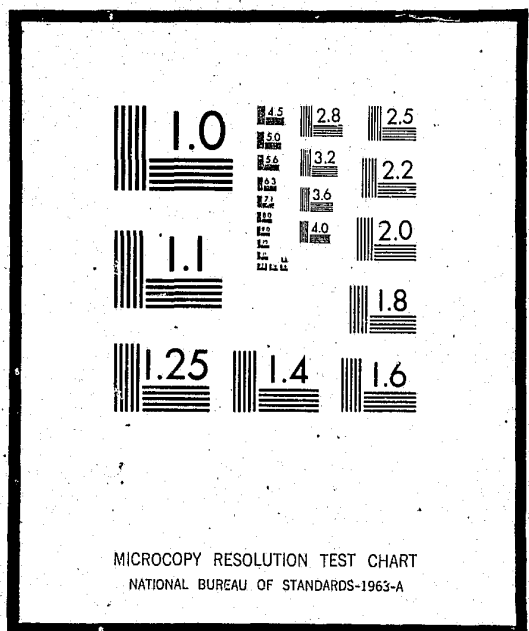


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Exploratory Analysis of Recidivism and Cohort Data on the Massachusetts Youth Correctional System

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July, 1975

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Evaluation

pared under grants from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice, and from the Massachusetts Governor's Committee on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the funding agencies.

Summary

The Harvard Center for Criminal Justice has completed its second annual review comparing recidivism rates of youth formerly confined in the training schools of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services with the rates for youth in the network of community based services now purchased or administered by the Department. Over time comparisons are presented in this report only for those four regions of the state where our sample of youth in the new programs have undergone a sufficient period of exposure in the community to make a comparison of recidivism valid. Two measures of recidivism were employed based on a check of official records of court appearance maintained for juveniles and adults by the State Office of Probation: (a) any court appearance during a six month period and also a twelve month period after release from program; (b) any probation or recommitment disposition as the result of a court appearance within six months or twelve months after release from program. Comparisons were drawn between a sample of youth paroled by the Youth Service Board from the training schools during the fiscal year 1967-1968 with a comparable sample of youth released from regional programs of the Department in 1973 and 1974. Though the combined totals for Regions I, II, III, and IV in which the completed samples are adequate show no significant differences in recidivism rates, a full comparison for the state is not possible until the data from the three remaining regions, V, VI and VII including Boston and the

South Shore areas, become available. A final complete report on the comparative results in the two samples will be made at that time. However, further analysis of the currently available data yielded the following findings:

1) Recidivism rates varied considerably between institutions in the 1968 sample for boys. As one might expect, because of the selection factor in addition to the effect of program, the most secure institutions showed the highest rates. Oakdale and Forestry had the lowest rates, Bridgewater the highest and Lyman and Shirley were in between. (Table 2).

2) Similarly unofficial recidivism figures on the 1974 sample revealed that youth placed in secure care facilities had much higher recidivism rates than youth placed in group homes, foster care, or non-residential programs. It should be noted that these results, unlike the others reported here, are drawn from interview data rather than official records of the Department of Probation. (Table 16).

3) Significant differences in the official data were found for individual regions between the two samples for boys on the disposition criteria with Region II showing a decrease and Regions III and IV increases for both exposure periods. (Table 3).

4) Recidivism rates for girls are lower than for boys. However, the rates for girls in the combined four regions area are higher for the new system of programs than for the former training school system. (Table 4).

Further analysis will be required to disentangle the effects of the DYS reforms on recidivism from the effects of such confounding factors as trends in crime and changes in the composition of the youth sample and their prospects for success.

This report also describes the results of an exploratory analysis of interview data collected from the longitudinal 1973-1974 sample of youth as they passed from detention through court

and program placement to return to the community. This part of the report thus provides a preliminary analysis of community based programming. The major findings are as follows:

1) Among youth committed or referred to the Department some have been detained prior to adjudication while others have not. The difference appears to be related more to social class and availability of detention facilities than to the dangerousness of the youth or the likelihood of the youth absconding before trial. Among those detained, place of detention appears to be a function of both availability of detention facilities and the youth's criminal history.

2) Initial program placement after court tends to be strongly affected by the youth's detention history. Detention in secure settings is particularly likely to lead to program placement in secure settings, thus perpetuating a categorization of youth originally based largely on other factors than personal or social background and criminal history characteristics of the youth. In addition, placement in program is affected by some characteristics of the youth. Youth who have good linkages with schools do not tend to get placed in secure care. Youth in group homes tend to have histories of drug, property, and car related offenses and also tend not to have previously run from DYS programs. Youth placed in foster homes tend to be juvenile status offenders from homes that are probably less financially secure. Youth placed in nonresidential programs tend to be black, come from less stable and financially secure homes, and to have committed crimes against persons.

3) Whether a youth is placed in a secure setting, a group home, foster care, or a nonresidential program results in a substantial difference in immediate experience. The more open settings are associated with more communication and involvement of youth in decision making, more help in finding a place in the community, less punishment, and more rewards when the youth do well.

4) Perceptions, rewards, punishments, supports, etc. in the relationships between youth and key adults or other associates in the community, such as employers, police, friends, and community programs, are related to the youth's background and detention experience.

5) Recidivism is related to youths' background, detention and program experience. Youth who have been in secure care are particularly likely to recidivate. Failure of program staff to provide help in finding a place in the community is also related to recidivism.

I. Introduction

Since 1972 the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services has operated a service delivery system without the backup of traditional training schools. The deinstitutionalization effort in Massachusetts has attracted much attention both inside and outside the state. Some cities have argued for more secure care programs comparable to the former institutional programs. Others have lobbied for programs which would be more community based, involving to a greater extent community residents, businessmen, families and youth. Thus the debate continues while the fate of the reform effort is still not fully determined.

The rationale for the closing of the training schools and the establishment of an alternative community based service system was basically twofold. First, there was a broad consensus that the alienating, sometimes brutal and primarily custodial social climate of the training schools did not foster sufficient care and responsiveness to the needs of youth. This led to a search for more varied, flexible and humane forms of correctional treatment. Secondly, it seemed apparent that a better job could be done to help youth adjust more successfully in the community without becoming further involved with law enforcement agencies or penetrating further into the juvenile justice system. It was believed that chances for successful reintegration of youth would be enhanced in a system of diverse programs drawing more fully on the resources

of local communities with youth more widely dispersed across the state rather than congregated in a few institutions in rural areas.

This new approach has created a fairly extensive community based system relying for the most part on the private sector to provide a range of services for youth in trouble. These services are purchased and monitored by the Department. That youthful offenders in the care of the Department are much more widely dispersed across the state and exposed to a wider array of program alternatives is quite obvious. However, questions about the impact of the new system on youth while in program and after they leave the system are still largely unanswered.

The Harvard Center for Criminal Justice has been conducting extensive studies of the reform efforts since 1970. Comparative subculture studies in the new and old system involving concentrated observation and interviewing in selected programs have generated rich detail on the experiences of youth in different group settings. Cross-sectional surveys of the major programs used by the Department have been conducted periodically to furnish an overview of the variation in social climate among different programs, the diversity of program strategies across the system, and assessments by youth of what is happening to them within the programs. In addition to these efforts, the Center has been undertaking a major longitudinal



study of the new system since 1973. Youth are interviewed at a number of points as they are processed through the new system until they have been in the community for six months. This longitudinal study provides data for evaluating the immediate and long run impact of the programs. It focuses especially on the changing relationships between youngsters and significant others such as parents, employers, police, and program staff, on changes in the self image of youth and on the ability of programs to link youth with positive, supportive opportunities in the community. In later analyses these subculture, cross-sectional, and longitudinal studies will be merged to provide a comprehensive account of what happens to youth in programs and what the longer run impact of those experiences actually are.

In this report we will first present the most recent data available on recidivism to allow at least a partial comparison between the recidivism rates of the old training school system in the late 1960's and the new, community based system of the 1970's. This will be followed by a more detailed analysis of completed longitudinal data gathered on the youth cohort over the past two years.

II. Recidivism Based on Official Record Checks

In this section we will present some initial comparisons of official records for a sample of youth paroled during the fiscal

year 1967-1968 with youth in the first four regions sampled in the 1973-1974 longitudinal study.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has a centralized criminal record system administered by the Department of Probation. A single record will indicate both juvenile and adult court appearances and dispositions. Access to such a centralized record system is a great asset to evaluation research. However, like most official record systems in constant daily use for making individual case decisions it also poses special problems for research. It must depend on the recording of essential data by each of 72 juvenile courts in the State and is subject to any errors arising from lack of uniformity or completeness in court reporting to the central file. The centralized system also is not yet computerized, and the sheer volume of the records processed makes human error likely. We discovered several cases of youth in our samples for whom no records could be found, and other youth in DYS at a particular time showing no record of a court appearance prior to entry into DYS for a six to twelve month period. Also our comparison of two samples six years apart is potentially biased by any significant change in reporting or recording procedures used by the courts or the Department of Probation over that time period. However, even with these reservations, the centralized system will still yield the best estimates of criminal history available to us.

The 1968 sample constitutes a representative sample of 308 youth paroled from the DYS institutions between July 1, 1967 and

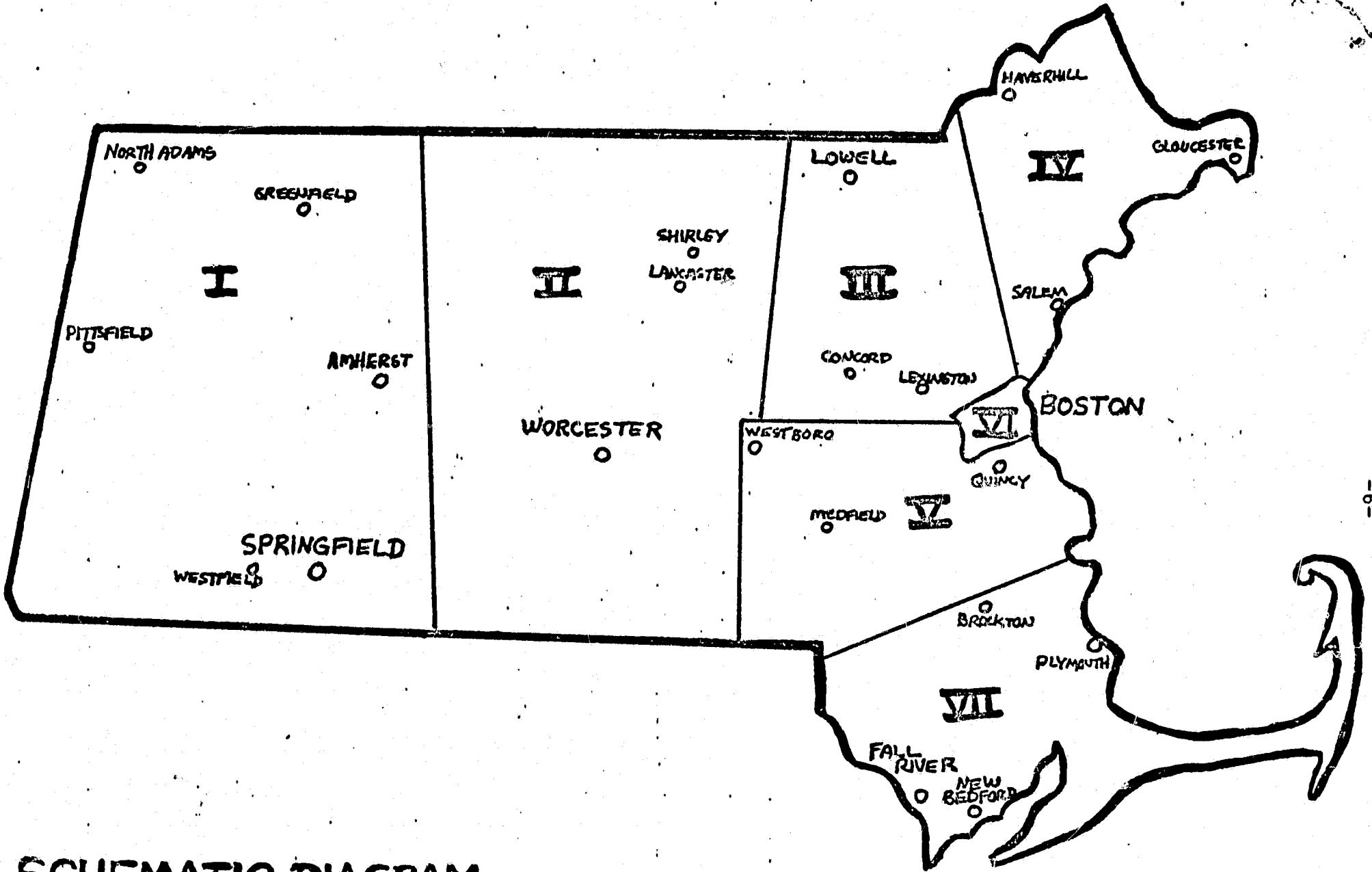
June 30, 1968. The sample includes 72 girls from the Lancaster School for Girls, 25 boys from the forestry program, 27 boys from Oakdale (institution for young boys), 39 boys from the Lyman School for Boys, 102 boys from the Shirley Industrial School for Boys, and 43 boys from the Bridgewater Institute for Juvenile Guidance.* Table 1 shows the distribution of this sample for boys by paroling institution and region to which paroled.

The 1974 sample is comprised of those youth included in our longitudinal cohort study. For comparison purposes we can only use those regions which were completed first in our study, i.e., those regions where the youth have been released to the community from treatment programs for a long enough exposure period to allow for official recording of new delinquent activity. The sample consists of 48 youth from Region I, 61 from Region II, 49 from Region III, and 50 from Region IV. Regions V, VI, and VII are not represented here, because not enough time has passed to allow for a 6 month official record check for any sizeable proportion of the samples in these regions.

For a schematic view of where the regions are located throughout the state see Figure 1. Region I consists of the western part of the state with the Springfield area being its most populous center.

*Youth for this sample were selected from parole release lists maintained by the former Youth Service Board institution for fiscal 1968. It should be noted that these numbers cannot be equated with the average daily population of youth in each institution. The sample is representative of those released to parole in a given year and is accordingly effected by Department policies related to parole criteria, institutional transfers, length of stay, etc. Such a sample provides the closest possible comparison to the 1974 sample.

FIGURE I



SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM
D.Y.S. Regional Boundaries

Table 1

Distribution of 1968 Sample of Boys by Region and Institution

Institution	Regions							Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
Oakdale	5	4	5	5	0	5	3	27
Forestry	3	6	3	2	4	4	3	25
Lyman	6	8	4	6	3	8	4	39
Shirley	18	16	15	17	6	21	9	102
Bridgewater	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>43</u>
	37	39	33	33	16	53	25	234

Region II is the middle of the state including the Worcester area. Region III includes Cambridge and Somerville and extends northward and westward, including such towns as Lexington and Concord. Region IV is the North Shore area, including at its southern tip part of the Boston area. Region V is the South Shore area including Quincy and Framingham. Region VI is Boston proper. And Region VII is the Cape Cod area including Fall River and New Bedford.

For this comparative analysis two criterion of recidivism will be used. First, we will look at youth who have reappeared in juvenile or adult court on any charge excluding traffic offenses. In other words reappearace in court for a delinquent or criminal offense, excluding traffic offenses, will be treated as an index of recidivism. Second, we will look at the disposition by the court. Youth who are either placed on probation or committed to the Department of Youth Services or to an adult institution will be classified as recidivists. The latter index, while more conservative than the former, is probably a better estimate of youth who continue to engage in unlawful behavior which the juvenile or adult justice system deems it necessary to respond to by restricting, at least to some extent, the freedom of those involved. Six month and 12 month time periods will be considered. For the 1968 sample, the time period will begin from the date of parole; for the 1974 sample, the period begins when a youngster completes a residential program

and is released to the community or after he has been in a foster home or non-residential program in the community for a minimum of three months. Rates for boys and girls will be analyzed separately.

Table 2 records the number of boys recidivating by institution in the 1968 sample. Using the criterion reappearance in court during the initial six month period, the Forestry and Oakdale youth reappear at a slower rate than do youth from the other institutions. Bridgewater has the highest rate. A similar pattern of court re-appearance is obtained during the initial twelve months, with the exception that the number of Forestry youth reappearing nearly doubles making their record more like the youth from Shirley and Lyman than youth from Oakdale. When we examine the disposition index, placed on probation or recommitted to either DYS or adult institutions, the pattern remains the same for the six month period with Oakdale and Forestry youth being less likely to recidivate and Bridgewater youth most likely. In this case, however, the Oakdale and Forestry rates remain similar for the 12 month period as well.

Table 3 contains court appearance and disposition data for boys in the 1968 and 1974 samples. The data are sub-divided by region in order to permit comparisons. These data suggest that the reform effort has had a differential impact on recidivism across the regions. During the initial six months, rates of reappearance in court are about the same or lower for boys in Regions I, II, and

Table 2
Recidivism Rates for Boys in the 1968 Sample
by Institution

Recidivism Criteria	Institution					Total %
	Oakdale %	Forestry %	Lyman %	Shirley %	Bridgewater %	
1. Reappearance in Court						
a) 6 mos.	37	36	56	57	70	54
b) 12 mos.	44	60	66	64	77	66
2. Probation or Recommitment						
a) 6 mos.	22	24	31	36	49	35
b) 12 mos.	33	36	49	47	65	47
N	(27)	(25)	(39)	(102)	(43)	(236)

Table 3

Recidivism Rates for Boys in the 1968 and 1974
Samples By Region

Recidivism Criteria	Region									Total
	I	II	III	IV	Sub Total	V	VI	VII		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Reappearance in Court										
a) 6 months										
1968	49 (37)	61 (39)	30 (33)	48 (33)	49 (142)	50 (16)	64 (53)	68 (25)	54 (236)	
1974	44 (40)	50 (42)	47 (38)	52 (40)	49 (160)					
b) 12 months										
1968	73 (37)	69 (39)	48 (33)	58 (33)	62 (142)	62 (16)	75 (53)	80 (25)	66 (236)	
1974*	74 (39)	71 (35)	53 (38)	71 (38)	68 (150)					
2. Probation or Commitment										
a) 6 months										
1968	22 (37)	59 (39)	18 (33)	21 (33)	30 (142)	31 (16)	40 (53)	44 (25)	35 (236)	
1974	20 (40)	24 (42)	37 (38)	35 (40)	29 (160)					
b) 12 months										
1968	40 (37)	67 (39)	24 (33)	36 (33)	42 (142)	44 (16)	57 (53)	60 (25)	47 (236)	
1974*	41 (39)	43 (35)	37 (38)	42 (38)	41 (150)					

* Sample size for the 1974 12 month period is smaller than for the six month period because a few youth in the sample have not been out of program for 12 months.

IV in the 1974 sample as compared to the 1968 sample. In Region III the rate was lower in 1968 than 1974. For the twelve month period, the rate is similar in both samples for Regions I and II, slightly higher for Region III in 1974, and substantially higher for Region IV in 1974.

Turning to the disposition index in Table 3, the probation and commitment rates for Region I remain very similar in the two samples while Region II shows a considerable drop from 1968 to 1974 as measured by both the 6 month and 12 month periods. In contrast Regions III and IV indicate a substantial increase in recidivism rates from 1968 to 1974 for both exposure periods. We would project, on the basis of our unofficial recidivism data, gathered by following youth in the longitudinal sample, that Regions V and VI will also experience an increase from 1968 to 1974 while Region VII will show a decrease.* We are not yet, however, in a position to determine what the relative size of these differences are likely to be when the full comparisons of official record data for the 1968 and 1974 samples are available.

It is also too early to tell what factors may account for these increases or decreases in recidivism rates between 1968 and 1974. Before one can attribute these differences to the effect of changes in the DYS system, a number of other factors with a potential impact on these rates must be considered. For example, there have been

*For a presentation of unofficial recidivism data on the 1974 longitudinal sample see Table 16 and the accompanying text.

very substantial increases in juvenile arrest rates in the intervening period. The likelihood of recidivism may have been affected by the same factors which influenced these arrest rates. Densely populated areas, such as Regions III, IV, V and VI, may have experienced a sharper increase in crime rates than less densely populated areas. Other criminal justice agencies may also have significantly altered their policies or resources for handling juvenile crime. Furthermore, changes in the characteristics of youth committed to DYS may have greatly influenced the rates.* Further analysis of these recidivism data on boys must therefore await the availability of additional data that will permit such factors to be properly taken into account.

A comparison of Tables 3 and 4 indicates that girls are less likely to reappear in court or to be placed on probation or recommitted than boys. Only 17% of the total sample of girls in 1968 reappeared in court during the first 6 months after parole and 24% during the initial 12 months. Similarly, only 8% of this sample was placed on probation or recommitted during the first 6 months and 10% over the 12 month period. For boys the comparable rates were 54%, 66% and 36%, 47% respectively.

In order to compare the two time periods, 1968 and 1974, for girls the recidivism rates are shown in Table 4 only for Regions I,

*Data reported previously, for example, indicate that boys committed to the DYS in recent years have included a much higher proportion of serious offenders and older boys over 15 years of age. This in part reflects a shift in court practices to refer more of the younger status offenders to Welfare, Mental Health, and local service agencies. Cf. Lloyd E. Ohlin, Robert B. Coates, and Alden D. Miller, "Evaluating the Reform of Youth Corrections in Massachusetts" Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Volume 12, #1, (January 1975) pp. 3-16.

Table 4

Recidivism Rates for Girls in the 1968 and 1974 Samples
By Regions I, II, III, IV and Total 1968 Sample

Recidivism Criteria	Total Sample	Regional Sample (I, II, III, IV)	
	1968 %	1968 %	1974 %
1. Reappearance in Court			
a) 6 months	17 (72)	13 (39)	19 (48)
b) 12 months*	24 (72)	26 (39)	35 (44)
2. Probation or Recommitment			
a) 6 months	8 (72)	8 (39)	12 (48)
b) 12 months*	10 (72)	8 (39)	16 (44)

* Sample size for the 1974 12-month period is smaller than for the six month period because a few youth have not been out of program for 12 months.

II, III and IV on which our check of court records is complete. Measured by court reappearance the rates are higher for girls in 1974, 19% compared to 13% for the six month period and 35% compared to 26% for the 12 month period. This is also true of the disposition index. The 1974 rate for probation or institutional commitment is higher for the 6 month period, 12% compared to 8%, and also for the 12 month period, 16% compared to 8%. These differences between the 1968 and 1974 samples while not particularly substantial are difficult to interpret. Although practitioners in Massachusetts and elsewhere are quick to point out that girls are now committing more serious offenses than they were a few years ago, the fact that most of the girls in this portion of the 1974 sample were committed or referred as status offenders masks from empirical analysis any increase in seriousness of offenses. It is clear, however, that the former system tended to hold on to girls for a longer period of time and that a greater percentage of girls were paroled at ages 16 and over (63% in 1968; 54% in 1974) which may mean that then girls were more likely to be detained during the most critical adolescent years. It is also quite possible that as attitudes toward the status of women have changed in recent years that judges and other criminal justice decision-makers may be less likely to view girls as requiring protection from exposure to the correctional system. If such a change in attitude is in fact taking place one would expect the recidivism rate for girls

to increase.

These preliminary recidivism data suggest that the policy of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services to close the training schools has not resulted in a substantial increase in recidivism, but neither has it resulted in a substantial decrease. Region by region analysis shows rather dramatic shifts in both directions. Considerable work remains to sort out the impact of the reforms as compared to the impact of other factors which have been changing as well over the five or six year period between our two comparison samples.

III. Conceptual Underpinnings and Methodology of the Longitudinal Study

In this section, the longitudinal data from the cohort sample will be presented. The longitudinal study is still incomplete, and thus the results presented here must be regarded as preliminary and tentative. Data are available for a large number of cases on the entire process from detention to post-program experiences in the community. We can, therefore, begin to address five basic issues: 1) what are the factors affecting detention decisions; 2) what factors affect initial program placement within DYS; 3) what are the immediate effects of program experiences; 4) how are program experiences and other factors related to longer run, post-program experiences; and 5) what impact do decisions made early in the

process have on decisions made at later stages.

Given the overall rationale of the DYS reform effort to develop a more humane and more effective process to facilitate youth reintegration into the community, relationships provide the key concepts around which the longitudinal study revolves. It is assumed that any successful attempt to make the correctional process more humane must involve altering relationships between staff and youth and between the youth themselves. For example, the early reform effort sought to inform youth better about what was happening to them as they moved through the "treatment process", and to involve youth more fully in decisions about their future. The nature of punishments and rewards for good or bad behavior were also altered, de-emphasizing physical punishment and involving youth to a greater extent in rewarding others for good behavior. The longitudinal study provides data on these changes in relationships.

Facilitating reintegration depends in part on shaping relationships between youth and significant adults such as parents, school teachers, employers and police. Here also, the longitudinal study focuses on task oriented relationships concerning information flow, decision-making, punishment, and rewards.

This focus on relationships also enables us to assess the degree to which programs are actually community based. Much confusion has characterized the field of corrections over the definition and con-

ceptualization of community based programming. It is common to hear the phrase used to identify any alternative to institutional confinement, yet it is clear that a group home can be as isolated from the larger community as a large prison or training school. The words "community based" focus our attention on the nature of the linkages between programs and the community. A key set of variables embodying this linkage idea differentiates among programs on the basis of the extent and quality of relationships between program staff and clients, on the one hand, and the community in which the program is located on the other. If clients come from outside the community in which the program itself is located, relationships need to be considered with both the community in which the program is located and the home community to which the client will return.*

The nature of these client and staff relationships with the community provides a continuum of services ranging from the least to the most community based. As the frequency, duration, and quality of community relationships increase the program is categorized as more community based. The range extends from an isolated institutional environment to residential or non-residential programs where relationships with the community are essentially normalized, i.e., youth have access to the full array of resources available in the larger community. This continuum of variable dimensions of com-

*Robert B. Coates, "A Working Paper on Community Based Corrections: Concept, Historical Development, Impact, and Potential Dangers." Unpublished paper presented at the Massachusetts Standards and Goals Conference, November 18, 1974 (Center for Criminal Justice, Harvard Law School).

munity relationship adds more realism to the concept of community corrections. Because of the varying needs of specific offenders and communities no system can afford to have all of its programs lodged at either end of the continuum.

The longitudinal data, while permitting discrimination among programs in terms of community linkage, do not by themselves provide the most comprehensive basis for making that assessment. However we can make rough distinctions sufficient for this preliminary analysis. As the cross-sectional program survey data are completed and merged with the longitudinal data we will be in a better position to more fully address the issue of community linkage.

The long run impact of the new system is measured in the longitudinal study by looking at the kinds of relationships youth have with other significant persons six months after their principal experience with DYS. Such relationships should provide a partial explanation of why some youth recidivate and others do not. Recidivism will also be analyzed by considering the influence of the characteristics of youth and the types of programs they experienced in DYS.

The emphasis on relationships among significant actors in the system highlights another major concern of the longitudinal study. That is, how are youth perceived by decisionmakers and how do these perceptions effect their immediate decisions? What effect do these early decisions have on later decisions as the youth proceed further

into the juvenile justice system? In other words, to what extent are decision makers influenced by the labeling effect of prior official actions rather than the personal characteristics, needs, conduct, or circumstances of youth?

The longitudinal study involves a series of four interviews with a cohort of DYS youth entering the Department in 1973 and 1974. Youth may enter the Department in several ways. Some youth are held in DYS detention facilities pending court appearance. Therefore, we interview youth so detained for more than two days. Some of these youth are dealt with by the court without any further contact with DYS while others are committed or referred to DYS. Youth who are either committed or referred to DYS are then interviewed after the court disposition. Youth who receive program placements from DYS are then interviewed again prior to the termination of a residential program or after a period of three months in a nonresidential program. Finally, the most crucial interview occurs after a youth has been released from a residential program for about six months, or has been in a nonresidential community program or a foster home for about nine months, or when he has recidivated. The initial interview provides data on individual background, self image, aspirations and initial assessments of relationships with significant others. Later interviews repeat relationship, aspiration and self image questions in addition to providing information on the stage of the process that the youth has just experienced.

Sampling of youth for the longitudinal sample is accomplished in the following way. The seven administrative regions are divided, for purposes of the study, into four sets, three containing two regions and one containing Boston proper. Since January 15, 1973, we have interviewed successive admissions in all four sets of regions until we have reached the point of having approximately seventy committed or referred youth in each region (140 in Region VI, Boston).* This will generate a projected sample of close to five hundred committed or referred youth across the state, allowing for some attrition of the sample over time.

This report will present data on youth who have been administered the full set of interviews as of March 30, 1975. There are a few youth in each of the regions who have not yet completed their DYS experience; Region VI, the last region sampled, has approximately 85 youngsters not yet completed and therefore not in this analysis. Table 5 depicts the number of completed and uncompleted youth by the seven DYS administrative regions.

Much of the data analysis in this report has been done with stepwise multiple regression techniques.** These techniques enable us to predict an individual's score on one variable, called the dependent variable, from his scores on other variables, called independent variables.

*The term region, throughout this report, will refer to the region through which youth entered the sample. Any given region may use programs beyond its own boundaries, but the youth remain the administrative responsibility of that region.

**Some readers will be surprised that we use these techniques even with dichotomous dependent variables. However, it happens that multiple discriminant function analysis reduces in the case of a dichotomy to multiple regression, so that what we are actually doing in the case of the dichotomous dependent variable with multiple regression is a discriminant function analysis.

Table 5

Number of Completed and Uncompleted Cases by Region
as of March 30, 1975

Region	No. Completed Youth	No. Uncompleted Youth
Region I	50	3
Region II	62	3
Region III	49	5
Region IV	56	6
Region V	50	16
Region VI	56	85
Region VII	49	24
Total N	372	142

The regression analysis produces for each dependent variable a number called the regression constant, which is the average value of the dependent variable when all the independent variables equal zero, and a series of numbers called regression coefficients, each of which represents the increase or decrease in the dependent variable when one of the independent variables increases by one unit, without the other independent variables changing at the same time.* The regression coefficients are the most important results, for they represent the effect of each independent variable, controlling, or holding constant, all the rest.

In our presentation we will frequently represent these results in tables. Each column of a table will represent the results for a dependent variable. The dependent variable will be indicated at the head of the column, the rows will represent the independent variables, and the numbers in the cells will be the regression coefficients. At the foot of each column we will indicate in addition the regression constant and also the multiple correlation coefficient. The multiple correlation coefficient is a number varying between zero and plus one that indicates the degree to which the independent variables in combination predict accurately the dependent variable. A value of zero means the independent variables are of no help in predicting the dependent variable. A high value means they predict

*The regression coefficients are expressed in the raw score units of the independent and dependent variables rather than in standard score units (Beta weights) in order to enhance the comparability with analyses in other populations and in order to make it easy to compare the practical effects of raw unit changes in different independent variables in our own population.

the dependent variable well.

When a variable consists of several unordered categories, like the seven administrative regions of the Massachusetts youth correctional system, we represent each category as a separate variable, scored "one" if a person is in that category, "zero" otherwise. Thus a person who was in Region I would have a score of "one" on the Region I dichotomous variable, and a score of "zero" on the other region variables.

Suppose we had the following hypothetical results:

	<u>School Placement</u>
Region I	.4
Region II	.5
Region VII	-.3
Years of schooling	.2
Regression constant	.1
Multiple Correlation	.78

Notice that Regions I, II, and VII are included and the other regions are omitted. The omission means that the regression coefficients of the omitted regions are not significantly different from zero. The regression constant gives the predicted value of the dependent variable school placement, when a youth has no schooling and is not in Regions I, II, or VII (has scores of zero on all these variables) or in other words has no schooling and is in one of Regions III, IV, V, or VI. The regression coefficient for years of schooling indicates how much the predicted value for school placement increases for each year of schooling the youth has. The negative regression

coefficient for Region VII indicates how much the predicted value for school placement decreases if the youth is in Region VII, compared to what it would be if the youth were in Region III, IV, V, or VI. Similarly the positive regression coefficients for Regions I and II indicate how much the predicted value for school placement would increase if the youth were in Region I or II, compared to Regions III, IV, V, or VI. The higher the predicted value for school placement the more likely the youth will be put into a school placement. The multiple correlation of .78 indicates that the independent variables, region and years of schooling, predict school placement rather well.

We will indicate the degree of statistical significance of the regression coefficients and the multiple correlation coefficients by asterisks. One asterisk indicates the .05 level, two the .01 level, and three the .001 level.* Thus, the more asterisks, the more significantly different from zero the coefficient. Within a column representing results for a particular dependent variable the number of asterisks can be taken as a rough indication of the degree to which an independent variable contributes to the predictability of the dependent variable. The more asterisks the more the variable contributes to predictability.

*Significance tests with dichotomous dependent variables are frequently considered a problem. However the F test associated with the multiple correlation coefficient appears to be the same as Hotelling's T², a test used in discriminant function analysis. This would suggest that the significance test associated with the multiple correlation is appropriate even with a dichotomous dependent variable as long as there are continuous variables among the independent variables or as long as the dichotomous independent variables are numerous enough to add up to a discriminant function that is approximately continuous. Significance tests for the individual independent variables are probably accurate for continuous independent variables but only approximate for dichotomous independent variables.

IV. The Juvenile Justice Process: From Detention to the Community

A. Detention

Before proceeding to a discussion of detention decisions, we will present a few selected background characteristics of the youth in the sample. Thirty two percent of the 372 youth in the completed sample reported that they were committed or referred to the Department because they had been charged with property offenses (e.g., breaking and entering and larceny). Twenty-one percent had been charged with stealing cars, 20% for juvenile or status offenses (e.g., runaway, stubborn child), 8% for property and person offenses (e.g., armed robbery, robbery), 9% for crimes against person (e.g., homicide, rape, assault), 3% for drug use, 2% for public misbehavior (e.g., drunkenness, loudness), and 5% for other miscellaneous offenses.

Males constitute eighty-two percent of the sample. They are most likely to be in DYS for stealing cars or for property offenses, while females are more likely to be in for juvenile status offenses. Fourteen percent of the sample are black, 82% white and 3% other. Blacks tend to be in DYS for property and person offenses and not juvenile offenses. On the other hand, being white is strongly and positively correlated with juvenile offenses, somewhat positively related to drug offenses and stealing cars, but negatively correlated with property and person or person offenses. While 62% are sixteen or over, there is no apparent relationship between age and type of offense. Forty-one percent of the sample attended school regularly prior to being placed in DYS; thirteen percent attended infrequently and 45% had dropped out of school. Youth attending school regularly

are most likely to be in DYS for juvenile or status offenses. These youth are also somewhat associated with drug offenses and and property and person offenses. Youth who have dropped out are more likely to be in for stealing cars. Dropping out is also somewhat related to crimes against property and crimes against persons.

Forty-one percent of the sample come from intact families, that is, both natural parents are living at home. Thirteen percent come from homes with one natural parent and one step parent. Thirty-five percent come from single parent homes, and 8% lived with other adults. Four percent were living in settings with no adult head of household before being placed in DYS.

A report was issued by the Center in early 1975 which dealt specifically with issues related to detention decisions.* Accordingly, we will only describe here the key detention decisions in order to place them in their proper perspective as part of the process through which many DYS youth proceed.

In the course of the larger research project we are attempting to describe the detention and the placement process and the criteria used in making these decisions by interviewing court liaison staff, regional placement personnel and persons within the various programs who are responsible for intake. It is clear that matching youth with detention and placement programs involves a considerable amount of intuition and trial and error as well as reliance on the more ob-

*Robert B. Coates, Alden D. Miller, Lloyd E. Ohlin, "Juvenile Detention and Its Consequences" Unpublished paper. Center for Criminal Justice, Harvard Law School, mimeo (January 1975).

jectifiable characteristics of youth. In this analysis, however, we will examine assignment of youth to detention units and initial placement simply by looking at the characteristics of youth to determine to what extent these characteristics will permit us to predict the kinds of programs in which youth will be assigned or placed.

For the most part we will be concerned here with the decision by the Department of Youth Services as to which type of detention facility to use. However, of the 372 committed or referred youth comprising our completed sample, 237 were detained and 135 were not. Thus we can also look at sizeable sub-samples of youth who were either 1) committed or referred to DYS and previously detained, or 2) committed or referred to the Department but not previously detained in a juvenile detention center.

As indicated in our earlier report, after analyzing a wide number of background variables very little could be said about what factors actually lead to the decision to detain or not detain those youth who are eventually committed or referred to DYS. It should be clear to the reader that our sample is not fully representative of the large number of youth coming before the court concerning whom decisions as to the advisability of detention must be made. Further, since this is not a study of the actual court proceeding, we are unable to rule out the possibility that interpersonal interactions within the hearing process might tend to influence the decision in some systematic, reasonable manner. However, for the sample being analyzed

here, we sought to reanalyze the detention decision, this time with a more powerful statistical technique, regression analysis. Again we discover very little to help us predict who will be detained and who will not among those subsequently committed or referred by the court to DYS.

We can say that youth who have mothers employed in white collar occupations are not as likely to be detained. Also youth who are closer to completing their schooling are not as likely to be detained as youth who remain in the lower grades. On the other hand youth residing in Regions V and VI are more likely to be detained than youth in other regions. Thus it may be the case that youth who come from families with relatively higher status and who are closer to graduation are less likely to be detained. However, the decision seems to be largely influenced by where one lives, as a reflection perhaps of court policies, available facilities and other variables as yet unexplored. In any case the decision to detain for our sample does not appear to be based on characteristics of the youth and his involvement in delinquency.

Once the decision is made by the court to detain, DYS must decide where to hold the youth while awaiting court appearance. Again using the controlling technique of regression analysis we can determine which factors significantly influence that decision. The three kinds of detention alternatives are custodial, treatment, and shelter care. Thirty-one percent of the detained youth in our sample were held in custodial units, 27% in treatment units and 41% in shelter care units.

Table 6
Multiple Regression of "Nondetained"
on Background Variables

	Nondetained
Mother in White Collar Employment	.2317***
Years of Schooling (grade)	.0614***
Region V	-.1976**
Region VI	-.1813**
Regression Constant	.844
Multiple Correlation	.313***

There is considerable variation of detention placement by region. Youth in Region VI are apt to be held in custodial detention and seldom in shelter care. Youth in Regions I and II will most probably be held in treatment units and not in custodial or shelter care programs. Youth in the other regions tend to be detained in shelter care and custodial programs. Thus where one is detained is also largely influenced by where one lives.

Other factors related to this decision include characteristics of the family. Youth who have fathers in white collar employment are not likely to be detained in custodial detention but will probably be detained in shelter care units. Youth with a father only as head of household are more likely to be placed in shelter care units than other children.

The nature of the current offense charge is also related. It is quite likely that youth who are charged with crimes against person will be detained in secure care. It should be noted however that the nature of the charge did not discriminate in the first place between those youth detained and those not detained. Also youth who have a history of stealing cars will probably be detained in custodial units, particularly if they engaged in this activity alone rather than with others.

The decision where to detain is also shaped in part by the experience that DYS has had with the youth in the past. Youth who have previously run from DYS are more likely to be detained in

Table 7
Multiple Regression of "Where Detained"
on Background Variables

	Custody	Treatment	Sheltercare
Region I	-.2431***	.8652***	-.6743***
Region II	-.2784***	.8870***	-.6209***
Region IV	.2663***		-.3568***
Father White Collar	-.1976***		.1976***
Father Only			.2267*
Current Charge-Person	.2707**		
Self-Reported Past Crimes			
Cars Alone	.1620**		
Cars with Others			-.1203*
Run from DYS Unit	.1860***		-.2438***
Kids use Pot			.1205**
Kids want to be Part of Society	.3329***		-.1712**
Don't hang with DYS Kids			.1607**
Age			-.0390*
Female		.1425***	
Regression Constant	.200	-.022	1.302
Multiple Correlation	.643***	.927***	.736***

custodial units than those who have not, and those who have run are not as likely to be held in shelter care units.

Youth whose friends use marijuana (pot) or are not generally former DYS charges are more likely to be held in the shelter care units. Youth who believe that their friends want to become part of society are more apt to be held in custodial units. Younger youth tend to be more often represented in the shelter care units than older youth, and females are more likely to be placed in treatment units than males.

Thus while little logic is apparent in our sample for the decision to detain, more justification appears for the decision where to detain particularly in terms of youth charged with person offenses and youth who have previously run from the Department. Still the over-riding factor determining where youth are to be detained appears to be where the youth resides; in other words, where detained may be largely influenced by the availability of alternative detention slots.

B. Initial Placement

We have classified programs in which DYS youth can be placed into four categories: secure care, group home, foster care, and non-residential. Secure care consists of those programs, public and private, which provide fairly intensive services in a secure residential setting. In almost all instances these settings are locked. Type of treatment ranges from intensive group encounter programs specializing in the "concept model", or programs providing remedial

educational skills, to programs which offer very little but shelter. Group home programs encompass a great variety of treatment or simple maintenance objectives. Treatment goals range from fairly intensive psychological change orientations to programs which simply try to provide a normalized atmosphere from which participants may take part in the day-to-day life of the community. Foster care may be of short duration or for a fairly long period. As with the other programs the nature of foster care varies considerably. Some youth in very temporary placements simply receive shelter and routine casework from the regional offices. Other youth in longer term placements may become more involved in the normal routines of the communities in which the foster home is located. Non-residential programs refer to services provided to youth living in their own homes or in some alternative situation outside the non-residential program. The type of non-residential service varies considerably including access to recreation facilities, tutorial education, counseling, or work experiences.

For this preliminary analysis these four program types can be ranged on our community based continuum from secure care as the least community-based through group home and foster care to non-residential as the most community-based. This will permit us to make some tentative assessments of community linkage later in this report. The rationale for this arrangement is both a priori and based on our extensive day-to-day observation of program operations. This placement of program types on the continuum will be greatly refined in later analyses. We intend to subclassify the group homes

into several categories reflecting the principal programmatic thrust of the programs. With the aid of cross-sectional data combined with the longitudinal data, we plan to arrange program types on the community based continuum according to a more comprehensive empirical assessment of the extent and quality of community linkages.

Given the four types of programs as currently classified, the first question to be addressed is "How do youth in these programs differ from one another if at all?" In other words before attempting to assess the immediate or long run impact of the programs, we must try to determine why youth are initially placed in specific programs and the extent to which the different program types select different types of youth.

In terms of regions, youngsters in Region IV were less likely to be in group homes than youth in other regions; youth in Region II were more likely to be placed in foster homes; and, after controlling for other factors, none of the regions were positively associated with non-residential programs except Region III.

Females in the sample are somewhat related to secure care while males are strongly related with group homes and non-residential programs. This may in part reflect the less diverse range of programs available to girls than boys as well as their differential response to the various types of programs. Blacks and younger youth are associated with non-residential placements.

Family characteristics are somewhat related to initial placement. Youth living with both natural parents are not likely to be placed in non-residential programs. Nor are youth from a mother only family, or where the father is either in semi-skilled or unskilled employment or where the mother is engaged in white collar employment. Youth who are from a father only family or whose mother is unemployed are more likely to be placed in non-residential alternatives.

Youth who were attending school regularly prior to being committed or referred to DYS are more likely to be in non-residential programs and less likely to be held in secure care. Youngsters who do not hang around with other DYS youth are also more likely to be placed in non-residential programs. Youth who indicate that their friends tend to be younger than themselves are likely to be placed in either secure care or non-residential programs.

The decisions to detain and where to detain have considerable impact on initial placement within DYS. Youth detained are more likely to be placed in secure care than youth who were not detained while the latter are more likely to be placed in non-residential programs. Furthermore, youngsters detained in secure care are likely to be placed in secure programs. Youth detained in treatment units are more likely to be placed in non-residential programs; youth detained in shelter care units are more likely to be placed in group homes; and there is no significant differential impact of where de-

Table 8

Multiple Regression of "Initial Placement"
on Background Variables

	Secure Care	Group Home	Foster Home	Non- Residential
Region I				-2.9957***
Region II			.2732***	-2.9405***
Region IV		-.2223**		-.2799***
Region V				-.1609***
Region VI				-.7758***
Region VII				-.3408***
Female	.1729**	-.2279***		-.2978***
Black				.3918***
Age				-.0446***
Mother and Father				-.2644***
Father Only				.5785***
Mother Only				-.1423***
Father Unskilled				-.5087***
Father Semiskilled				-.0819***
Mother White Collar				-.3132***
Mother Unemployed		-.1193*	.1115**	.1459***
Go to School Regularly	-.0241*			.0164**
Don't Hang with DYS Kids				.1647***
Friends Younger	.4434***			.1151*
Kids Use Pot				.3781***
Nondetained	-.1976***			.5246***
Detained in Custody	.3358***	-.3132***		
Detained in Treatment		-.3884***		3.1713***
Kids Want to be Part of Society		-.1499*		.4010***
Kids Want to Get Away from Society				.3129***
Current Charge				
Juvenile			.0980*	-.1169***
Person				.2662***
Self Reported Past Crimes				
Drugs with Others		.2221***		-.2245***
Property with Others				-.1697***
Property Person with Others	.1423*			-.1623***
Cars with Others				-.1787***
Cars Alone		.1716**		
Property Alone				.2307***
Juvenile Alone		-.2633*	.2253*	.4002***
Aspirations				
Job-Skilled				-.6398***
Job-White Collar	-.2577*	.2872*		
Run from DYS		-.1666***		-.1528***
Regression Constant	.346	.878	.021	.355
Multiple Correlation	.533***	.576***	.414***	.865***

tained on foster home placement. Since we can find very little rational evidence for why some youth are detained and others not, and since where one is detained seems largely an artifact of the availability of services in the region in which one resides, the statistical relationship between the detention variables (being detained and being detained in a secure unit) and placement in a secure care unit should raise a note of caution. It seems quite likely that some youth are being detained in custody units simply because slots are available. However, the fact that they have been detained prior to commitment and placement seems to be signifying to other decisionmakers that the youngsters require secure care services.

Youth who indicate that their friends want to be part of society or want to get away from society are associated with non-residential programs. In terms of offenses, youth charged with status offenses are likely to be placed in foster homes while youth charged with crimes against the person are somewhat likely to be found in non-residential programs. Another way of looking at offense history is to determine what kinds of things youth were doing either alone or with other youth that violated laws. Answers to these questions are not necessarily related to current charge. Youngsters who participated with other youth in property offenses, drug offenses, property and person offenses and car stealing are not likely to be found in non-residential programs. The drug offenders will generally be placed in group homes while the youth with crimes against property

and person will be placed in secure care. Persons in the sample who tend to commit crimes alone are more likely to be found in the non-residential programs; this is the case for property offenders and juvenile offenders. However the car thief is more likely to be placed in a group home.

Youth who have white collar job aspirations are not likely to be placed in secure care but will more likely be placed in group homes. Youth aspiring to skilled jobs are not likely to be placed in non-residential programs. Youngsters who have run from DYS previously are not likely to be placed in non-residential or group home programs.

To summarize initial placement, there are constellations of variables which seem to be most directly related to one's chances of being placed in a particular program type. Placement in secure care tends to be strongly associated with the youth's detention history and his having younger friends. If he has positive linkages with the school he will most likely not be placed in secure care. Youth placed in group homes tend to have histories of drug or car related offenses and have not previously run from DYS programs. Youth in foster homes tend to be juvenile status offenders from homes that are probably less financially secure. Youth placed in non-residential programs tend to be black, come from less stable and financially secure homes, have committed crimes against the person, and have done much of their criminal activity alone rather than with others.

In order to obtain some general assessment of youths' experience in the various programs, questions were asked of youth about the kinds of relationships they had with program staff. For this analysis, we treat each program experience as a case; because some youth experience more than one program as they move through the DYS system, the total number of program experiences exceeds the number of youth sampled. Of particular interest were relationships involving communication, decision-making, providing help, and the punishing or rewarding of behavior. Responses to these questions in Table 9 indicate that youth have different experiences depending on the type of program with which they are involved. For example, 81% of the youth in non-residential programs said that staff tried to explain to them what was happening in the program as compared to 73% in group homes, 68% in foster care, and 56% in secure care. Non-residential programs and foster care consistently received more favorable assessments than did group homes or secure care. Forty-seven percent in non-residential and 44% in foster care indicated that they had opportunities to participate in decision making by-- actually making choices, while only 33% of youth in group homes and 26% in secure care said that they were able to make choices.

To determine to what extent program staff were actually trying to advocate for youth in the community or trying to reintegrate the youth by linking them with positive supports in the community, youth were asked how program staff tried to help. They were asked to decide whether staff were merely providing encouragement or whether they were actually trying to find jobs for them, place them in al-

Table 9
Staff-Youth Relationships By Type
of Program

Relationship	Type of Program			
	Secure Care	Group Home	Foster Home	Non-Residential
1. Staff try to make you understand what is happening?				
a) Yes	56	73	68	81
b) Sometimes	16	15	15	7
c) No	<u>28</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	(106)	(259)	(53)	(43)
2. Staff let you share in decisions?				
a) No	38	26	19	9
b) Yes, ask youth	36	41	36	44
c) Yes, let youth make choices	<u>26</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>46</u>
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	(105)	(255)	(52)	(43)
3. Staff help you stay out of trouble?				
a) No	37	19	15	12
b) Yes, encourage youth	39	52	41	37
c) Yes, help youth get jobs, into alternative programs	<u>25</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>51</u>
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	(101)	(250)	(53)	(43)

Table 9-Continued
Staff-Youth Relationships, By Type
of Program

Relationship	Type of Program			
	Secure Care	Group Home	Foster Home	Non-Residential
4. Will staff punish youth?				
a) No	11	17	17	39
b) Yes, separate from group	32	10	7	19
c) Take away privileges	45	64	61	37
d. Yes, hit youth	7	2	4	0
e. Yes, embarrass youth	2	3	2	2
f. Yes, make you feel guilty	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	(105)	(253)	(54)	(43)
5. Do Staff punish youth for what other kids do?				
a) Regularly	38	22	20	11
b) Sometimes	28	33	33	22
c) Never or hardly ever	<u>34</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>67</u>
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	(93)	(216)	(45)	(27)

Table 9-Continued
Staff-Youth Relationships by Type
of Program

Relationship	Type of Program			
	Secure Care	Group Home	Foster Home	Non-Residential
6. Do staff reward you if you do well?				
a) No	31	21	34	16
b) Yes, include me	15	6	9	12
c) Yes, additional privileges	38	35	34	42
d) Yes, make me look good in front of others	3	7	2	5
e) Yes, make me feel good	<u>13</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>26</u>
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total %	(106)	(251)	(53)	(43)
7. Do staff reward you for what other kids do?				
a) Regularly	18	21	22	22
b) Sometimes	16	22	14	14
c) Never or hardly ever	<u>66</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>64</u>
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	(74)	(201)	(36)	(36)

ternative schools, or link them up with youth oriented programs. Fifty-one percent of youth in non-residential programs and 43% in foster care indicated that staff tried to develop such linkages while twenty-nine percent of youth in group homes and somewhat surprisingly, 25% in secure care facilities felt this way. Over half the youth in group homes felt that staff tried to help by providing encouragement. While these data do not comprise an adequate test of how a program is linked with the larger community, it is clear that the group homes are not regarded by youth as helping them become re-established in the community to any significantly greater extent than the secure care facilities.

The Center's cross-sectional data and subculture data should provide more detailed answers to the question of community linkage. If a large number of group homes create small isolated environments, even though relatively humane compared to the training schools, then we will need to explore more fully the lack of community linkages. Is it because of the nature of the clients, the resistance of the community, the inclinations of the staff, or the role of group homes in the larger DYS structure of services?

The dominant pattern of punishment across all program types is "taking away privileges." In secure programs separating out difficult to control youth is a close second response. Forty percent of youth in non-residential programs said that youth were not punished. There is also a greater tendency in secure programs to punish a group of youth for what one or two may have done. The dominant mode

of rewarding good behavior is providing additional privileges. The second most often mentioned response, except in secure care, is "making the individual feel good." Few programs reward the entire group for what one person has done.

Some interesting response patterns not indicated in Table 9 occur when youth are asked to assess their chances of not getting into trouble again. Sixty percent of the foster care youth felt that they had an excellent chance as contrasted to 47% of youth in group home and non-residential programs, and 28% in secure programs. These responses represent what turns out to be a fairly realistic assessment of chances as will be seen in later sections of this report where recidivism is analyzed for this cohort sample.

This brief look at youth assessments of their relationships with program staff clearly indicate that from their point of view they do have qualitatively different experiences depending upon the type of program in which they are placed. Because initial placement is largely determined by the range of services available within the region in which one resides, rather than other background characteristics, these data would tend to suggest that regions without adequate foster care and non-residential programs should make concerted efforts to expand their program alternatives.

V. The Community: Long Run Impact

1. Relationships with significant others

The long run impact of program experiences in DYS can be measured in part by the quality of linkages or relationships with various sig-

nificant others in the community. A full analysis of these linkages will have to await more comprehensive analysis of the data. Program experience is but one of many variables which influence relationships in the community. In Table 10, we explore one of these related variables. When we asked youth whether their bosses at work tend to help them or not in finding a place in the community, we discover that final non-residential placement or detention in a treatment unit are the only program variables which are related to this variable. We have coded the "help" variable "one" if bosses were not helpful and "zero" if they were helpful or if they were not in contact with the youth. The variable thus represents unhelpful contact. Participation in a non-residential program is associated with bosses either helping or having no contact with the youth, while being detained in a treatment unit prior to court is associated with bosses not helping. This latter relationship is the strongest of all the variables related to bosses helping. Youth not detained are more likely to report that bosses do not help than youth detained. The detention relationships are indicative of a trend for early decisions in the juvenile justice process to contribute greatly to not only immediate but long range consequences.

Regions I, II, and VI are related to bosses helping while in other regions youth are more likely to believe that bosses do not help. Males are more likely than females to view bosses as not helping. Blacks are not likely to consider bosses helpful. Youth living with both parents are less likely to find bosses not helpful

Multiple Regression of "Unhelpful Contact with the Boss at Work" on Background and Program Variables

	Unhelpful contact with Boss at Work
Final Non Residential Detention Treatment*	-.8234*** 5.5487***
Nondetained Run from DYS Unit	.7907*** -.3187***
Region I Region II Region VI	-5.1209*** -4.5973*** -1.0306***
Female Black	-.6667*** .4506***
Mother and Father Father Only Father Unskilled Mother White Collar	-.3965*** .8763*** -1.0708*** -.4558***
Self Reported Past Crimes Cars with Others Property and Person with Others Drugs with Others Property Alone Juvenile Alone Current Charge-Person	-.4145*** -.4898*** -.3890*** .3776*** .5873*** .4961***
Kids use Pot	.6396***
Aspirations--Job Skilled	.9949***
Kids want to get Away from Society Kids want to be Part of Society Kids want to get Back at Society	.5934*** .6503*** .3251***
Don't Hang with DYS Kids	.3403***
Regression Constant	-.670
Multiple Correlation	.954***

* The extraordinarily large absolute values of regression coefficients for detention treatment and Regions I and II in columns of this and other tables where these three variables appear together are probably contributed to by rounding error in the computer because of the high correlation of detention treatment with these two region variables.

than youth living with their father only. Youth with a history of participating with others in car theft, property and person offenses, or drugs are likely to find bosses helpful, while youth with a current charge of a crime against a person or a history of property or status offenses alone are more likely to find bosses not helpful.

Another very crucial relationship for juveniles in trouble is their relationship with police. As noted in Table 11, youngsters in the sample who are status offenders, who have been detained in a treatment unit or who do not hang with other DYS youth indicate that they either have rewarding experiences with the police or little contact at all. Generally youth who have been detained and youth initially placed in secure care indicate that police do not reward them for good behavior.

Another key relationship for many youth is their association with a community service program once they leave DYS. Youth were asked to recall what they considered to be the best community program in which they participated. They were then asked whether this program evaluated them as a "good kid". Youth in Regions I, II, and VI, as shown in Table 12, are less likely to perceive themselves as being considered "good kids" than are youth in other regions. Youth who were not detained and those detained in treatment units are likely to sense that the community service program regard them as "good kids". Males are more likely to have a positive perception than females, and blacks believe that they are viewed positively. Youth whose father is in unskilled employment or mother has white collar employment do not see themselves regarded as "good kids." On the other hand youth who live with

Table 11

Multiple Regression of "Unrewarding Contact with
the Police" on Background and Program Variables

	Unrewarding contact with the Police
Current Charge-Juvenile Detention Treatment	-.2943*** -.1692**
Don't Hang with DYS kids	-.1051*
Nondetained Initial Secure	-.0995* .1465**
Regression Constant	.931
Multiple Correlation	.418***

Table 12

Multiple Regression of "Best Community Program thinks Youth is a Good Kid" on Background and Program Variables

	Best Community Program Thinks Good Kid
Region I	-2.4961***
Region II	-2.5467***
Region VI	-.5995***
Nondetained	.4263***
Detention Treatment	2.8642***
Female	-.2219***
Black	.3477***
Father Unskilled	-.6117***
Mother White Collar	-.2648***
Mother Unemployed	.1542***
Father Only	.6640***
Self Reported Past Crimes	
Cars Alone	.1198*
Juvenile Alone	.3162***
Property Alone	.2112***
Property with Others	-.1442***
Drugs with Others	-.1945***
Current Charge-Person	.3315***
Sequence Secure	-.3420***
Sequence Non Residential	-.7664***
Initial Group Home	-.2130***
Run from a DYS Unit	-.2054
Kids use Pot	.2941***
Kids Want to Get Away from Society	.3403***
Kids Want to be Part of Society	.2619***
Years of Schooling (grade)	.0320*
Regression Constant	-.503
Multiple Correlation	.615***

a father only or whose mother is unemployed are likely to feel that the program considers them "good kids". Youngsters who have a history of stealing cars or committing status or property offenses alone are likely to believe that they are view as good kids. Rather surprisingly, youth whose current charges is a crime against a person believe that they are regarded as good kids. Youth who have a history of participating with others in drug use or property offenses do not believe that community service programs rate them as good kids.

In terms of placement program, youth who begin and end their sequence of program assignments in a secure program or non-residential program and youth placed initially in group home programs do not share positive perceptions.

In addition to direct questions about relationships between youth and significant others, the longitudinal study relies on the more indirect semantic differential technique to probe those relationships. The semantic differential consists of having youth indicate on a seven point scale bi-polar adjective list, composed of such adjectives as good-bad and fair-unfair, their rating of several significant others such as mother, father, police, and program staff. Youth are first asked to indicate about how they feel about the significant other in question and then to indicate how the significant other would rate them. In later analyses, responses will be analyzed to provide a basis for assessing self image and any change in self image as the youth move through the juvenile justice process. At this time we will only look at the evaluation

dimension of the semantic differential for a few significant others in order to indicate how the data will describe the nature of relationships and thereby provide us with a description of the youths' links with the community.

Among the significant others are the police. Table 13 reflects the variables emerging from the regression analysis which influence how youth evaluate police. Youth charged with status offenses are more likely to be positive toward the police than youth charged with other offenses. Youth who do not hang around with other DYS youth, who come from white collar families, and who attend school regularly are also more likely to perceive police positively. And youth in Region II tend to be more favorably disposed toward the police than youth living in other regions. On the other hand youth who expect to hang around with the same youth they hung with before getting into trouble, and who have a history of either property or property and person offenses are more likely to be negatively disposed toward the police. These youth are more frequently cast in an adversary role with the police and this probably explains their differential responses.

Youth were also asked how they think their friends feel about them. They were more likely, as noted in Table 14, to believe that their friends saw them favorably if they were black, male, young in age, had not been previously detained or if detained, held in a treatment unit. This image was also favorable if they came from families where the mother was unemployed, or where there was only

Table 13
Multiple Regression of "Youth Evaluation of Police"
on Background and Program Variables

	Youth Evaluation of Police
Current Charge-Juvenile	5.1037***
Self Reported Past Crimes	
Property and Person with Others	-2.9837*
Property Alone	-1.7444*
Don't Hang with DYS Kids	3.0164**
Hang with Same Kids	-2.7644***
Father White Collar	2.3645*
Attend School Regularly	.5348*
Region II	2.7112*
Regression Constant	14.273*
Multiple Correlation	.500***

Table 14

Multiple Regression of "Friends' Evaluation of Youth" on Background and Program Variables

	Friends' Evaluation of Youth
Black	7.9225***
Female	-10.3102***
Age	-1.4062***
Nondetained	16.4275***
Detained Treatment	110.3262***
Prior Commitment	-3.3910***
Father and Mother	-13.5555***
Father Only	16.7780***
Mother Only	-7.6053***
Father Unskilled	-17.4195***
Mother White Collar	-9.2402***
Mother Unemployed	5.8528***
Current Charge-Person	10.6458***
Self Reported Past Crimes	
Juvenile Alone	13.6359***
Property Alone	8.9705***
Property with Others	-6.6437***
Drugs with Others	-8.6409***
Property-Person with Others	-7.6858***
Cars with Others	-5.2431***
Run from DYS Unit	-8.7330***
Kids use Pot	12.9899***
Kids Want to be Part of Society	11.7072***
Kids Want to Get Away From Society	8.5997***
Don't Hang with DYS Kids	5.7557***
Aspirations-Job Skilled	-25.1287***
Sequence Non-Residential	-11.3423***
Final Non-Residential	-10.9449***
Region I	-107.1718***
Region II	-104.5654***
Region IV	-9.3425***
Region V	6.0468***
Region VI	-29.2460***
Region VII	-11.2363***
Regression Constant	52.562
Multiple Correlation	.941***

a father as head of household. A favorable image was also associated with a history of doing crime alone, particularly status and property offenses, having friends who use pot but are not former DYS charges and who want to either be part of or get away from society. Youth did not feel that their friends evaluated them favorably if they were from families with either both natural parents or the mother only, with a father engaged in unskilled employment or a mother engaged in white collar employment. Unfavorable images were also associated with being previously committed to DYS and having run from DYS; or having committed crimes with other youngsters, particularly property, property and person, car theft, and drug offenses. In terms of DYS programming, youth whose final program experience was a non-residential program were more likely to feel that their friends evaluated them less favorably than youth in other programs. This may have been because non-residential program youth are more clearly identified to their friends as youth in trouble and receiving services. Youth in Regions I, II, IV, V, VI, and VII are also more likely to believe that friends view them as less favorable than youth from Region III.

Finally we will look at those variables which tend to be associated with a positive self image by the respondent of himself. Sample youth were asked to evaluate themselves with the result shown in Table 15. Youth had more favorable self-images if they had been detained and those detained in shelter care and custodial units were more apt to have positive self-images than youth detained in treat-

Table 15

Multiple Regression of "Self Evaluation" on Background and Program Variables

	Self Evaluation
Nondetained	-2.1013***
Detention Treatment	-2.0103**
Father White Collar	1.6586*
Current Charge-Juvenile	2.223**
Kids Want to Get Away From Society	-1.9159**
Regression Constant	29.515
Multiple Correlation	.303***

ment units. Youth who had fathers employed in white collar jobs and youth charged with status offenses were associated with positive self-images. Youth who indicated that their friends wanted to get away from society tended to think less favorably of themselves. Again we discover that the early experiences with detention have a stronger impact on long run results than the more immediate program experiences. It is clear that caution must be exercised in the decision to detain since some youth apparently are gaining reputations or enhanced self-images because they are detained; it would appear that for these youth detention is fostering more stake in a delinquent career.

This very exploratory section on relationships has yielded some rather surprising results. The set of variables with high associations which appear consistently throughout the tables, with the exception of the evaluation of police, is the set of detention variables. We would probably have expected the more immediate program experiences to be more strongly related to the subsequent community relationships than detention, but these program variables appear only sporadically. In addition to the detention items, some background variables also influence the nature of relationships from time to time. Still, the long run impact of not being detained or being detained in specific kinds of units comes through powerfully.

2. Recidivism

The most prominent impact question for many interested policy-

makers is whether the new DYS system has any appreciable effect on recidivism. In the beginning section of this report we compared current recidivism rates with those of the institution-based system in fiscal year 1968, as fully as presently available data permitted. In that analysis recidivism was determined on the basis of official record data. Since these data are not yet available for all regions, however, our analysis in this final section of the report will employ a measure of recidivism based on our own follow-up of youth by means of our network of contacts with the youth correctional system. The criterion of recidivism is court appearance, but this method picks up specifically those court appearances that come to the attention of personnel in the youth correctional system, ordinarily because the youth were detained by DYS for appearance in court on a new offense. This method thus tends to underestimate those court appearances which involve less serious charges that do not result in a priori detention. Such court appearances frequently end in dismissal. Consequently, it will be apparent that the rates of recidivism obtained by using this method are more like those based on official records where the criterion of recidivism is a court disposition involving probation or recommitment, as reported in the first section. To obtain these rates we followed the youth for six months beyond completion of a residential program, or for nine months from the beginning of a non-residential program. We counted recidivism occurring during pro-

gram contact as well as during the follow-up period.

We reported preliminary results of this measure of recidivism on incomplete samples of the first four regions a year ago. Our more nearly complete data now does not significantly change our recidivism estimates for those four regions, but does underscore the importance of the reservations we stated at the time concerning any generalization from those four regions to the state system as a whole. Other regions are apparently turning out differently as the data on them accumulates. Finally, of course, it must be kept in mind that we are talking only of six-month rates, and the longer term rates that will eventually be available from the official record checks may be different.

For the completed youth in our sample as of March 30, 1975, 34% had recidivated. As shown in Table 16, Region I youth are doing best at staying out of further trouble followed by youth in Regions II, III, IV, VII, V, and VI. Black youth and males are more likely to recidivate in this initial six months period, as are youth who were previously committed or referred to the Department. Detained youth, particularly those detained in custodial units, are more likely to recidivate than non-detained youth.

We can determine the relative impact of program on recidivism by looking at the recidivism rates in relation to the final program placement from which the youth is released into the community. It should be noted that here we add a "no program" category to designate those youth who either were placed on traditional parole without

Table 16
Recidivism Rates by Selected
Background Characteristics

Background Characteristics	% Recidivating	N
Region		
1) I	18	49
2) II	27	64
3) III	27	52
4) IV	33	51
5) V	51	47
6) VI	78	18
7) VII	38	<u>45</u>
Total N		326
Race		
1) Black	61	28
2) White	31	<u>286</u>
Total N		314
Sex		
1) Female	24	62
2) Male	37	<u>264</u>
Total N		326
Prior Commitment or Referral		
1) Yes	46	135
2) No	26	<u>191</u>
Total N		326

Table 16-Continued
Recidivism Rates By Selected
Background Characteristics

Background Characteristics	% Recidivating	N
Detained/Non-Detained		
	43	209
1) Detained		
2) Non-Detained	19	<u>117</u>
Total N		326
Where Detained		
1) Custodial	59	61
2) Treatment	32	63
3) Sheltercare	40	<u>85</u>
Total N		209
Final Placement		
1) Secure Care	60	63
2) Group Home	27	157
3) Foster Care	19	41
4) Non-Residential	23	34
5) No Program	48	<u>31</u>
Total N		326

any formal program experience or ran from a program and remained unattached to any other program. It is clear that youth from secure care recidivate at a faster rate than youth in less secure programs. It is possible that the Department does a good job of selecting out those youth who are higher risks and holding them in secure care. This interpretation would be more convincing if the detention decisions were not so closely related to placements. Because those decisions appear to depend to a large extent on factors unrelated to youth but rather to characteristics of regions, it is possible that youth are placed in secure care who should not be there in the first place and it is this placement which is having a negative effect on their chances of making it subsequently in the community. Since the recidivism risk of permitting youth to participate in the less secure programs is much less, it would seem preferable to restrict secure care to juveniles who clearly need intensive supervision.

Taking all of the background and relationship variables in a regression equation with recidivism as dependent, as in Table 17, we can assess the differential impact of the variables which tend to be most associated with recidivism while controlling for all other variables. The variable which is most strongly related is Region VI. This would indicate that youth in Region VI have a high probability of recidivating. While that is the case for the sample represented here, the reader should remember that Region VI is under-

Table 17
Multiple Regression of Recidivism on
Background and Program Variables

	Recidivism
Region V	.2833***
Region VI	.3673***
Region VII	.1525*
Nondetained	-.1725***
Final Secure	.6175***
Sequence Secure	-.4060*
Run from a DYS Unit	.1790***
Kids use Pot	.1363**
Parents No Help	-.1343*
Staff No Help	.2092***
Current Charge-Person	-.1610*
Regression Constant	1.296
Multiple Correlation	.551***

represented in the completed sample, as of March 30, 1975. Subsequent but still incomplete returns indicate that the final recidivism rate for the full sample will be somewhat lower for this six month exposure period in Region VI. Region V is also associated with recidivism. In this region almost all of the youth in our Region V sample are completed cases* and consequently, we do not expect any significant change in the rate. A possible explanation for the high rate of recidivism in Region V is the relative lack of program diversity in that region. Most youth there are either in secure or group home programs with little utilization of either foster homes or non-residential programs. Region VII is also slightly associated with the likelihood of recidivating. The importance of the original decision to detain for longer run consequences is once again underscored, since youth who were not detained are not as likely to recidivate as youth who were detained.

Controlling for other factors, the influence of final program is similar to what the original cross-tabular relationships suggested, but slightly more complicated. Youth who are in secure placements are more likely to recidivate than youth in other less secure placements, although this tendency is lessened if a youth began in a secure placement, and also subsequently ended there. This relationship supports the notion of building rigorous safeguards around secure care placements so that only those youth who really

*See Table 5 in this report.

require close supervision are actually placed in such programs. It also emphasizes the importance of monitoring transfers from other programs to secure care. Secure care programs cannot simply be seen as convenient "little prisons" to force group home youth into conformity. The ramifications of secure care are too profound to be handled without vigilance.

We also discover that youth who have previously run from DYS are more likely to recidivate as are youth who have friends who use pot.

Only two of our relationship items emerge through this rigorous controlling process as related to recidivism. Somewhat surprisingly youth who believe that their parents are helping or have no contact with the youth tend to recidivate more than those who feel their parents are unhelpful. On the other hand, youth who say that program staff do not help are more likely to recidivate. This is another indication that the type of program does make a difference. It also is an indication that where staff are not trying to build community linkages for youth those youth suffer long run consequences of further contact with the juvenile justice system.

The only offense category which is related to recidivism in this regression analysis is crimes against persons. Youth who commit these types of crimes are less likely to recidivate than youth committing other kinds of crimes.

Thus the types of variables which tend to influence the chances

of recidivism most are the region where a youngster resides, whether the youth was detained or placed in secure care, and whether he believes that staff are trying to help. Region is related to the youngster's program experiences in terms of the range of programs offered by a region and the availability of placement opportunities.

VI. Implications of the Longitudinal Study

The above analysis preliminary though it is, has considerable implications for policy and future research analysis. Clearly, the type of program placement is related to a youth's chances of recidivating within the first six months of exposure to the community. While youth in foster care are doing best followed by youth in non-residential programs and youth in group homes, the differences among these program types is not particularly significant. But youth in these programs are doing far better than youth in secure care programs. That the secure care youth are more likely to recidivate, seems reasonable because of a tendency for the secure care units to work with higher risk youth. Given the analysis to date, however, it seems likely that the higher recidivism of secure care youth is not solely related to youth characteristics. Instead, their failure appears partially due to the experiences they have within the secure care programs and the attached negative labels which restrict their program alternatives and influence future decision-

makers.

Further analysis will incorporate relationship, aspiration, and semantic differential measures not included in the present exploratory analysis, especially measures based on initial interviews. These measures will be important in distinguishing the effects of selection from the efficacy of programs. We will also employ analytical techniques borrowed from econometrics in seeking to make this distinction. Even without such a distinction, however, it is clear from the present analysis that the great majority of DYS youth do well in non-secure settings without presenting inordinate danger to the public. Some have claimed that the new non-secure programs have constituted a revolving door. That happens to be true of the secure programs, which have high recidivism rates and are much like the more secure among the old institutions in this respect. It is clearly not true of the more open programs. At this point it seems reasonable to restrict secure care only to those youth who cannot be handled in a less secure program and to improve the quality of secure care. In recent months the Department has, in fact, generated several new secure care programs to replace some of those which are in this sample, and it is continuing to wrestle with monitoring intake into secure care programs.

Another program implication is that those regions which more fully implement a broad range of program alternatives for youth are increasing the chances of youngsters making it in the community.

The data also indicate that there is considerable variability among group home programs in terms of their ability to build linkages for youth in the community. In future analyses, we will subclassify that category in order to determine characteristics of those groups which are best able to establish those kinds of linkages.

The inordinate long run impact of early decisions, particularly detention decisions, is very suggestive. Decisions made early in the process tend to restrict a youth's program options. For some youth this may be justifiable, but long run consequences are so significant that the decisions to detain and where to detain require careful monitoring. These findings on the impact of detention have implications for the deinstitutionalization of status offenders. In the state of Massachusetts CHINS youth have been officially removed from the authority of the Department of Youth Services, but they are continuing to be detained in DYS detention centers. The data reported here certainly indicate that detention in units which are part of the juvenile justice system should be avoided whenever possible. The data would also tend to support the notion of developing outside the criminal justice system short term emergency shelter care programs or youth hostels as alternatives to the customary detention units with their implicit and explicit stigmatization.

Finally, it should be noted that while the less secure programs seem to be working out better for youth, it is probably unwise to assume that they are so benign that youth who would otherwise not be placed in DYS should now be adjudicated and exposed to those programs. It is possible that what we are discovering is that youth who minimally penetrate the formal justice system do better. As the analysis continues we will be looking at a comparison group of youth who were detained but not placed in DYS. That analysis may go further in addressing this issue of minimal penetration.

END