that any brush with the law is considered evidence of failure and, therefore, any arrest, whatever the outcome, should constitute recidivism. Others argue, however, that ex-offenders often are targets of differential enforcement and may be unjustly and disproportionately rearrested, making this an overestimated measure of recidivism. others argue that arrests resulting in dismissals or acquittals of the defendant should not be regarded as failures because the allegations were never proven in court. This narrows the definition of recidivism to only those arrests that result in a conviction. Other experts posit that recidivism ultimately should be defined as a return to custody or reinstitutionalization, arguing that a fundamental tenet of institutional success is the prevention of any return to the institution. The leading limitation of reconviction and reincarceration measures, of course, is that true offenders are often not prosecuted or convicted for technical reasons, thus underestimating actual recidivism.

To present as much information as possible about the failures of former DFY clients, three measures of recidivism are employed in this study: rearrest, reconviction and reincarceration. A similar measurement strategy was used in a recent multi-state study of recidivism among adult prisoners conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice (1989). These measures are intended to estimate the percentages of former clients who committed additional criminal offenses after release, and are defined as follows:

#### 1. Rearrest

Rearrest refers to any arrest during the followup period involving a fingerprintable felony or misdemeanor arrest charge reported by the arresting agency to the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services. Juvenile Offenders and fingerprintable Juvenile Delinquents are included. Violations are not fingerprintable and therefore are excluded. Federal crimes and out-of-state arrests also are excluded. Arrests are included in this category of recidivism regardless of disposition, as are open arrests and sealed events. Unfingerprintable juveniles who were identified on the DFY Juvenile Contact System as returned to DFY custody on new placement orders are assumed to have been rearrested.

# 2. Reconviction

Reconviction refers to any arrest during the followup period involving a fingerprintable felony or misdemeanor arrest charge reported to DCJS and subsequently disposed as a conviction of the offender on at least one charge. The conviction can be for a felony, misdemeanor or violation. Juvenile Offender convictions, Youthful Offender adjudications and Juvenile Delinquent adjudications are included as well. These data are reported to DCJS by the Office of Court Administration. Unfingerprintable juveniles identified on the DFY Juvenile Contact System as returned to DFY custody on new placement orders are assumed to have been reconvicted/ readjudicated.

# 3. Reincarceration

Reincarceration refers to any arrest during the followup period involving a fingerprintable felony or misdemeanor arrest charge reported to DCJS and subsequently disposed as a conviction of the offender on at least one charge resulting in a sentence to prison, jail, time served, or a split sentence to jail and probation/ fine. These data are reported to DCJS by the Office of Court Administration. Unfingerprintable juveniles identified on the DFY Juvenile Contact System as returned to DFY custody on new placement orders are assumed to have been reincarcerated.

#### B. Defining Other Study Parameters

To establish eligibility for inclusion in the study cohort, this study defines a qualifying episode of care in DFY residential facilities as a youth's first placement with the Division having a continuous residential stay of at least six months in Level 1-6 facilities (i.e., secure, limited secure, noncommunity-based, community-based youth development center, and group home facilities, respectively). Clients in foster care, independent living, and with voluntary agencies are excluded from the study. The minimum six month stay is required for inclusion in this study because this is the shortest exposure period for which one could realistically expect a placement treatment (Note that the measured length of continuous effect. residential stay is a composite of all facility stays in the qualifying placement). The minimum six month stay excludes any absences from facilities of greater than or equal to seven days. Further, where an absence of 30 days or more occurred, due to AWOL status, hospitalization or other cause, an additional six months of residence was required before satisfying eligibility for the study.

Since the qualifying episode of care is the youth's first qualifying placement with the Division, a given youth is followed only once for a rearrest, reconviction and/or reincarceration which would label him or her a recidivist.

This study tracks a youth for evidence of recidivous behavior for 30 months from the time at which he or she became at risk to engage in such behavior. The beginning of the at-risk period is defined as the date of discharge from Division for Youth custody or final release to DFY community care in the qualifying episode of care. risk period must begin between January 1, 1983 and December 31. 1985. The end of the at-risk period is defined by (1) the court placement date for youth returning to DFY, (2) the crime/arrest date for recidivists identified through DCJS, or (3) the successful end of the 30 month followup period. Youth returning to facility from community care or as parole violators are not considered recidivists in this study but, rather, as having generally violated only the technical conditions of their release. Such youth became at-risk upon their final discharge/ release in the qualifying placement.

# C. Study Population

A total of 2,572 youth released during 1983 - 1985 were found to have a qualifying episode of care making them eligible for inclusion in this study. The total included 900 youth released in 1983, 832 released in 1984, and 839 released in 1985. Random samples were then selected from the releases in each year to be statistically representative (annually) at the 95 percent confidence level with a reliability of plus or minus five percent. This yielded a total sample of 743 cases (28.9 percent of the population) including 249 cases from 1983, 248 from 1984, and 246 from 1985. These were compared with the population across a number of demographic (see Table 1) and placement-related (see Tables 2 and 3) variables and were found to reflect the known characteristics of the release population under study.

As shown in Table 1, the study subjects are overwhelmingly males (90%). The majority of subjects are Black (53%) and typically 16-17 years of age (62.2%) upon release. Over two-thirds (65.4%) of the subjects came from a family with a female head-of-household. Nearly half (49.5%) of the study subjects were residents of New York City. As shown in Table 2, more than two-thirds (68.9%) of the study subjects were adjudicated to the Division for Youth as Juvenile Delinquents. Overall, 40.3 percent of the subjects were placed for the commission of personal offenses, while 44.2 percent were placed for property crimes.

In comparison, the July 1, 1989 population in custody in Level 1 - 6 facilities also was predominantly male (87.4%), Black (58.7%), 15-16 years of age (59.4%), from female-headed households (66.4%), from New York City (53.0%), adjudicated as Juvenile Delinquents (80.6%), and placed for personal (33.3%) and property (42.7%) crimes. These data are presented in greater detail in Appendices A and B. In making such comparisons, however, one should not necessarily expect to find direct correspondence between a three-year release cohort and a one-day current census profile of clients.

Table 1

Personal Characteristics of Qualifying Population and Study Sample

	Qualifying Population		Study Sample	
TOTAL	<u>N</u> 2572	100.0	<u>N</u> 743	<del>\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\</del>
<u>Sex</u> Male Female	2572 2286 286	100.0 88.9 11.1	743 669 74	100.0 90.0 10.0
Race White Black Hispanic Other	2572 812 1348 394 18	100.0 31.6 52.4 15.3 0.7	743 220 394 124 5	100.0 29.6 53.0 16.7 0.7
Age at Release 11 - 14 15 16 17 18 - 21	2572 181 393 907 724 367	7.0 15.3 35.3 28.1 14.3	743 47 118 255 207 116	100.0 6.3 15.9 34.3 27.9 15.6
Head of Household Natural Father Natural Mother Adoptive Parent Other Relative Other, unknown	2572 482 1689 91 201 109	18.7	743 134 486 29 57 37	100.0 18.0 65.4 3.9 7.7 5.0
Area of Residence New York City Metropolitan Counties * Balance of State	2572 1241 509 822	100.0 48.2 19.8 32.0	743 368 144 231	100.0 49.5 19.4 31.1

<sup>\* (</sup>Metropolitan Counties include Erie, Monroe, Nassau, Onondaga, Suffolk, and Westchester counties)

Table 2

Legal Characteristics of Qualifying Population and Study Sample

	Qualifying Population		Study Sample	
TOTAL	<u>N</u> 2572	<u> </u>	<u>N</u> 743	<del>₹</del> 100.0
Adjudication Juvenile Offender Restrictive Juvenile Delinquent Juvenile Delinquent Title II	2572	100.0	743	100.0
	529	20.6	146	19.7
	46	1.8	20	2.7
	377	14.7	121	16.3
Juvenile Delinquent Title III	1310	50.9	371	49.9
Persons In Need of Supervision	185	7.2	46	6.2
Other	125	4.8	39	5.2
<u>Placement Offense</u> Personal Offenses	<u>2572</u>	100.0	743	100.0
PL120 - Assault PL125 - Homicide PL130 - Sex offenses PL135 - Kidnapping PL160 - Robbery	232	9.0	74	10.0
	65	2.5	19	2.6
	97	3.8	27	3.6
	3	0.1	2	0.3
	629	24.5	177	23.8
Property Offenses PL140 - Burglary PL145 - Criminal Mischief PL150 - Arson PL155 - Larceny PL165 - Other theft	400	15.6	114	15.3
	94	3.7	32	4.3
	21	0.8	6	0.8
	370	14.4	105	14.1
	250	9.7	72	9.7
PL220 - Drug offenses	29	1.1	5	0.7
PL265 - Weapons offenses	44	1.7	21	2.8
PINS offenses	182	7.1	45	6.1
Other offenses	114	4.4	30	4.0
None	42	1.6	14	1.9

# D. <u>Data Collection Procedures</u>

The first step in the data collection process was to ascertain whether any of the study subjects had returned to the custody of the Division for Youth. A search against the Division's Juvenile Contact System found that 53 (7.1%) of the 743 study subjects had returned to DFY custody within their 30 month followup period. These cases appear to be equally distributed across the three release years, with 16 (6.4%) youth returning from among 1983 releases, 19 (7.6%) from 1984, and 18 (7.2%) from among 1985 releases.

The remaining 690 subjects not identified as recidivists on the Juvenile Contact System were then submitted for possible identification on the Computerized Criminal History system maintained by the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services. Because the Division for Youth lacked fingerprint records on clients which would facilitate a timely and positive identification of study subjects, the study employed a computer-assisted name-searching technique to ascertain whether subjects had criminal records in the This process was governed by a strict con-DCJS system. fidentiality agreement jointly executed by DFY and DCJS. The name search parameters for each subject included the input of the subject's name, sex, race, date of birth and, if known, Social Security number. The subject's last known address and known alias additionally were used to support confirmation of an identification. Because the DCJS system contains records on several million New York State offenders, project staff took a generally conservative approach to ensure the study subjects were most positively matched with DCJS files. This typically required matches on several parameters between DFY and DCJS identification data. Overall, 627 (90.9%) of the 690 name searches yielded a positive identification of the study subjects, indicating the presence of criminal history files for those individuals on the DCJS system. There was no evidence of a DCJS file on 63 (9.1%) study subjects. (A second name search was conducted for these subjects to control for the possibility of errors by the search analysts). These 63 subjects were evenly distributed across the three release years, with 21 cases among 1983 releases, 22 from 1984, and 20 among 1985 releases.

The Offender-Based Transaction Statistics (OBTS) capability of DCJS was subsequently used to develop an analytic data file documenting the recidivous arrests, if any, of the 627 subjects with DCJS criminal history files. Information on arrest charges, court disposition and sentencing were obtained for the first recidivous arrest, the first arrest

resulting in reconviction, and the first arrest resulting in reincarceration. These data were merged with placement-specific data from DFY to allow descriptive comparisons among various client groups.

#### II. BUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Of the 743 former DFY clients in the study sample, an estimated 76.4% were rearrested during their 30 month followup period, with 66.9% reconvicted and 53.8% reincarcerated as the result of a recidivist arrest. These recidivism rates are comparable to those published in a recent multi-state study by the U.S. Department of Justice (1989) which cited similar proportions of prisoners released at age 17 or younger rearrested (75.6%), reconvicted (65.4%) and reincarcerated (50.6%) within 36 months. Recidivism rates by the personal and legal characteristics of study subjects are presented in Tables 3 and 4, respectively. A graph profiling the time to recidivist arrests is presented in Figure 1. The following facts about recidivism emerged from a review of these and other data:

- Males were more than twice as likely than females to be rearrested, more than three times as likely to be reconvicted, and almost four times more likely to be reincarcerated.
- 2. Blacks and Hispanics had very similar recidivism rates on all three measures, but the rates for both groups were about 11% to 17% higher than for whites.
- 3. It was generally the case that clients released at younger ages had higher recidivism rates than those released at older ages. for example, 80.9% of clients released at 11-14 years of age were rearrested compared with 63.8% of those 18-21 years old at release.
- 4. There was little difference in recidivism rates between clients living in households headed by their natural fathers versus their natural mothers, the living arrangements for 83.4% of study subjects.
- 5. Youth living in New York City clearly had the highest recidivism rates, followed by those living in the large metropolitan counties of the State.
- 6. There were only small differences in recidivism rates among the various adjudication groups, with the exception that youth released after a PINS placement were considerably less likely than other youth to be recidivists.
- 7. The recidivism rates for clients released for crimes against persons were about 3% to 7% lower across the three measures than for those released for property offenses.

- 8. On average, approximately 9.1 months elapsed between DFY release and the first rearrest of study subjects. The first rearrest of youth was most often for a felony (51.6%) rather than a misdemeanor (39.1%). (The severity of the arrest charge was unknown for 9.3% of rearrests). Four types of crimes accounted for about half (50.9%) of rearrests: larceny (17.1%), robbery (14.3%), burglary (13.2%) and simple assault (6.3%).
- 9. Approximately 9.9 months elapsed between release and the first rearrest that resulted in a reconviction. The majority of these reconvictions were obtained in the lower courts (58.4%) rather than the upper courts (31.0%). (Court level was unknown for 10.6% of cases). Over one-quarter (25.4%) of reconvictions were for non-criminal offenses, with misdemeanor convictions (39.2%) more likely than felony convictions (35.4%). The majority (56.8%) of reconvictions were for disorderly conduct (16.7%), larceny (15.9%), robbery (12.7%) and burglary (11.9%).
- 10. On average, approximately 11.0 months elapsed between release and the first rearrest that resulted in a reincarceration. Reincarceration was more likely the result of a felony conviction (44%) than a misdemeanor (42%) or non-criminal offense (14%). Of those reincarcerated, 10.7% received a sentence to time served, with 13.3% returned to DFY custody, 13.5% receiving a split sentence (i.e., jail/probation), 38.8% receiving a jail sentence (i.e., less than one year), and 23.7% sentenced to prison.

Table 3

Recidivism Rates by
Personal Characteristics of Study Subjects

		8	8	¥
	N	Rearrested	Reconvicted	Reincarcerated
SAMPLE TOTAL	743	76.4	66.9	53.8
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	669	81.5	71.9	58.1
Female	74	31.1	21.6	14.9
Race				
White	220	67.3	57.3	42.3
Black	394	81.0	71.6	58.6
Hispanic	124	79.0	70.2	59.7
Other	5	60.0	40.0	40.0
Age at Release				
11 - 14	47	80.9	76.6	68.1
15	118	77.1	64.4	57.6
16	255	78.8	69.8	54.9
17	207	79.2	67.6	50.2
18 - 21	116	63.8	57.8	48.3
Head of Household				
Natural Father	134	76.1	66.4	52.2
Natural Mother	486	77.4	68.1	56.2
Adoptive Parent	29	69.0	55.2	37.9
Other Relative	57	84.2	70.2	56.1
Other, unknown	37	59.5	56.8	37.8
Area of Residence				
New York City	368	82.1	74.2	63.0
Metropolitan Counties*		77.8	67.4	52.1
Balance of State	231	66.7	55.0	40.3

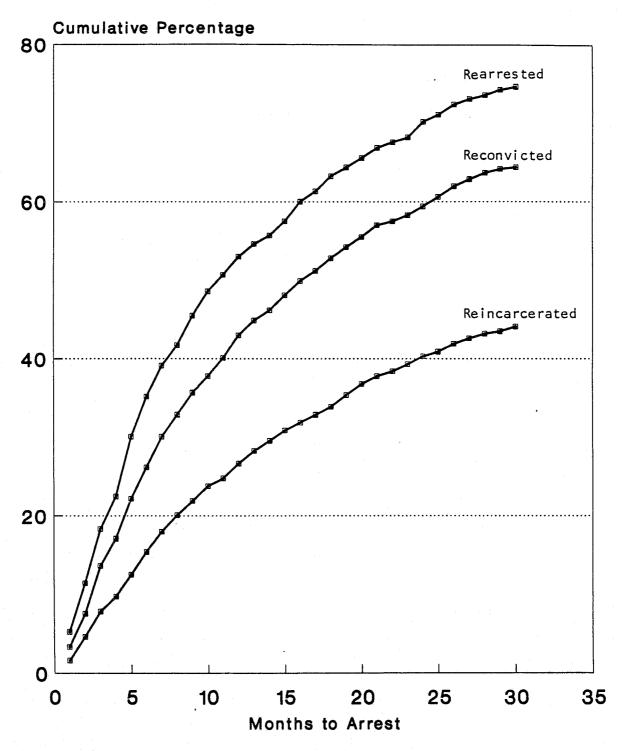
<sup>\* (</sup>Metropolitan Counties include Erie, Monroe, Nassau, Onondaga, Suffolk, and Westchester counties)

Table 4

Recidivism Rates by
Legal Characteristics of Study Subjects

		8	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
	N	Rearrested	Reconvicted	_
SAMPLE TOTAL	743	76.4	66.9	53.8
SAMPLE TOTAL	/43	/0.4	00.9	23.6
Adjudication				
Juvenile Offender	146	76.7	70.5	59.6
Restrictive JD	20	75.0	65.0	60.0
JD - Title II	121	81.8	66.9	51.2
JD - Title III	371	80.1	72.2	60.1
PINS	46	50.0	34.8	19.6
Other	39	56.4	41.0	17.9
Placement Offense				
Personal Offenses				
PL120 - Assault	74	73.0	58.1	48.6
PL125 - Homicide	19	42.1	42.1	31.6
PL130 - Sex offenses	27	63.0	55.6	44.4
PL135 - Kidnapping	2	50.0	50.0	50.0
PL160 - Robbery	177	80.8	73.4	62.1
Property Offenses				
PL140 - Burglary	114	83.3	71.9	57.0
PL145 - Crim Mischief	32	71.9	62.5	50.0
PL150 - Arson	6	33.3	33.3	33.3
PL155 - Larceny	105	82.9	77.1	60.0
PL165 - Other theft	72	83.3	76.4	65.3
PL220 - Drug offenses	5	100.0	80.0	20.0
PL265 - Weapons offenses		100.0	76.2	66.7
PINS offenses	45	51.1	35.6	20.0
Other offenses	30	76.7	66.7	50.0
None	14	42.9	28.6	21.4

# Cohort Recidivism During Followup Period



(Excludes 53 cases missing arrest date)

# Appendix

Appendix A

Personal Characteristics of Level 1 - 6 Population

Under Custody July 1, 1989

TOTAL	<u>N</u> 1795	\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\
<u>Sex</u>	1795	100.0
Male	1568	87.4
Female	227	12.6
Race	1795	100.0
White	396	22.1
Black	1053	58.7
Hispanic	323	18.0
Other	23	1.3
Age at Release 10 - 14 15 16 17 18 - 21	1795 423 511 555 209 97	100.0 23.6 28.5 30.9 11.6 5.4
Head of Household Natural Father Natural Mother Adoptive Parent Other Relative Other, unknown	1795 221 1192 51 265 66	100.0 12.3 66.4 2.8 14.8 3.7
Area of Residence	1795	100.0
New York City	952	53.0
Metropolitan Counties *	333	18.6
Balance of State	510	28.4

<sup>\* (</sup>Metropolitan Counties include Erie, Monroe, Nassau, Onondaga, Suffolk, and Westchester counties)

Appendix B

<u>Legal Characteristics of Level 1 - 6 Population</u>

<u>Under Custody July 1, 1989</u>

TOTAL	N 1795	<del>8</del> 100.0
Adjudication Juvenile Offender Restrictive Juvenile Delinquent Juvenile Delinquent Title II Juvenile Delinquent Title III Persons In Need of Supervision Other	1795 212 20 348 1079 114 22	100.0 11.8 1.1 19.4 60.1 6.4 1.2
Placement Offense Personal Offenses PL120 - Assault PL125 - Homicide PL130 - Sex offenses PL135 - Kidnapping PL160 - Robbery	1795 211 79 82 12 212	11.8 4.4 4.6 0.7 11.8
Property Offenses PL140 - Burglary PL145 - Criminal Mischief PL150 - Arson PL155 - Larceny PL165 - Other theft	160 85 17 237 269	8.9 4.7 0.9 13.2 15.0
PL220 - Drug offenses PL265 - Weapons offenses PINS offenses Other offenses None	195 53 113 56 14	10.9 3.0 6.3 3.1 0.8

#### NOTES

- Unless otherwise noted, statistics presented in this and the following sections in Part I are based on reports issued by the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, as presented in State of the Child in New York State, NYS Council on Children and Families.
- All income figures are adjusted to 1979 dollars for comparison.
- New York State Education Department, Information Center on Education. 1985-86. <u>Public School Enrollment and Staff. New York State 1985-86</u>: Albany, NY.
- New York State Education Department, Information Center on Education. 1982-83. Public High School Dropout Data. (Unpublished).
- New York State Education Department, Information Center on Education. 1986. (Table entitled "Racial/Ethnic Distribution of the Class of 1985 From Grade 9 (Fall, 1981) Through Graduation (June, 1985) Public and Nonpublic Schools New York State").
- New York State Department of Labor, Division of Research and Statistics, Bureau of Labor Market Information. 1986. Current Population Survey Data, New York State, 1970-1985. (Unpublished).

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