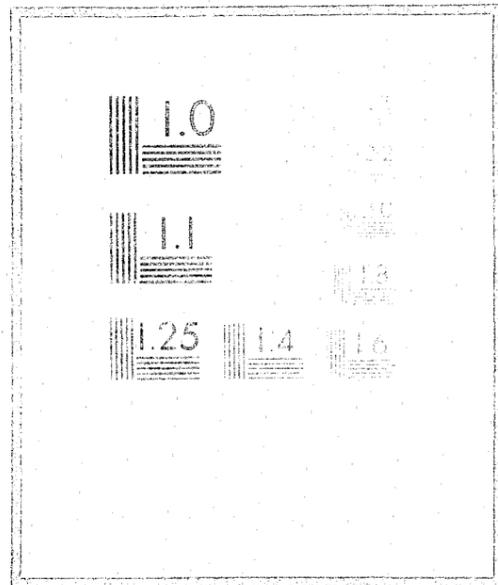


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A REVIEW OF ALTERNATIVES
TO THE INCARCERATION
OF THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDER

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

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I INTRODUCTION

The present review attempts to describe the various alternatives to incarceration in training schools which have been used in other jurisdictions. The literature dealt with can be subsumed under the rubrics of prevention or diversion. In reality most of the concepts dealt with below have been used to intervene in various stages of youth involvement with the juvenile justice system. Prevention or diversion are terms which describe the point at which youth become involved with the programme. However, here the focus has been on the programme rather than the stage at which the programme is offered.

In reviewing the programmes one must bear in mind the general characteristics of the target population. Generally, research has shown that youth who come into conflict with the juvenile justice system have certain common characteristics:

- 1) Most come from family environments which can be described as, at best, unstable and at worst dysfunctional.
- 2) Not only are these children faced with problems in the family environment but they are also often in conflict with their families.
- 3) Most of these children had careers in the school system which are not only frustrating to themselves but also to the school staff.
- 4) Most of these children have siblings or peers who have similar problems of adapting to the various situations in which society has placed them.
- 5) Most of these children and/or their families have had contact with helping agencies prior to their contact with the juvenile justice system.

These problems can be described as a difficult socialization experience coupled with a highly frustrating and ego-damaging academic experience.

Even though the above characteristics are descriptive of the situation of most of these youths, there is no model which establishes these factors as being causal to delinquency. Rather, some research has demonstrated that the incidence of delinquent behaviour (both criminal and status offence) is widespread throughout the juvenile population. Furthermore, such research points out that the

majority of youth do not come into contact with the juvenile justice system to answer for their delinquencies.

The lack of a universally acceptable causal model and the extended baseline of delinquency have caused people to question traditional modes of dealing with juvenile delinquency. Such questioning is further reinforced by evaluating research which demonstrates that most of the traditional approaches are ineffectual in producing long term changes in behaviour patterns. It is felt that the major underlying reason is that the traditional approaches do not aid the children to cope with problems in their natural environments. Consequently, the emphasis has now been placed on community based programmes. However, it is not certain if even this new emphasis will in fact produce any better results.

A basic sociological view of corrections must be that society deals with deviance in a manner which reflects its beliefs about the nature and cause of deviance. In the absence of any scientifically valid theory of causality, one must assume that the popular Zeitgeist is based on "naive realism" which may or may not be valid. However, past history has shown that a society's response to deviance is not of necessity valid or just. The issue here is that any attempt at diversion or prevention can only be fragmentary without a careful examination of the total fabric of society. For every programme there is a clear need to:

- 1) establish criteria of eligibility,
- 2) identify and mobilize extant resources,
- 3) determine the potential impact of new programmes on existing operational structures,
- 4) establish minimal standards of operation, and
- 5) provide some measure of quality control.

As a basic framework which would potentially underline any programme in this area, the approach taken by the Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project seems most appropriate. Five propositions about delinquency were put forth by Knight et al. (1974):

- 1) Delinquency does not exist without social definitions of rule-breaking sanctioned by potential or actual legal processes.
- 2) Most youth commit delinquent acts. Much delinquency is thus produced within "normal" patterns of behaviour.

- 3) Patterns of behaviour which produce serious or repetitive delinquency result from the breakdown of social ties ... the social bond ... between youths and conventional society.
- 4) That breakdown of the bond to society has two major components: (1) personal controls of the individual (commitment to conformity), and (2) features of social institutions ... family, education, work etc., ... which establish the key conditions for the attachment of young people to society.
- 5) Weak commitment to conformity is translated into delinquent acts because of situational opportunities and inducements.

The basic question which must be asked is, "In what way are youth who came in contact with helping agencies different from their age cohort?". In the final analysis the answer would be couched in terms of quantity rather than quality. The basic fact remains that many changes in the system of the delivery of social services have been proposed (Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Children). Few if any of the concepts proposed were implemented. Therefore there is little hope of any progressive change occurring. Too many vested interests are at stake in the present system.

Horton has proposed that deviant behaviour arises when there is a large discrepancy between aspirations and the means to achieve these goals. The traditional response to deviance in an educational environment is to attempt to raise motivation and aspirations in the hope that deviance will then be diminished. It must be noted that in most instances the means of achieving goals are not altered. Moreover, increased aspirations may in fact increase the problems the child is experiencing in the family setting. The solution may be either to increase the aspirations of the family rather than the aspirations of the child, or to realign the child's aspirations with achievable goals. In other words rather than attempting to bend the child to fit the institution, the institution should be bent to fit the child.

The problem of determining which, if any, of the programmes implemented in one jurisdiction will work in others is obscured by several issues:

- 1) lack of specificity of programme details;
- 2) lack of proper evaluation;
- 3) lack of any underlying theory for the programme;
- 4) the charisma of the individual programme directors.

It must be noted that many programmes that seemingly work, do so only because of the people involved, and because of the programme idea.

One of the basics which must be overcome is the tremendous counter-productive nature of the present system. Services are provided on a fragmentary and disjointed basis. There seems to be little rhyme or reason in who provides services, and when. Consequently, to external appearances it would appear that 'which agency provides which services to what child' is a totally random event.

The magnitude of the problem has been well documented elsewhere and the reader is encouraged to consult the following sources:

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II ASSESSMENT

A significant amount of effort in the whole area of children's services is devoted to "assessment". Often these processes occur in the absence of any theory or any object for the assessment. Without a specification of the goals of assessment, such a process must be seen as futile. In many instances the assessment proceedings are carried out without regard for the child's rights.

A. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

Cruickshank (1974) has developed a statement of children's rights based on four basic needs of children. These needs were:

- 1) need for physical health and security;
- 2) need for emotional security and emotional and mental health;
- 3) need for education and support in making decisions;
- 4) need to be protected from arbitrary or unjust acts on the part of persons in positions of authority.

Within a delinquency stream these needs imply certain rights. These rights have to be remembered not only when assessing the child but also when an assignment to "treatment" is made. The following considerations should be kept in mind at all times:

- 1) The right to be free from exploitation or degrading treatment specifies limitations for any institution or treatment facility dealing with children. Both physical abuse, and psychological degradation, which is often found in evidence in "progressive" institutions (Mitford, 1971), are prohibited under these children's rights.
- 2) The right of parental support emphasizes the importance of attempting to maintain continuous contact between the child and his family. Many treatment programmes which needlessly remove the child from the home go counter to the right of continuity.
- 3) The right to adequate service to promote emotional and mental health states the right of a child to adequate treatment programmes designed to deal with the individual's emotional or mental health problems.
NOTE: While this statement points out the necessity

of offering such treatment programmes to a child, it does not imply that the child must make use of the treatment.

- 4.a.) The right to an appropriate education suggests that society should incorporate a greater range of educational opportunities to accommodate a wider range of individual needs. If a child's behaviour problems are specific to the public school system, it may be that the school is in fact not appropriate to the child's needs.
- 4.b.) The right to adult guidance in making career choices suggests that if agencies of society are to replace a child's family, it must be prepared to help the child readjust to society (in the cases of institutionalization) or plan for future independence.

Children's rights differ from the rights of adults in that children are in a greater state of dependency for the fulfillment of their basic needs, and because there are needs specific to children (education, guidance, protection, security) as a result of their crucial stage of development. In deciding issues of children's rights, however, there are always many forces at work - the parents, the child, society, the child's state of maturity, the child's susceptibility to influence from others, etc.

With the emphasis on devising individualized treatment programmes within the judicial system, youths who have been convicted of similar crimes are not necessarily given equivalent punishment or treatment. This has led to extreme discrepancies with discrimination by social class, sex, race, etc., resulting from commonly held stereotypes about social causes of delinquency, different needs of female offenders, etc.

A strong argument has been put forward by Fox (1974) and Mitford (1971) among others, which suggests that society has the right to punish offenders, but does not necessarily have the right to enforce treatment on the offenders. With the treatment approach to juvenile delinquents, most offenders have been coerced into various programmes. Fox points out that many modern treatment techniques (behaviour modification, aversion therapy, drug therapy) are less humane than techniques of physical punishment which have long ago been abandoned. He argues that punishment will be more fair if it is called punishment than if it is disguised as part of a treatment.

B. REACTIONS TO DELINQUENCY

Many of the problems of contravening children's rights follow as a direct result of the underlying philosophy

with which adults in authority approach the theory of delinquency, and deal with attempted solutions. If an adult believes that a delinquent is "sick", he may decide that therapists are more able than the child to decide what is to be done "in the child's best interests". The child would likely be forced into a treatment programme "for his own good". Taken a step further, in the interests of preventing the sickness of delinquency, attempts would be made to identify youths who are likely to become delinquent and they too may be coerced into treatment programmes. On the other hand, if an adult believes that a child is delinquent as a result of his social environment, attempts may be made to take the child out of a family which is considered to be exerting a bad influence. Attempts may be made to force treatment and change on a whole community.

Schur (1973) has outlined three reactions to delinquency: Individual Treatment, Liberal Reform, and Radical Non-Intervention. He has presented a summary of the assumptions, methodologies, and treatment related to each approach, in the form of a table (see Table 1).

C. PREDICTING DELINQUENT BEHAVIOUR

Each of the three reactions to delinquency outlined calls for a different approach in attempting to predict who will perform delinquent acts - either from the general population, or from a population of delinquents (recidivism).

The individual treatment approach would use prediction as a method of singling out individuals for preventative treatment. Prediction would be based on characteristics of the individual.

The liberal reform approach would use prediction models to determine which aspects of the social environment are most important in producing delinquency, so that reforms can be brought in to effect changes where needed. Prediction would be based on characteristics of the family, community, environment, and the child.

The radical non-intervention approach would view the process of predicting delinquency as being partially to blame in aggravating the problem through labelling individuals.

Several problems must be considered with respect to predicting delinquent behaviour:

- 1) Within the prediction model itself, problems of accuracy of prediction (includes: reliability of measure, validity of relationships between predictors and delinquency, generalizability of prediction model).

TABLE 1
REACTIONS TO DELINQUENCY

	INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT	LIBERAL REFORM	RADICAL NONINTERVENTION
Basic assumptions	<i>Differentness of offenders; delinquency a symptom; psychosocial determinism</i>	<i>Delinquency concentrated in lower class; individual constrained particularly by subcultural pressures; social determinism</i>	<i>Delinquency wide-spread throughout society; basic role of contingencies; neo-antideterminism</i>
Favoured methodologies	<i>Clinical, comparison of matched samples</i>	<i>Analysis of rate variations; ecological analysis; study of subcultures</i>	<i>Self-reports; observation; legal analysis</i>
Focal point for research	<i>The individual</i>	<i>Social class; local community</i>	<i>Interaction between the individual and the legal system (and other agencies of reaction)</i>
Representative causal perspectives	<i>Psychodynamic theories; family-oriented theories</i>	<i>Anomie theories; cultural transmission; opportunity theory</i>	<i>Labelling analysis; drift and situational theories</i>
Prevention	<i>Identification of "pre-delinquents"; probation and counselling</i>	<i>Street gang work; community programmes; piecemeal socio-economic reform</i>	<i>Deemphasis on singling out specific individuals; radical socio-cultural change</i>
Treatment	<i>Therapy; training schools</i>	<i>Community programmes; improving conditions in institutions</i>	<i>Voluntary treatment</i>
Juvenile court	<i>"Individualized justice"; rehabilitative ideal</i>	<i>Better training and caseloads; more attention to social factors</i>	<i>Narrow scope of juvenile court jurisdiction; increased formalization</i>

- 2) In applying prediction models: since the base rate of official delinquency in the general population is quite low, prediction models tend to greatly overestimate the actual occurrence of delinquency. Therefore a large number of individuals are put through treatment programmes, labelled as "pre-delinquents", etc., who would never have been considered delinquent had they been left alone.
- 3) Problems inherent in labelling a child as a pre-delinquent and therefore changing the behaviour and attitudes of others towards the child, and of the child towards himself. This is especially dangerous when the children labelled would greatly outnumber the children who would actually be delinquent.
- 4) Much of the information collected for prediction models (personal history, family history and situation), could be considered an invasion of privacy.

The first two problems deal directly with the accuracy of prediction. Looking at various methods of prediction that have been applied in studies of juvenile delinquency, it becomes evident that none of the methods has been shown to have very great accuracy of prediction.

D. TREATMENT PROGRAMMES

The argument for separating treatment and punishment is not meant to detract from the importance of treating those delinquents or youths who may benefit from any of a variety of programmes. By removing treatment from the realm of the juvenile courts, it is hoped that many of the misuses of treatment programmes can be eliminated.

One important point under the radical non-intervention approach is that treatment programmes should be run on a strictly voluntary basis. By removing the punishment and custodial aspects of the programmes, much more freedom of choice could be allowed to the participants. Many evaluations of mental health treatment programmes have shown that the chance of success of most programmes is remarkably increased when it is undertaken on a voluntary basis. Much of the lack of success of many treatment programmes for juvenile delinquents could be due to the involuntary nature of the programmes.

Prediction and Assessment

While the prediction of pre-delinquents may be rejected because of the dangers of labelling, many of the

methods developed for predicting or assessing delinquents may be incorporated into treatment programmes.

a) Psychiatric Assessment

While not all delinquents need to be considered "sick", some youths would likely benefit from some type of psychiatric treatment. Psychiatric assessment, would be useful in helping to find an appropriate treatment model for these youths.

b) Personality Testing

Personality classification has been shown to be very useful in developing individualized treatment programmes as in the case of the California Community Treatment Project.

c) Statistical Prediction

Gottfredson (1967) discusses the possibility of combining statistical and clinical prediction. He suggests that the information made available by statistical prediction models be provided to the clinician who may then use this information to make a more accurate prediction. The extra variables used by the clinician in making a diagnosis may then be incorporated into the statistical model, and so on.

If, keeping in mind the limitations of available statistical models, the prediction models are used as one source of information, these models may also be useful in designing treatment programmes. Such models have some value in evaluating the effects of treatment programmes in the absence of control groups. The behaviour following treatment with respect to the criterion variable can be compared to the behaviour that would have been expected without treatment using the prediction model.

The general thrust of these arguments is that assessment (if and when required) should in some way conform to some concept of differential treatment. In the field of delinquency the I-level classification system is perhaps the most highly developed.

E. SUMMARY OF "I-LEVELS" CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

The "Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification System" is one method of classifying juvenile offenders for differential treatment programmes. This approach to treatment and control of delinquents is based on two assumptions:

(1) delinquents are not all alike in the courses or the manifestations of their behaviour; (2) delinquents can be subdivided into types which have clearcut implications for the kinds of treatment required.

The theory on which the "I-Levels" is based holds that human development proceeds in a series of stages from infancy to maturity, each stage containing a core of psychological and interpersonal characteristics. A typology of stages has been developed. Each stage can be described by the manner in which members of each group perceive and respond to the world, and how they are perceived by others. "I-Levels" are the descriptions of behaviour and personality of each stage. This approach was developed by a group of psychologists and operationalized by the California Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project in 1961.

The original typology recognized seven stages of interpersonal maturity. Stages 2-4 were identified as being more predominant among delinquents. Within these three levels, nine sub-types were identified. Assignment of wards to levels and "subtypes" is based on semi-structured interviews by two research workers, lasting about 1½ hours. The workers, trained in the system, then classify the delinquents to their levels. Next a pattern of treatment is applied for the level and a worker assigned to each delinquent.

The three I-Levels predominant in the delinquent population (I-2 through I-4) and their nine sub-types are described as follows:

Maturity Level:

- I₂ People at this level are concerned with demands that the world take care of them. Others are seen as "givers" or "withholders". A person at this level finds it difficult to explain, understand, predict behaviour or reactions of others. He behaves impulsively, unaware of the effects of his behaviour.
 - Aa - Asocial aggressive - responds with active demands and open hostility when frustrated.
 - Ap - Asocial passive - responds with whining, complaining and withdrawal when frustrated.
- I₃ Individuals at this level see others to be manipulated for their own gratification.
 - Cfm - Conformist, immature - responds with immediate compliance to whoever seems to have the power at the moment.

- Cfc - Conformist, cultural - responds with conformity to specific reference group, delinquent peers.
- Mp - Manipulator - attempts to undermine the power of authority.
- I₄ Those at this level feel guilty about not measuring up to internalized ideals with consequent neurotic symptoms or anti-social behaviour.
 - Ma - Neurotic, Acting Out - this person has investment in maintaining a negative image but is chronically anxious, and can't understand own behaviour.
 - Nx - Neurotic, Anxious - responds with symptoms of emotional disturbance to conflict produced by feelings of inadequacy and guilt.
 - Se - Situational Emotional Reaction - has fairly positive self-image but responds to family or personal crises by "acting out".
 - CI - Cultural Identifier - responds to deviant environment by internalizing the deviant values.

California's Assessment of Classification Programme:

The Community Treatment Project in California represented an attempt to assess the treatment programme which stemmed from the classification system described above. This treatment programme placed emphasis on community-based intensive and differentiated treatment.

The first assessment compared the impact of this community-based treatment to that of the institutional programmes for particular sub-groups of juveniles. A second study made use of a control group composed of juveniles released to the community, but not involved in the intensive programmes. Effectiveness was judged on the basis of indices relating to (1) parole criteria; (2) psychological changes; (3) social adjustment in the community.

Results of these studies have shown more positive results among those receiving community-based treatment generally, and particularly those receiving the special intensive treatment. The treatment group had parole suspended later than the control group in the community. When suspended, it was usually for a more serious offence. The treatment group had 28.6% fail on parole during the 15 months after release; the community controls had 47.7% fail in this time

period. Certain psychological tests showed a higher level of adjustment among the treatment group.

Conclusions:

The strength of the "I-Levels" approach to classification and treatment lies in the fact that it introduces a frame of reference which permits grouping of a variety of delinquent types in such a way that goals and methods of treatment can follow from the definition of the problem. The research project evaluating the treatment programme has neither tested the theories on which the "I-Levels" system is based nor the appropriateness of the treatment applied to each level. It has demonstrated, however, that for some types of youth the community programme yields a more acceptable recidivism rate than does the traditional programme.

Chief problems with this system lie in the relative subjectivity involved in both the classification of individuals to "I-Levels" and the definition of what constitutes appropriate treatment. Consideration of duplicating the system in Ontario should take into account the necessary training involved so that staff could classify consistently. Further consideration would also be necessary around treatment strategies, whether each strategy is feasible here and whether it is deemed appropriate. The strength of this classification system is the fact that it is not merely a grouping process, but a treatment-oriented programme. It is one possible alternative method of working with juveniles, the details of which could be revised and adapted to a variety of situations.

F. CONCLUSION

The model of or approach to delinquency, whether medical, social or situational, greatly determines not only the theoretical view of "the delinquent" but also the response to the problem of delinquency. The medical model, which views delinquency as a symptom of an emotional or mental illness prescribes psychiatric assessment and individual treatment of the delinquent by professionals to "cure" him. The social or liberal view that a delinquent is a product of his environment (social class, family structure, peer group norms, etc.) would advocate any of several approaches:

- a) assessment of personality and family background;
- b) prediction of "pre-delinquents" for treatment before they become delinquent;
- c) treatment through changing norms coincide with acceptable (middle class) standards;

- d) treatment of family situation;
- e) some social reforms to improve living conditions of disadvantaged groups.

The situational approach rejects the view that delinquents form an identifiable and separate population from normals. Rather, it advocates dealing with those who actually break laws (equivalent to laws for adults) through confinement and restrictions if necessary to protect society, but allowing for a greater diversity of behaviour without forcing the label of 'delinquent' upon young people. In this view, many of the young people now classified as delinquents would be viewed as individuals who may or may not be in need of assistance, treatment, etc. While children should be ensured of their rights to a healthy environment, protection, emotional security, guidance, educational opportunities, and treatment for physical and mental health problems, programmes providing for these rights should not necessarily be forced upon the children. Assessment which places labels of 'delinquent' or 'pre-delinquent' on a child are viewed as an infringement of the child's rights, since the process of labelling actually causes many problems.

Prediction of delinquent behaviour through various kinds of assessment (psychiatric, personality, statistical) has been shown to have low reliability. The problems of labelling and infringing on children's rights seem to far outweigh any advantages in using such assessment in connection with the judicial system in assigning punishment or treatment on a differential basis.

California's Community Treatment Project does provide an example of a good use of assessment techniques (classification by I-Levels).

The assessment and various treatment programmes used a general theory of personality types which would differentiate the various sets of needs of the youths so that different types of programmes could be developed to deal with these needs. Evaluation of the programme with respect to different types of youths also allows for a clearer understanding of which kinds of programmes or which types of workers are effective in treating different personality types.

In general, the best approach to treatment seems to consist of two separate parts:

- 1) Provision of a wide variety of treatment programmes designed to fulfill the needs of an assortment of youngsters.
- 2) Assessment of children designed to identify their needs in terms of the programmes available to aid in selecting for the youth the programme most likely to suit his individual needs.

ASSESSMENT

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III INTER-AGENCY CO-OPERATION

A recent emphasis within the entire area of dealing with disturbed and delinquent youth has been the fostering of inter-agency co-operation. Frequently the entire social services area has been described as overlapping, fragmentary or duplicating (CELDIC). Reid (1964) has developed a theory of co-ordination between agencies which is unmediated by external focus. In other words it is co-operative. Thus, the assumption must be that the agencies concerned must have common goals. Secondly, any co-operation must involve the exchange or transaction of resources.

Inter-agency co-operation can then be described in terms of the degree of resources exchanged:

- 1) ad hoc - or the individual practitioner level;
- 2) systematic case or co-ordination, individual cases are dealt with according to some specific rules;
- 3) programme co-ordination, the development of joint agency programmes.

Major difficulties have been observed in attempts to achieve such levels of co-ordination. The major single problem is the reluctance of individual agencies to accept the fact that co-operation is necessary and desirable. This problem usually emerges because individual agencies have defined their goals taking a narrow point of view or have taken a stance designed to protect their own self-interest. The point of view that co-operation may be disadvantageous to an individual agency does not necessarily mean that it is not advantageous for the community to foster such co-ordination. However it must be borne in mind that co-operation can only be achieved if the agencies concerned are motivated to co-operate.

A. MULTI-SERVICE BUREAUS

The Winnipeg Example:

Several Winnipeg Social Agencies co-operated to operationally integrate services at the practitioner level to increase the effectiveness of assistance to multi-problem families. Such families are typically inter acting with a variety of agencies, often with the result that no effective assistance can be achieved. The staff of the project were expected to reach out to these severely disorganized families and to provide 24-hour integrated services. A single social

worker would provide complete integrated services using a family-centred approach to assist the family as a unit. Welfare, child protection and correctional functions were integrated. Thus, the individual worker provided services untempered by jurisdictional boundaries. The social worker himself carried out all the roles of the services which have been delegated to the project rather than refer the client to the agencies.

B. YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

The most common approach is to provide a central co-ordinating agency rather than an integrated agency. Such agencies typically assess the major presenting problem and refer the client to the agency which provides the needed services. The major difficulty is that multi-problem families are still faced with multi-agency solutions.

The Youth Service Bureaus serve three major functions:

- 1) as a service broker who
 - a) refers youth to the services it needs and
 - b) follows-up to ensure services are delivered;
- 2) as resource development which
 - a) encourages citizens to start new programmes and
 - b) encourages existing agencies to expand services offered;
- 3) as system modifier which
 - a) attempts to change conditions that lead to referrals.

The most extensive network of Youth Service Bureaus has been established in California. The California experience plus the experience of other YSB is that the client population tends to be made up of primarily status offenders.

The California Example:

Youth Service Bureaus were first proposed by the President's Crime Commission in 1967. YSB is a non-coercive, independent public agency established to divert children and youth from the justice system by promoting positive programmes to parents and troubled youngsters to remedy delinquency-breeding conditions. In America, the agencies can be funded by either the State Delinquency Prevention Commission or the Health and Welfare Planning Council.

The agencies are located, when possible, in community centres to serve youths referred by the police, the juvenile courts, parents, schools or other sources. It is operated through the efforts of community residents, professionals, private citizens and youth. Their goal is to change those attitudes and practices of established institutions that contribute directly or indirectly to delinquent behaviour. These agencies act as central coordinators of all existing community services for young people and also provide services lacking in the community, especially those designed for less delinquent juveniles.

Youth Service Bureaus make their services available to children 7 - 18 years of age, who (a) have been referred to the justice system but for whom the authoritative intervention of the court is not needed, and (b) who have problems that might bring them within the jurisdiction of the court. YSB is not a part of the justice system.

Referrals:

Most of the California Bureaus received a majority of their referrals from agencies and especially schools.

One criterion this evaluation used to determine whether diversion took place was whether or not local law enforcement officers utilized the YSB by referring youth to them. Police forces did not make full use of the YSB services since there were roughly 1200 law enforcement referrals in a two year period, an average of five law enforcement referrals per month per Bureau. This was much less than was anticipated. Twelve percent of the new clients in Fiscal Year 1972 were law enforcement referrals. Together with probation referrals, they did not constitute a majority of the new referrals, as the President's Commission proposed. However, it is still significant that law enforcement made some use of the YSB by referring youth to them. Most youth referred by law enforcement continued to participate in the YSB voluntarily, with only one in ten refusing service or dropping out in the first 3 months.

Effectiveness:

To determine the effectiveness of the Youth Service Bureaus, two dimensions of analysis were used. The first dimension was to review the arrest and probation records of individual youth provided with service by the YSB for a period of 6 months prior to referral to the YSB and again 6 months after initial referral.

Of the 1340 YSB clients, fewer (278, 20.7%) were arrested locally in the 6 months after Bureau referral than in the 6 months before (214, 16%). Furthermore, more of them were court wards after 6 months in the YSB (83, 6.2%) than at YSB intake (17, 1.3%).

REFERRAL SOURCES TO CALIFORNIA YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

FISCAL YEAR 1971 and 1972

	July 1970		July 1971	
	<u>June 1971</u>		<u>June 1972</u>	
Total New Clients Served:	3126	100%	4749	100%
<u>Referred to California YSB by:</u>				
Agency	<u>1585</u>	<u>50.7</u>	<u>2025</u>	<u>42.6</u>
Law Enforcement	627	20.1	554	11.7
Probation	363	11.6	430	9.0
School	358	11.4	855	18.0
Other Agency	237	7.6	186	3.9
Individual	<u>1540</u>	<u>49.3</u>	<u>2724</u>	<u>57.4</u>
Self	993	31.8	1009	21.4
Parent	304	9.7	466	9.8
Other Individual	243	7.8	1249	26.3
Not Specific	1 (less than .1%)			

REASONS FOR REFERRAL TO CALIFORNIA YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS
FISCAL YEAR 1971 and 1972

	July 1970		July 1971	
	<u>June 1971</u>		<u>June 1972</u>	
Total New Clients Served:	3126	100%	4749	100%
<u>Reasons for Referral:</u>				
Specific Offences	<u>761</u>	<u>24.2%</u>	<u>692</u>	<u>14.6%</u>
Person Offences	17	.5	24	.5
Property Offences	245	7.8	321	6.8
Drug Offences	336	10.7	196	4.1
Other Specific Offences	163	5.2	151	3.2
Delinquent Tendencies	<u>1267</u>	<u>40.5%</u>	<u>1594</u>	<u>33.6%</u>
Incorrigible	815	26.1	1029	21.7
Truancy	237	7.6	283	6.0
Runaway	179	5.6	253	5.3
Loitering, Curfew	36	1.2	29	.6
Dependent	<u>10</u>	<u>.3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>.3</u>
Other Problems	<u>1555</u>	<u>49.7%</u>	<u>3054</u>	<u>64.3%</u>
Employment Problems	563	18.0	945	19.9
Health	456	14.6	894	18.8
(problem pregnancy)	(290)	(9.3)	(546)	(11.5)
(other health problems)	(166)	(5.3)	(348)	(7.3)
Emotional Problems	190	6.1	142	3.0
School Learning Problems	41	1.3	91	1.9
Welfare Problems	46	1.5	18	.4
Miscellaneous	259	8.3	964	20.3
No Response			8	.2
Average Number of Reasons for Referral	1.1		1.1	

The other dimension was to study trends in all arrests and dispositions in the service areas and trends in initial probation referrals and dispositions for all youth living in the Bureau service areas. It appears that some of the youth would not have been recommended for probation referral if additional services were available in the community. Considerably fewer arrests were referred to probation in the majority of areas with YSB and where data were available. Also, there were substantial reductions in initial referrals of local youth to probation. Local youth living in the Bureau service areas and referred to probation for the first time by local police registered the greatest decrease in the years following the Bureaus' establishment.

Service area data show that the most dramatic diversion of juveniles from justice system processing was from probation intake among youth with three characteristics: (i) not already on probation, (ii) residents of the bureau service area, and (iii) referred to probation by the Bureau area's local police. In the three Bureau areas where data were available, initial probation referrals of Bureau area youth decreased between 45% and 60% in 2-3 years.

Even though not every service area showed a reduction in delinquency, the weight of the evidence is balanced on the side of delinquency reduction and diversion from the justice system.

While justice agencies in the service areas did not refer all diverted youth to the Bureaus, these agencies began to handle youth in trouble differently. Thus, the presence of a YSB appears to affect youth other than those whom it serves directly.

There are several drawbacks which exist within the concept of Youth Service Bureaus. The most critical is that no great innovations are evident in the delivery of services to youth. As long as traditional paradigms of service delivery are used, traditional problems will become evident. Moreover, under the aegis of the YSB many children are put in contact with social agencies who have no real need, and whose problems would never have required assistance. Rebellion and foolish actions are part of growing up and not necessarily a characteristic of pre-delinquency. The inability to predict who in fact will become delinquent forces YSB to deal with all youths who show any signs of potential problems. In some communities close to half of the juvenile population at one time or another come into contact with a YSB. The concepts of service brokerage and advocacy on behalf of troubled youth are commendable. However, care must be taken to ensure that only those who truly need these services receive them. However, the problem remains that many youth who become adjudicated delinquents start off on their careers of delinquency with status offences. Therefore, some care must be taken to balance the needs of children and the needs of the community.

C. PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBOURHOOD YOUTH RESOURCE CENTER

One of the weaknesses of the concept of YSB is that these agencies provide services primarily in the evaluation and referral areas. Generally very little takes place in the areas of direct client contact and client advocacy. One project has attempted to go beyond these limitations. The Philadelphia Neighbourhood Youth Resource Center (NYRC) integrated the role of YSB. However, a rigorous attempt is made to ensure that other agencies actually deliver their service to NYRC youth and their families. Both the clients and the receiving agency are prepared for the referral, with the receiving agency being held accountable for the services offered. Through this active participation the NYRC has encouraged change in many concepts of traditional service delivery. Social agencies and institutions have been forced to orient more towards the targeted client population.

The prime role of the NYRC is to provide direct service and thereby the NYRC accepts responsibility for client youth. Programme segments that are offered by the NYRC include individual and group counselling, recreational programme, job placement services, tutorial services, drug counselling and family life education groups.

The project was organized under the aegis of an established agency which was greatly respected in the community. This agency had a long history of running boys' and girls' clubs, day care programme and other youth-oriented projects. In effect the NYRC operates as a Community Centre and through this facility offers its services. Project Staff are drawn from the target area of the project and all are familiar with local youth problems. Non-traditional staff of local origin and their commitment to direct service and advocacy increase the commitment of the programme to youth.

An alternative model for the integration of community resources is the Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project carried out in California. The resources brought to bear include formal agencies, community groups, community residents and youth themselves. The prime emphasis is to develop youth opportunities and roles likely to provide deeper commitment to non-delinquent behaviour. The project has assumed that deviant behaviour is caused or reinforced by the exclusion of youth from roles which integrate young people into social institutions. The general approach was organized on the assumption that many youth problems are compounded by unresponsive social institutions. Thus, in addition to linking up community resources for youth an attempt was made to foster access to institutional roles.

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IV DAY CARE ATTENDANCE CENTRES

These programmes follow a variety of paradigms. Essentially, they can be classified according to the following dichotomies:

- 1) full day/afternoon-evening
- 2) academic experience/work experience

Critical features of these programmes are:

- 1) small staff - client ratios (maximum caseloads of 25 usually 12);
- 2) stress on peer group interaction;
- 3) remedial tutoring or meaningful work experience;
- 4) stress on "non-traditional" staff;
- 5) intensive after-care;
- 6) family involvement in an attempt to keep the family intact.

In most cases children are placed in the programme as a condition of probation and in an attempt to divert these children from institutional settings. Programmes have been established for both first offenders and for repeated probation violators.

Non-traditional staff are seen as a major feature of many of these programmes. Such staff are selected to represent a wide variety of experiences and may or may not be professionally trained. A special criterion is that these staff are action-oriented and dedicated to their job. The basic ideal which is fostered is that service to the clients is much more important than service to the system and agencies. Therefore, staff should be available to the client when they are needed, and are willing to act as advocates for the client.

The educational activities are directed at the acquisition of basic learning skills as well as basic survival skills. The work experiences vary from volunteer work for which small stipends are paid, to regular employment experiences. In fact many programmes in the U.S. are funded as part of more extensive job retraining projects.

The basic feature of these programmes must be small size with rarely more than 20 individuals in the active phase of the programme at any one moment. These small numbers enable small caseloads and foster intensive staff-student relationship.

A. DAY CARE FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS (SAN MATEO)

The girls' day care programme, which began in September, 1965, in San Mateo, includes two classrooms, a large meeting room furnished like a living room, a lunchroom, and a large courtyard. Two full-time teachers are employed to provide individualized instruction and remedial work. Four probation officers are assigned to the programme, each carrying caseloads of 6 day care and 6 aftercare girls.

To qualify for the programme, a girl must have sufficient mental ability to benefit from the schooling, and have a parent (or parental substitute) willing to work with the staff in dealing with the girl's problems. Most of the girls involved have had truancy problems and were doing poorly in public school. All have been tried on routine probation and have failed.

The programme functions from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., five days a week, plus Saturday field trips. After 6 months on the day care programme, a girl may graduate to the after care programme and return to public school for another 6 months probation period.

Seventy-one participants had completed the programme after its first three years of operation. Forty-one of the 71 graduates had been immediately dismissed from wardship, 14 had been transferred to field supervision (with 5 subsequently discharged), 2 had been transferred to the subvention unit for intensive supervision, and 14 had been placed in foster homes or institutions. Only 3 of the 41 who were dismissed from wardship and 6 of the 14 who were transferred to field supervision had any subsequent police contact, most of those being for status offences (running away).

B. THE CREGIER OUTPOST

The Cregier Outpost is a non-residential facility offering classes between 8:45 a.m. and 2:30 p.m., on a daily basis. Participation is voluntary but school attendance is reinforced by a quasi-behaviour modification system. The maximum duration of the programme is one year. The programme staff are "non-traditional" and the students are below the expected achievement levels for their age. The Outpost is seen as an educational alternative. In addition to remedial education individual and group counselling are provided. Staff are available when they are needed by the students.

The programme has been operating since September, 1970. From that time until January of 1974, only 19 of the 135 (14%) of the youth involved in the programme engaged in further delinquency.

C. GUIDED GROUP INTERACTION

A special case of the day care paradigm is centred around guided group interaction (GGI). GGI is an intensive group therapy model. Children participate in daily sessions which last about 90 minutes. The basic focus is to develop a non-delinquent culture in the group. The participants are encouraged to honestly discuss and share their problems. The sessions are designed to form a pressure group to inculcate conventional values, and to reinforce conventional behaviour.

GGI is concerned with peer group dynamics. In fact the day care programmes evolved out of the residential programmes such as "Highfield" and "Criswell House". GGI programmes involve the delinquent in frequent and intensive group discussions of their own and other group members' problems. As the group dynamic evolves the youths are allowed greater autonomy.

Examples of non-residential programmes using GGI are the Provo Experiment, Essexfield and Collegefield. A special case of the GGI programme is Positive Peer Culture (PPC). PPC has been used in a variety of residential and non-residential settings with great success. In fact PPC has been used in community school settings to stabilize otherwise explosive situations.

The Provo Experiment:

Basic Principle

Delinquents are aware of conventional standards and they have been socialized in an environment dominated by middle-class morality. They turn to illegitimate means in an attempt to be successful. They are profoundly ambivalent about their delinquent behaviour. In order to cope with respectable norms, they maintain a series of intricate rationalizations to neutralize their delinquent behaviour. Treatment has to be directed towards the intrinsic nature of their membership in the delinquent system.

Basic Philosophy

A treatment system will be most effective if the delinquent peer group is used as a means of perpetuating the norms and imposing the sanctions of the system. The peer group should be seen as the primary source of help and support. One of the programme's key tools, peer group interaction, is believed to provide a considerably richer source of information about boys and delinquency than do clinical methods. Protection and rewards provided by the treatment system for candor must exceed those provided either

by delinquents for adherence to delinquent roles or by officials for adherence to custodial demands.

Basic Programme

Phase I of treatment is an intensive group programme in which the delinquent peer group is the principle instrument for change. It involves hard work, group discussion, 3 hours per day, 5 days a week. The summer programme lasts all day. Phase II is designed to aid boys after release from Phase I. This involves community action to help the boy find employment and is an attempt to maintain some reference group support for him.

The overall treatment system described is like all other special systems in that it specifies generalized requirements for continued membership in the system. At the same time, however, it also legitimizes the existence of a sub-system with it - the meeting - which permits the discussion and evaluation of happenings and feelings which may or may not support the overall normative structure of the larger system. This system receives not only official sanction but grants considerable power and freedom to delinquent members. By permitting open expression, it removes social psychological support for complete resistance to a realistic examination of the utility of delinquent versus conventional norms.

Essexfield:

Essexfield is a direct offshoot of Highfield and, in fact, the first group at Essexfield were a group of Highfield boys. The programme works on the assumption that it is necessary to create a setting which encourages the development and maintenance of a Conventional Social System. Boys progress through the programme in groups of ten, and at any one time there are no more than 20 boys. Participation in the programme is from 7:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. daily. The boys work during the day on the grounds of a County Mental Health Hospital, and take part in group session during the evening.

Collegefield:

Similar to Provo and Essexfield, Collegefield was directed at a younger population. Boys 14 and 15 years old participated. Instead of working the boys attended school in the morning, and had their group session in the afternoon. The programme was offered between 7:30 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. daily. The major goal was to alter the educational experience of these boys. Therefore the academic programme was directed at the acquisition of educational skills and the necessary attitude for successful school achievement.

DAY CARE

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V THE EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE

In many instances the school has been made the prime focus in an attempt to deal with youth problems. This plan of action is based on the premise that next to the family the school is the most significant social institution in the child's life. In some situations the school is seen as a panacea for most youth problems. This view only exaggerates the relegation of socializing functions to educational authorities. The role which school must play in a modern industrialized society is immense; however, one social institution cannot be expected to solve all social problems. Many delinquent youth are problems in the school environment not so much because the school has failed, but because the family has failed to give the child adequate support.

The critical feature is that school, rather than integrating youth into the surrounding community, tends to isolate them in an artificial environment. The educational system generally does little to systematically prepare youth to live in the community at large, and in fact, seems to fulfill the needs of only a narrow range of youth¹. Another major problem is the low level of tolerance exhibited by educators towards deviance. Furthermore, teachers refer students to specialists within the school system. The diagnoses of the children's problems tend to be magnified. However, the stark realities are that much diagnosing occurs but relatively little treatment. The problem of integrating large numbers of problem children into a conventional school system can sometimes be overcome by the use of special schools, such as the "600" and "700" schools of New York City.

Disruptive children are referred to special units within the school system which are designed to deal with school problems. There are several difficulties with such an approach. One is that often they represent a futile attempt to solve a problem which is already out of hand. Moreover, large concentrations of deviant children create special problems of their own. Many of the problem behaviours are defined in a legal context rather than an educational context. Often such attempts will fail because little effort is made to integrate parents into the problem solving equation.

One project which seems to have evolved a successful programme is the Providence Educational Centre. Several unique features differentiate such projects from other less successful attempts.

A. PROVIDENCE EDUCATIONAL CENTRE

The basic premise underlying the Providence Educational Centre's (PEC) programme is that the long-term

1. CELDIC, 1970.

rehabilitation of delinquents is contingent on the development of those skills needed to experience success in school, in their family, in social relationships and on the job.

Specifically, PEC's goals are:

- 1) to reduce street crime among those students enrolled in PEC;
- 2) to reduce truancy and improve educational skills, especially in reading;
- 3) to engage students in a therapeutic programme which will rehabilitate them by developing a more positive self-concept and thus increase social adjustment;
- 4) to work with parents of all students, and to orient each youth towards a successful placement in public schools, vocational schools, employment.

Eligibility Criteria:

The PEC programme is directed at boys between 12-16 years of age who were charged with stranger-to-stranger crimes and who had histories of poor academic achievement and social failure. He must have had prior involvement with the Juvenile Court and be under the active supervision of a Deputy Juvenile Officer and/or a caseworker. He cannot be either seriously emotionally disturbed, retarded or severely handicapped. He must be functioning on a "pre-high school achievement level" in reading (less than 8th grade). The referring agent, parent and child must agree to an ongoing and active involvement with the programme. PEC began accepting female referrals in June, 1974.

Programme:

The diagnostic process used by PEC (including review of case history materials, the use of objective tests to determine the level of mathematical functioning of students and their reading comprehension and language abilities) yields information on learning style, methods of relating and modes of adjustment. This allows the classroom team of 2 teachers and 1 social worker to develop an individualized treatment plan in the following 5 areas of social and educational objectives for each student.

- 1) The Individual: his self-image and self-assessment.
- 2) The Peer Group: his ability to relate to and the kinds of relationships formed with his delinquent peers and on the content of such relationships.

- 3) The Family: his relationships with other family members, especially parents, and the ability to function within and productively contribute to the family.
- 4) The Community: the avoidance of further juvenile and adult offences, stability in public school attendance and performance or stability in employment.
- 5) The Educational System: his performance and achievement in subject areas (mathematics, reading, arts etc.), attendance and classroom behaviour.

Each youth is required to review and assess his progress on a monthly basis to ensure that he has a clear understanding of what is expected of him and to give him a sense of success and accomplishment in those areas where he has made significant progress. At the end of each month, each student's Treatment Plan is reviewed and updated by the classroom team. Formally scheduled bi-monthly meetings are tailored to address particular concerns of the team by sharing information among team members and by bringing in other professionals who are playing a significant role in the student's life.

All those who are professionally involved with a student therefore have the same information about him, understand what roles each can and should play in implementing the Treatment Plan, and have a common course of action.

Educational Component:

There are 6 features in PEC's programme and approach that specifically contribute to PEC's ability to achieve its educational aims. They are:

- 1) Small classes of around 12 students per class. The student to teacher ratio averages about 6 to 1.
- 2) Non-departmental approach. In order to enhance the teacher-student relationship by constant contact, a variety of subjects are taught by 1 or 2 teachers for each classroom rather than a teacher specializing in one particular subject area.
- 3) Ungraded classes. The student is only in competition with himself and not other students nor arbitrary standards for his age or grade.
- 4) Non-traditional curriculum development. Teachers are encouraged to formulate problems that are both

realistic and of significant interest to the class, such as using materials that show Black children and families, or that are about cities and low income neighbourhoods since that is the milieu in which most of these students live.

- 5) An emphasis on fundamental skills. As well as basic standard courses, the students may enroll in various shop courses, physical education and extra-curricular activities such as the uncensored student newspaper and student council.
- 6) Individual instruction. Instruction in the core subjects (reading, language, arts, arithmetic) is tailored to meet the specific needs of each individual student and to be consonant with each student's style of learning and rate of development, while non-core subjects are taught to the group.

Social Service Component:

Group Counselling is scheduled during one 45-60 minute period each week for each class of 12 students. Individual Counselling sessions are generally only ½ hour in length and they also occur once a week.

The social worker in each classroom team is primarily responsible for maintaining liaison with each student's family. The social worker contacts parents when a child is absent from class, makes regular monthly visits to inform the parents of the students progress and offers counselling and services when necessary. The school counsellor acts as a liaison with agencies that may provide services needed by enrolled and graduating students.

Aftercare Component:

The Aftercare component is responsible for helping to assure that each student's transition from PEC back into the public school or employment and the general community is successful. Contact is maintained with the students for 6 months to one year.

PEC's staff requests court approval for graduating students who were initially admitted as a condition of their probation. The court may (1) disapprove, (2) permit graduation with continued probation, or (3) permit graduation and terminate probation.

Programme Effectiveness:

The distribution of monthly changes in Math and Reading in the WRAT Test Scores would indicate the progress of these youth.

Distribution of Monthly Change in Math and Reading Wrat Test Scores:

Monthly Rate of Grade Change	Math	Reading
Increase of 0.20 or more	51%	29%
Increase of 0.10 to 0.19	16%	19%
Increase of less than 0.09	33%	52%

A monthly increase of 0.10, if continued for a school year, was equivalent to a full year's gain in achievement and a monthly increase of 0.20 was equivalent to a gain of 2 full years of achievement if continued for the same period. The data indicated that average monthly achievement in mathematics is highest during a students first few months in the programme and then decrease rapidly. The average monthly gains in reading levels seem to continue at approximately the same rate.

The truancy rate among students one year prior to enrolment was 55%. During enrolment the truancy rate decreased to 16.4%. This rate increased again after placement in public high schools. In view of the fact that public schools only consider inexcused absences as trancies and that PEC counts all absences, statistics underestimate PEC's accomplishment in reducing truancy.

Three quarters (73.5%) of the graduates were able to pass the eighthgrade equivalency test. Of the 9 students (26.5%) who did not pass 8 were placed in high schools on the recommendation of staff after considering test scores, achievement levels and degree of social maturity.

B. SCHOOL COMMUNITY OFFICERS

A programme of special note is described by Cressey (1973). Full-time probation officers were assigned to local school districts. The purpose was to deal with children identified as likely pre-delinquents before any contact with law enforcement agencies. Children either came voluntarily seeking help or were referred by school officials. The problems dealt with ranged from involvement with drugs to truancy. If the probation officers (School Community Officers) could not deal with the problem within a short period of time the child was referred to another helping agency. The problem here is that the probation officer seems to be taking over some of the functions of the school guidance counsellor.

C. THE REAL PROBLEM

It must be borne in mind that children who have difficulties in the educational environment come from families

which have minority group affiliations or are economically disadvantaged. Professor T. Ryan of Carleton University has demonstrated that in many instances middle-class children are significantly superior, on many intellectual measures, to lower class children by the time these children have reached minimal verbal fluency. As a solution to this problem Dr. Ryan has proposed that the lower class parents be taught the parenting skills of the middle-class parent, and particularly those skills that enhance intellectual development. In his opinion it is not the effort that is lacking but the requisite skills. This plan is particularly cogent in view of the fact that many "Headstart" programmes failed because parents were not integrated into the programme as participants.

A different tactic taken in California is the Los Angeles Delinquency Control Project. The major thrust of this project was to increase the level of supervision and services offered. At the time that this project was evaluated there was no specific algorithm of services; rather the emphasis was more of the same. The outstanding result was that this approach did not have any positive results. It is offered in this paper as an example of the need for timely innovative programming.

D. COMMUNITY DELINQUENCY CONTROL PROJECT

The programme was confined to male Juvenile Court admissions, between the ages of 13-18 years at the time of commitment to the Youth Authority and who resided during their parole experience in high delinquency areas of the city. Other criteria were that their most recent offence be of a non-violent nature and that local law enforcement agencies did not object to their immediate release to the community.

Method:

The project research design called for random assignment to two kinds of parole over a period of two years. Those released to the C.D.C.P. units were the experimentals (N=180) and those released to the regular parole programme were the comparison group (N=121).

The rehabilitative techniques of the C.D.C.P. programme included: intensive individual and family counselling, group counselling, foster and group home placement, organized centres for recreational activities and community outings, temporary detention for limit-setting and/or protection, a school tutorial programme with a credentialed teacher in the project, and agent-employer and agent-school liaison services.

The average caseload per agent was 25 wards. There were 2 centres utilized for the experimental group, Watts

(a group-oriented approach) and Jefferson (an individual treatment approach).

Results:

There was no significant difference between the experimental and regular parole programme in either project area (Jefferson or Watts) on any of the parole performance criterion measures (i.e., parole outcome, reason for revocation, time of revocation or unfavourable discharge and severity of revocation offence; level of significance = .05).

On the basis of having their parole revoked within 15 months, the Watts comparison group did somewhat better than the Watts C.D.C.P. group, while the Jefferson experimentals did somewhat better than their comparison group.

Of those arrested (about 3/4 of the entire study) a significantly higher proportion of the experimentals of both areas had multiple arrests during the 15 month period. This may be partially explained by the fact that significantly higher proportions of the comparison groups of the two areas were revoked by the Youth Authority Board following their first police arrest. Thus they had no opportunity to be re-arrested. There was no significant difference between the experimentals and the comparison groups on severity of the first offence.

Four factors all pertaining to the community were significantly related to parole success of the Watts experimentals. These were: having non-delinquent friends, having some employment, having a concerned adult (parole agent) intercede with employers and participation in organized community outings of a cultural, social or recreational nature.

Parole success of the Jefferson experimentals was attributed to the following factors: having non-delinquent friends, never opposing a group leader (agent) in group counselling, and having more than one parole agent during a 15 month period.

There was a tendency for ward exposure to a "group-oriented" approach to treatment to be associated with parole failure in the Watts programme (significant at the .10 level).

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE

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VI FAMILY COUNSELLING

A recent thrust in dealing with disturbed children entails family counselling. In fact this modality of therapy attempts to teach parents to deal more effectively with their children. Thus the goals of such programmes (Tavormina, 1974) are:

- a) helping parents become more familiar with basic concepts of child growth and development;
- b) helping them (parents) clarify their own role and that of their children;
- c) increasing parental undertaking of the complexities of everyday situations to enable them to make better management decisions.

Two basic counselling models have emerged which deal with families. One emphasizes feelings, the other stresses behaviour. In the first the emphasis is placed on parental awareness, understanding and acceptance of the child's feelings. Such therapies use feelings to affect not only the child's behaviour, but also the parent-child interaction. The second approach seeks to teach parents to manipulate their child's behaviour. In a recent review (Tavormina, 1974) of studies which evaluated the two approaches the conclusion was made that both techniques seem to be equally effective.

Observations of the interactions of families within various settings have shown several common characteristics in all disturbed families (Jacob, 1975; Alexander, 1973). The characteristics of such families are conflict, dominance, affect and communication clarity. Therefore, no matter what treatment technique is adapted the "therapist" or "counsellor" must require certain basic skills.

Family therapists must be able to recognize interactions and transactions in a family and be able to describe them. Objectives of therapy must be specified in such terms that there are clear expectations against which progress can be described and measured. Such clarity, even if essential is difficult to achieve. In terms of family therapy the therapeutic contact depends on the degree to which family members can perceive their own behaviour as contributing to the family's difficulties. Therefore the therapist must be able to describe not only the interactions and transactions within the family but must be able to describe them as they affect each family member. Such abilities require a significant degree of training and skill.

The increasing use of non-professionals in all areas of social service has placed greater emphasis on techniques which can be used by such people. Moreover, in many situations the child's behaviour has led to a crisis in the fabric of the family. Therefore in many instances the behavioural approach has been favoured. The techniques involved are relatively easy to master and can be supplemented by other therapies.

In a recent review O'Dell (1974) reviewed 70 articles that employed behaviour modification principles to assist parents in dealing with their children. Training techniques varied from lectures to modelling, to making the parent a member of the treatment team. O'Dell was not able to describe which training modality was more effective.

A very promising treatment technique in this area has been developed by Bruce Parson and James Alexander. Family System Intervention was applied with a high degree of success. An abstract of one of their reports is presented below.

A. FAMILY SYSTEMS INTERVENTION

In discussing family therapy or family intervention, the underlying theory is that the deviance of adolescents is mostly learned in the natural environment. Therefore, intervention should take place in this natural environment to discourage the learning of new anti-social behaviours. The focus of family intervention is on "delinquent families" and not on "families of delinquents".

Families operate as interdependent systems which involve certain interaction patterns based on reciprocity and feedback. In maladaptive interaction processes, more defensive communications are expressed than supportive communications. These defensive communications consist of verbal and extraverbal behaviour that threaten or are punishing to others; while supportive communications lower anxiety, give clearer communications, and offer more productive interactions in and among others. Normal families reciprocate supportive communications, while abnormal families only weakly display reciprocity and then only for defensive communications. The result then is that in abnormal or delinquent families, the interdependence of communication centres around system-disintegrating processes as opposed to the integrating processes characteristic of normal families.

Furthermore, in the abnormal families, the damaging interaction processes can be specified and affected through a family intervention programme. This programme would help to develop an understandable environment in which the family could deal with one another by stimulating reciprocity and periods of positive reinforcement. By focussing on these communication processes, a family intervention

programme would train families in effective problem-solving techniques which would help family systems to adjust to stress (adolescence) in ways comparable to normal families. Elements which are crucial to unambiguous communication have been listed as:

- 1) brevity
- 2) directness
- 3) source responsibility
- 4) presenting alternatives
- 5) congruence
- 6) concreteness and behaviour specificity
- 7) interruptions and feedback.

In the practice, the intervention model consists of a 2 to 6 week programme (5-12 sessions) and always involves the referred delinquent, his parent(s) and often additional elements of the family. The intervention programme has three functions:

- 1) Tertiary prevention (modification): to modify identified maladaptive processes to match those of normal families.
- 2) Secondary prevention (impact): to reduce existing cases of disability in the population.
- 3) Primary prevention (long-range effect): to reduce the incidence of new cases of disability in the population.

It was found that a short-term behaviourally-oriented family intervention programme positively affected family interaction processes, resulting in less silence, more equality of speech, and greater frequency of positive interruptions as found in normal families. Intervention programmes also reduced recidivism rates since the therapy increased the maladaptive families' ability to resist the harmful consequences following the experience of a negative event. In the long-range, family intervention furthermore produces a lower incidence of sibling delinquency in families which received therapy than was found in other study groups.

Another possible outcome of treatment (intervention) is excommunication or system break-up. Many theorists or therapists aim to reinstate "the pre-crisis equilibrium" or modify "maladaptive interaction patterns" when the time of stress arises (i.e., adolescence), while few consider the alternate approach of helping the family to adapt to the separation process that adolescence or growing up entails. Furthermore, many family systems are being maintained while some family members are not in fact benefitting from that system.

While homeostasis (maintenance of the family system status quo) may be viewed as a desired goal for successful treatment by some theorists, the extreme form of this is destructive and is typified by the schizophrenic family. This system is marked by closedness and inflexibility where very much older children (18-50 years) are still "at home" and cooperating with the other family members to maintain the system. The interactions which perpetuate this destructive system are called repetitive negative interaction rituals (NIR'S) and these are identifiable and countable. With a high frequency of NIR'S within a family system, that system will move towards being a more closed system, or having higher degrees of pathology.

Family intervention then would determine to what degree NIR'S are produced in the family system. Should certain NIR'S be discovered, a more efficient treatment approach would be to encourage system break-up, by removing (excommunicating) the individual responsible for most of the variance of NIR production. Excommunication, though, should be very carefully considered for only those families which do not change and which still produce NIR'S despite clinical assistance.

To maximize family intervention effectiveness, it is important to better select and train potential therapists. It was found among therapists, that relationship skills, such as therapist sensitivity (ability to integrate affect into assessment and modification and ultimately, reciprocal behavioural contracts) made a most significant contribution to outcome variance. Structuring skills (directiveness, clarity, etc.) on the other hand, had been 'homogenized' among therapists in the training phase and therefore did not contribute to outcome variance. Although it is important for the therapist to be knowledgeable of the intervention techniques in order for the therapy programme to be effective, the therapist process characteristics also have major effects on the results of the application of those techniques.

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VII GROUP HOMES

A. DEFINITION

A group home is usually a large house owned or rented for a correctional programme and operated by house parents (often a married couple who may or may not be professionally trained) plus additional maintenance staff. While most staff are hired on a weekly, salary basis, the house parents usually live in. The juveniles living in the house have twenty-four hour supervision. In some programmes the children live in the home only during the week, so that they may visit family or friends on the weekend. The home may accommodate anywhere from about 4 to 20 children, usually ranging in age from 8 to 18, with the most common age range between 15 and 18 years of age.

The group home supposedly allows for closer personal supervision than a large institution, with fewer restrictions, but usually less of a family atmosphere than a foster home. The home is usually situated within the community (either a middle-class community or a community with a high density of juvenile delinquents) with an attempt to keep it close to the juvenile's home. Often the children are involved in various programmes within the community, the most common being school attendance. In addition to this, there may be an active treatment programme within the group home itself.

B. RATIONALE

The group home offers less disruption in life style than an institution. Furthermore, the rehabilitation of the youth is relevant to the community by allowing him/her to maintain contact with the community. House parents are able to direct the formation of the group social system and can monitor changing behaviour and attitudes. The treatment of the individual is directed through responsibility to and with the group. By having closer staff-youth relationships, greater control over the treatment programmes is created.

C. PROGRAMMES

Youth in school programmes are given extra instruction in poorer school subjects, with an emphasis on school attendance and school work. Reinforcement is contingent on school behaviour and grades. Trade training courses are available in the community.

Group therapy (guided group interaction) is given during the work through intense discussion groups which discuss and share problems. Conventional values and behaviour

are reinforced with the help of pressure from the group. Behaviour is evaluated and further decision-making is participated in.

Behaviour modification is used to affect specific behavioural problems. Positive (token economy, social reinforcement) or negative reinforcement is used to change behaviour.

D. EXPERIMENTAL PROJECTS

I. Three Local Programmes in Mid-West USA (Handler, 1975):

1) Description

All three programmes mainly treated juveniles from the surrounding community (cities of population 50,000 - 150,000). Control of the programmes was based in the community and participation by members of the community was encouraged. Each programme accommodated between 20 and 50 children, with at least one professionally trained staff member (psychologist or social worker). The names given each programme in the report are fictitious.

2) Programmes

- a) "Children's Centre". The "Centre" treated mainly pre-delinquent children (runaway, etc.) through sophisticated behaviour modification techniques. The stay averaged 3 to 4 months. One problem with this programme was a lack of control over programming or administration of follow-up service after discharge.
- b) "Teen Place". The stay averaged about 5 months. The staff handles follow-up after discharge with a planned programme to gradually diminish contacts with children and parents.
- c) "Yule Farm". The stay averages over one year. The programme is variable to fit the needs of the individual with an emphasis on strong student government and student input into the design of the programme. The staff provides guidance before and after discharge, with a system of graduated release.

3) Evaluation

a) "Children's Centre". Compared to the control group, "Children's Centre" participants are lower on positive scores (eg., school attendance) and higher on negative scores (juvenile and criminal contacts, institutional placement, etc.) in follow-up study.

b) "Teen Place". The before-after study shows an overall improvement in "Teen Place" participants but a comparison with the control group favours the control group in the follow-up study. This improvement could be due only to maturation.

c) "Yule Farm". Before the beginning of the project, the control group looks more favourable, but after completion of it, the "Yule Farm" group's performance is as good as or better than the control group on arrests and convictions. Those children who do not complete the programme show the least success in positive measures.

4) Summary

Some of the important variables distinguishing the apparently successful "Yule Farm" project from the apparently unsuccessful "Children's Centre" and indeterminate "Teen Place" programmes are:

- i) length of stay (longer stay more effective);
- ii) flexibility of treatment programme (should be geared to needs of the individual);
- iii) involvement of students in programme and decision making (more active involvement is more effective);
- iv) follow-up after discharge (should help in readjustment to family life);
- v) type of problem with which children enter project (pre-delinquent, behaviour problems which may be psychological rather than social may be more difficult to deal with, at least in this type of group home situation).

II. Toronto Area Group Homes (Wilgosh, 1973):

1) Description

An evaluation study of 21 out of 41 children in group homes in Toronto between July - December, 1969, was conducted by interviewing parents and checking police files. Of the total sample, 57% had no further offences after placement and 43% had at least one further offence.

2) Programme

The length of stay in the group home was less than 6 months for 47%, while 53% stayed between 6 months and two years. The living arrangements at the time of follow-up study were:

- a) parents home - 33%
- b) original group home - 20%
- c) different group home - 14%
- d) training school - 23%
- e) living on own - 10%

3) Evaluation

Those children with placements of less than 6 months in the group home showed more "negative" results (training school, etc.) with 60% having committed at least one other offence. Those with longer placements (more than 6 months) showed an 82% "success" rate (return to parent's home, successful adaptation to group home). A third (33%) had committed at least one other offence and 18% of those with longer placements had an undetermined outcome. The children are most likely to be "successful" if their parents show favourable attitudes towards the child and the programme.

NOTES:

- 1) The length of stay in group homes is not a variable here, but more a measure of selection, i.e., those who are more likely to have negative results are probably also less likely to fit into a group home or to remain in a group home for very long. The author claims this study as support for the theory that to be effective, a placement in a group home must be for at least 6 months. This conclusion may not be warranted on the basis of the data given.
- 2) The definition of "success" for those with longer placements includes successful adaptation to a group home. If the group home is part of the treatment, it seems premature to label this a "successful" outcome.
- 3) The only parents who would grant an interview were likely those who had a somewhat favourable attitude towards the programme, so that the data with respect to this variable is likely biased.

III. California Youth Authority Group Homes Project (Palmer, 1972; California Youth Authority, 1974):

1) Description

The homes were in large private dwellings in two medium size cities, housing from 3 to 6 juveniles per unit. The adolescents ranging in age from 13-19

were part of the Community Treatment Project, with parole agents handling a small (11 or 12) case-load and involved in individual counselling. The juveniles had an average of 5.8 arrests prior to their involvement in the project. There were 8 homes altogether, 6 long-term and two temporary, with one long-term girls' home. Each home had about 3 parole agents connected with it.

2) Programme

An attempt was made to match boys as classified by I - level classification (according to such variables as maturity, aggression, neuroticism, manipulateness) with the environment.

Four types of homes were experimented with:

- a) Protective: for a maximum of 4 juveniles who are basically immature and dependent. The programme stresses family living.
- b) Containment: for a maximum of 6 juveniles who are judged as psychopaths or have a defective character. The stress is on attaining socially acceptable behaviour in a non-family setting.
- c) Boarding: for a maximum of 6 juveniles who are more mature. The environment is similar to a "YMCA hotel".
- d) Temporary Care: for a maximum of 6 children who are not to be placed in a long-term home.

The average duration for the long-term programmes was 6 months.

3) Evaluation

The boarding home, temporary care and girls' home were all judged as being quite successful. The protective home was only a moderate success and the containment home was only effective in forming initial stability. At least two homes were judged as unsuccessful.

Juveniles with higher maturity were more likely to profit from long-term placement. The optimal number of juveniles per home was estimated at 4.

NOTES:

It is not possible to say in this study whether differential success is due to the style of the home environment, the type of juvenile placed in the home, or the interaction between these two, as homes and juveniles were matched.

The optimal number of 4 juveniles per home is much lower than the usual number of juveniles placed in a home. If at least two adults are hired to staff each home, then the 2:1 ratio of staff to juveniles must lead to a very expensive programme.

IV. Silverlake (Empey, 1968):

1) Description

A large family dwelling in a middle class neighbourhood houses boys, aged 16-18 years, all serious delinquents. The boys all attend school and live in the house during the week, spending weekends at home.

2) Programme

The goal of the programme is to structure a social system where norms and compliance to them result from staff-inmate decision-making. Group meetings are held daily.

3) Evaluation

The evaluation and much of the group discussion is based around "critical incidents" (i.e., examples of delinquent behaviour of some sort, either individual or group, within the home or in connection with community).

From all indications, there was an open discussion of critical incidents within the group. One-half of the critical incidents were precipitated by 11% of the population and 14% of the population participated in 3 or 4 incidents.

In the group meetings, there was a strong demand for punitive action for the offenders from both boys and staff.

The number of critical incidents per boy decreased over time in the programme, suggesting that the social system that developed did gain some control over delinquent behaviour.

V. Criswell House (Flackett, 1970):

1) Description

Criswell House is a community residential centre housing 24-27 boys (divided into 3 groups of 8 or 9 each) for a maximum stay of 8 months for each boy. The boys are referred from juvenile courts, training

schools and aftercare, are adjudicated wards of the Division of Youth Services and include parole failures, training school recidivists, serious drug problems, emotionally disturbed, homosexuals, etc. Psychotic youths and mental defectives are automatically excluded. Cost is \$9.46/day compared with \$13/day/boy in training school.

The community has been active in finding employment, giving remedial classes, providing homes for weekend visits, and giving publicity to the House.

2) Programme

All the boys attend school in the community. Also, there is a programme carried on in the home.

Goals:

- a) To provide an environment where boys can develop responsibility for making decisions affecting their own lives and those with whom they live.
- b) To orient boys towards responsibilities in the community.

The core of the treatment programme is "guided group interaction". On entrance to the house a boy is 'eased in' to the group over a two-week period. If he is accepted by the group, he takes part in the group discussions (5 days a week for 90 minutes each and attendance is compulsory) which focus on each other's behaviour, past record, feelings, and school performance. The older, more mature boys in the House act as "junior counsellors" to new arrivals. Serious rule infractions are dealt with by "peer courts". Crises affecting everyone are dealt with by the entire population in marathon session.

School work is emphasized as well. Detailed weekly reports from the schools are brought home; withdrawal of privileges, etc., are the result of a decrease in grades.

Overnight or weekend passes are arranged 6-8 weeks after admission and may not be revoked for "bad behaviour". Furloughs are then granted, each one longer than the last. A boy leaves Criswell House when he and his group agree that he has developed a responsible self-concept. Many boys enter private foster homes volunteered by families in the community after 'graduation' from the house. All are encouraged to return to Criswell occasionally for group meetings and all are supervised by after-care counsellors.

3) Evaluation

There was inadequate data, but of 144 admissions, 4 were arrested for new offences while in Criswell House. Eighty percent of the graduate group are making satisfactory community adjustment 7 months after release.

NOTES:

There was insufficient data on the success of the programme, the factors contributing to change, the exact role of the community, and the long-range effect of guided group interaction on attitudes and behaviour.

Two crucial factors stated in this paper as significant to success were:

- 1) the boy must be able to handle school to be accepted by the House;
- 2) the "guided group interaction" process itself.

There was a possibility of a third factor: the supervisory, adult counsellors and staff, and how they interact with the boys on a day-to-day level. The whole program would be illegitimate in the eyes of the boys if the counsellors and their actions, discipline, etc., were not seen as valid.

VI. Achievement Place (Phillips, et al., 1973):

1) Description

Achievement Place, a community-based, family-style treatment home for delinquent youths was set up in 1967 by a group of concerned citizens of Lawrence, Kansas. Six to eight juveniles (age 12 to 16) were sent to the home by a judge after trouble with the law. Two professional teaching-parents made up the "family" of Achievement Place, which was located in a quiet residential section of Lawrence.

2) Programme

The programme utilized, in essence, a social reinforcement and feedback scheme backed up by a token economy system which afforded practical, behavioural reinforcement to the social skills taught by the two house "parents". The token economy system reinforced socially desired behaviour only. A "point-card" recorded a youth's behaviour and the number of points he earned by doing tasks, good behaviour at school and at home, etc. He was able

to exchange points he earned with privileges he desired (e.g., use of telephone, T.V., allowance, etc.).

3) Evaluation

This was an attempt to replicate the first Achievement House which emphasized the token economy system to the detriment of social reinforcement. The failure resulted in the isolation of three factors necessary to the success of such a programme.

- a) Positive non-conformity methods of giving instructions and feedback.
- b) The teaching of social skills.
- c) Giving the youths a say in all decisions about the programme.

House parents trained in these variables as well as the token economy system made successes of further replications of Achievement House.

Compared to 15 youths committed to the Kansas Boys School (an institution for 250 delinquents) and 13 youths placed on probation, the 16 youths committed to Achievement Place had fewer police contacts one to two years after release, had a lower rate of recidivism, a lower rate of dropping-out from school and had a higher grade average. All data was compiled at least one year after release from the sampled institutions. The boys were not randomly assigned to each institution so the sample and thus the data is admittedly biased. The total cost of building and operating an Achievement Place, per youth, is roughly 1/4 the cost of building and maintaining a large institution, per youth.

NOTES:

If the authors had dug a little deeper, they may have isolated certain personal qualities of house parents that led to the three successful teaching methods they did isolate. Truax and Carkhuff (1967), investigating what qualities make a good Rogerian analyst, found three personality types to be most effective - therapist self-congruence, accurate empathy, and unconditional positive regard.

Behaviour Therapy (e.g., token economy system) is generally known for producing only short-term results in psychotherapy. Its efficacy is maximized in disorders such as phobias and compulsions and minimized in personality disorders, emotional disturbances and low self-esteem or self-concept (Eysenck, 1965).

It is not surprising, then, that the behaviour technique of a token economy system was not enough to produce results by itself in the first replication. In the face of the other, "relationship variable", the token economy system may even be superfluous.

E. SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

A. Difficulties of Evaluation:

1) Diversity of Programmes

So many different approaches to running group homes make generalization and comparison difficult.

2) Lack of Information

Reports are often lacking in details of relevant variables which makes comparison of programmes difficult.

- a) Characteristics of Juveniles: personality and type of offences.
- b) Characteristics of Staff: e.g., oriented to counselling, teaching, maintenance, punishment, enthusiasm, ability, training.
- c) Type of Programme: guided group interaction, behaviour modification, counselling.
- d) Length of programme.
- e) Measures on behaviour to indicate adjustment to society, etc., during programme and after completion of programme.

3) Definition of Measures

There have been difficulties in defining "success" and "failure" (e.g., school attendance, living arrangements, work, recidivism, etc.) as well as relating these measures to society, the programme, its goals, the juvenile, etc.

4) Control Groups

Most studies lack control groups, and where they are included, there are difficulties with selection of appropriate subjects, matching of groups and random assignment.

5) Description of Programme

If the programme is planned and described at one level, but carried out by other staff at a

different level, is the real situation equivalent to the theory? Some work (eg., Silverlake) suggests they may be very different.

B. Variables:

Keeping in mind the difficulties of evaluating or interpreting the research, it is possible to isolate some variables which seem to differentiate between successful and unsuccessful group home projects.

1) Juvenile-Centred

- a) Type of offence or problem before entering the group home: There is some suggestion that individuals with psychological problems (run-away, etc.) may be more difficult to treat than those with a more social problem (theft, etc.).

This may be true if the treatment is focussed on overt behaviour (behaviour modification) rather than internal problems, or if the programme is designed to achieve a change in social values.

There has not been enough relevant data to determine which types of problems or offences are best treated in a group home programme.

- b) Characteristics of Juvenile: Different personality types will likely react differently to the group home setting. Some group home environments might help one type and be harmful for another type (California Youth Authority).

Matching the personality of the juvenile with the intended home environment has had some success and some failure.

It is difficult to know if success or failure is due to personality or environment or both.

More mature juveniles seem to benefit more from group homes (Silverlake).

- c) Attitudes of Parents: Children are more likely to succeed in group home programmes if parents view favourably both the child and the programme (Toronto group homes).

This may be due to the fact that children with parents who have a more hopeful outlook would rehabilitate better with no treatment programme, or any other type of programme.

- d) Existence of "Inmate Sub-culture": Most of the group home programmes are based on the assumption that a unified culture will arise, encompassing all inmates and staff, that will allow for the change and enforcement of social norms ("Yule Farm", Silverlake, Criswell House, Achievement Place).

There is evidence however (Silverlake) that a strong inmate subculture resists efforts to subjugate it. This problem is found in larger institutions as well.

The existence of an inmate subculture reinforces the adherence to delinquent norms and attitudes, so that effective rehabilitation is more difficult or impossible.

It would appear that any programme which put together a group of juvenile delinquents would be faced with this same problem, but the group therapy approach may even tend to heighten the effect by encouraging greater group cohesion.

2) Staff-Centred

- a) Training: There is a great deal of variance in the degree to which group home staff ("house-parents") are trained.

It is likely that part of the staff's role would be made more effective if they had been given training in counselling, etc.

Some specific programme goals could only be reached if the staff were trained to carry out the programme (eg., guided group interaction, behaviour modification).

- b) Whether staff can and does carry out the programme as planned.

Staff may fail to emphasize positive social reinforcement (Achievement Place) to bring about desired changes in behaviour.

Staff may favour use of punishment in a system designed to replace punishment concepts (Silverlake).

- c) Personality, etc.: The most difficult parts of a programme to assess are the personality characteristics of staff that make some successes and others failures in their interactions with adolescents (Achievement Place).

There is a lack of sufficient data from experimental programmes to provide much of a guide.

3) Interaction of Staff and Juveniles

The interaction between staff personality and juvenile characteristics is crucial to the success of a programme, but difficult to assess or predict.

4) Programme-Centred

- a) Duration: While temporary placement houses may be needed in some cases, most evidence suggests that programmes are more effective if they are of at least 6 months duration (Toronto, "Yule Farm").

- b) Number of participants in home: Only the Silverlake programme examined this variable, concluding that four juveniles per home was an optimal number, while more than 6 would be too much for the house-parents to handle. - However, other programmes usually had more participants (6-8 in Achievement Place; 8-9 in Criswell House) and these programmes seemed to be successful trade-offs in reducing size of group: increased interaction with staff along with increased costs.

- c) Type of Environment: Generally determined by juvenile-staff interaction, type of programme, etc., may need different type of environment for different type of juvenile problem (Silverlake).

- d) Continuity: Continuity of programmes and juvenile's basic life style is attempted in two major ways:

- i) establishing home in youth's original community so that he may continue at same school, visit family or friends on weekends, participate in community activities (attempted in most programmes).
- ii) extensive follow-up programme after discharge using same personnel as in programme and providing counselling, etc., with family ("Yule Farm", Criswell House).

- e) Type of Programme: Successful project generally had a carefully thought out and executed programme within the group home as well as connections with schools, etc., in the community.

- i) behaviour modification: while not successful on its own ("Children's Centre", Achievement Place) some progress was possible in programmes using a token economy as a system of behaviour modification. Social reinforcement for acceptable behaviour is likely a major part of all successful programmes (Achievement Place).
- ii) guided group interaction: using a group discussion as a basis of forming and enforcing socially acceptable norms seems to be effective, at least to some extent (Silverlake, Criswell House).
- iii) involvement of juveniles in programme: general involvement of youths in decision-making about their own life and programme seems essential to creating a sense of responsibility and gaining cooperation needed for a successful programme ("Yule Farm", Silverlake, Criswell House, Achievement Place).
- iv) flexibility: since needs and problems of juveniles can differ greatly, as can aptitudes and orientations of staff, flexibility of programme to accommodate both sides adequately is important ("Yule Farm").

GROUP HOMES

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VIII DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT

The basic premise of these programmes is that not all deviant youth are the same. Therefore different youth need different solutions to the same problems. Two examples are provided in the present review. One, the California Community Treatment Project provided parallel and duplicate programmes for different types within their typology. On the other hand, New York provided different programmes for different types.

A. THE COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

One of the most ambitious projects which encompasses the entire range of service is California's Community Treatment Project. The evidence with regard to success or failure is inconclusive. The fact that the cost of this program is similar to the costs of institutionalization and that the ultimate outcomes are the same does not bode well for this kind of programme.

The programme was begun in 1961 and was operating until 1974. The nature of the programme was experimental and was designed to examine the question: Can youthful offenders be treated in their communities without being removed to an institution? If so, what variables make for a successful programme?

A. Eligibility:

All youths under the jurisdiction of the California Youth Authority (CYA) were included with the exception of those charged with seriously assaultive offences (armed robbery, forcible rape, etc.) or where strong community objection was raised. The sample included 65% of all the boys and 83% of all the girls under the jurisdiction of CYA.

B. Programme:

Youths were randomly assigned to the control (C) or experimental (E) groups, with the control group being institutionalized (per usual CYA policy) and the experimental group taking part in the CTP. Both groups were matched on age, I.Q., socio-economic status, race, etc. Upon entry into the programme, each ward in the experimental group was assessed and an individualized plan for treatment was drawn up (based on the individual's strength, weaknesses, interests, maturity level, family background, etc.). The treatment could include:

- a) intensive and/or extensive involvement with worker (caseload limited to 12 youths per worker);

- b) residential placement (foster homes, group homes, dormitory);
- c) school programme at CTP Community Centre (15-20% of participants);
- d) recreational and socializing opportunities;
- e) full or part-time work (35%).

Each unit of the programme was usually composed of a treatment supervisor, male community agents (6), a female community agent, a full-time teacher, a half-time group supervisor (an administrative supervisor over larger area), and 84 wards.

C. Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification (I-Levels):

Youths were classified according to the personality theory based on maturity level with sub-types, on the basis of a 1 1/2 hour interview. (A description of I-Level and sub-type characteristics is given in the Assessment Section of this report.)

This classification system forms much of the basis for decisions on individual treatment programmes.

The theory relates needs and characteristics of youth sub-types to treatment approaches and worker characteristics. In the running of the groups in the programme, 4 main groupings of sub-types were formed. In evaluating the programme, 3 of the major groupings accounted for 7/8 of the boys:

- 1) Passive Conformist (Immature Conformist)
- 2) Power Oriented (Cultural Conformist and Manipulator)
- 3) Neurotic (Neurotic Acting Out and Neurotic Anxious).

D. Characteristics of Workers:

The classification by I-Levels was used to form groups of boys at a similar social level. Groups were then matched with workers whose personal characteristics were thought to be most helpful with that particular group.

1. Immature Conformist Youth

The successful worker was: socially reticent, calm, leisurely in social interrelations, and underplayed emotional aspects. These factors could help reduce the fear of adults, provide a non-threatening

environment to allow for the development of a strong dependency relationship as a prelude to the youth becoming more self-sufficient.

2. Unsocialized or Low-Maturity Youth

The successful worker was: spontaneous, lacked social restraint, had a sense of humour, was obviously enthusiastic and expressed himself openly.

3. a) Anxious Neurotic Youth

The successful worker was: accepting of "bad" parts of youths and not taken in by the socially acceptable part. He recognized and supported the youth's strengths. The emphasis was on introspection, thinking, and working for clarification of underlying reasons for attitudes and feelings.

b) Acting-Out Neurotic Youth

The successful worker was: careful not to threaten the youth's autonomy, quick-thinking, alert, forceful, aware of the present-day adolescent world and informal.

E. Residential Programmes:

1. Foster Homes

2. Group Homes [see section under Group Homes for details]

A sub-project was operated in 1966-1969 to determine the feasibility of establishing 5 types of group homes with environments specifically designed to promote the growth and development of certain types of delinquents (protective, containment, boarding, temporary community care and short-term restriction which was not established). The group homes were seen to:

- i) provide alternative to youth in placement crisis;
- ii) be potentially useful in long-range treatment objectives;
- iii) provide the community agent with more and better information about children.

3. Dormitory

The dormitory was built to house 23-25 youths but actually accommodated between 15 and 32 at any

one time. It was usually minimum security and located several miles from the community centre. The programme provided the option of releasing youths directly to the CTP programme in the community, or first to an intensive residential situation, then to the community CTP programme.

Of the juveniles judged to be "more difficult" (46% of all juveniles), those placed right into the community performed significantly worse than those placed first in dormitory (94% vs. 58% committing one or more offence in the first 1 1/2 years on parole). The juveniles judged to be "less difficult" did not gain by being placed in residence with few substantial differences between the residential and non-residential juveniles.

4. Findings

An intensive residential programme should be provided for those judged in need of such facilities as it appears to aid in their rehabilitation.

F. School Programme:

This programme was located in the community centre of CTP and accommodated 15 to 20% of all CTP participants. It attempted to breakdown the negative stereotype of school from past experience before beginning actual education. Classes were small (about 5 students) allowing for more individual attention, a more personal relationship between teacher and students, and a more relaxed and informal classroom atmosphere. Remedial academic material was geared to the interests of the students. Also, the programme was flexible to accommodate a parole programme and adjustment outside of the classroom.

G. Differential Decision-Making:

If a delinquent commits an offence or infraction while on parole, that parole can either, as a result, be restored or revoked. The decision of the resulting action can be based on:

- 1) severity of offence; arbitrary rules, etc;
- 2) judgement of individual characteristics; effects of decision on treatment and long-range rehabilitation, etc. (differential decision-making).

Differential decision-making is based on:

- a) the agent's awareness of certain patterns of testing-out; patterns of expressing conflict

and crisis on part of certain types of youths (i.e., expect certain types of acting-out behaviour as phase of intensive treatment);

- b) the agent's estimates of conditions under which acting-out will be more likely to be transitory;
- c) the agent's ability to detect and evaluate changes in wards;
- d) overall positive potential of programme to which the youth would be restored (possible benefits must outweigh risk of restoring youth).

H. Differential Treatment Units (DTU) and Guided Group Interaction (GGI):

A comparison of DTU and GGI in a San Francisco project showed no significant difference between groups in background variables. Differences did emerge on the basis of the following:

- 1) amount of community exposure before revoking parole; DTU significantly longer than GGI;
- 2) favourable discharge from programme; GGI significantly greater than DTU (34% vs. 14% after 24 months);
- 3) failure on parole;
 - a) after 15 months, GGI significantly higher than DTU (51% vs. 29%), and
 - b) after 24 months, no difference (44% DTU vs. 42% GGI);
- 4) of those viewed responding positively to programme,
 - a) positive change and growth on psychological test measures showed DTU greater than GGI, and
 - b) growth of socialization showed GGI was greater than DTU.

Both GGI and DTU showed growth in pre- to post-programme testing. There were no clear differences with respect to delinquent behaviour. The choice of the programme would depend on goals, priorities, etc.

I. Evaluation of Programme:

Table 2 presents a summary of major results.

- 1) Neurotics constituted 70-75% of male delinquent population and were better in intensive CTP programmes (E) than the traditional (C).
- 2) Power Oriented youth fared worse in CTP than in the traditional programme.
- 3) Passive Conformists, while under CYA jurisdiction, showed that the intensive group did better than the traditional group. In a 4 year follow-up on those with a favourable discharge:
 - a) on convictions: C better than E, and
 - b) on arrests: E better than C.
- 4) Remaining Types (about 12% of boys) were:
 - a) asocialized passive, who were somewhat better in CTP;
 - b) cultural identifiers, who were somewhat better in the traditional programme.
- 5) Girls did about the same in CTP and the traditional programme.
- 6) Costs. In the early period (1961-63), the institution cost less than the CTP, but in the later period (1971-73), the costs were about equal.

J. Factors Related to the Success of CTP Treatment Approach:

- 1) Community located E subjects did better than community located C subjects.
- 2) Institutionalized C subjects were about equivalent to non-institutionalized C subjects.
- 3) Treatment part of CTP is most important.

The success of treatment depends on:

- 1) adequate implementation of programmes;
- 2) matching of delinquents and community agents;
- 3) nature of differential treatment community agents (level of ability, perceptiveness);

TABLE 2
MAIN RESULTS OF EVALUATION OF CTP

Measure	Neurotics		Power Oriented		Overall (males)	
	Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control
Arrests (rate/month)	.03	.08	not specified	not speci- fied	.040	.065
Recidivism (%) 24 months	45%	66%	40%	60%	44%	63%
Favourable Discharge (%)	77%	40%	43%	53%	69%	50%
Unfavourable Discharge (%)	17%	40%	23%	15%	16%	23%
Convictions (Average) 48 months	1.58	1.88	2.55	1.47	1.67	1.42

- 4) intensive and/or extensive intervention of community agent in several aspects of youth's life - made possible by small caseload;
- 5) emphasis on working through of agent/ward relationship as major vehicle and product of treatment;
- 6) differential and appropriate decision-making (to restore or revoke parole after first or early offence or infraction).

B. THE NEW YORK EXAMPLE

Another integrated programme was implemented in New York. The premises underlying the program were:

- 1) deviant youth have impulse control programmes, and
- 2) problems stem from intrapsychic conflicts.

Intake Criteria:

The youth's attitudinal and behavioural indices, and not the nature of the offence are given priority.

Programme Approaches

Four basic approaches were implemented to offer differential treatment approaches for youths with problems ranging from gradations of immaturity to deepseated conflicts manifested, in part, in delinquent behaviour.

1. Conservation Camps

These were suited for the more immature youths who were deemed to need a moratorium from home pressures and negative community influences. In the forestry setting, the programme stresses supervised outdoor work experience, recreation, academic and remedial instruction, religious services, reality-oriented group counselling and an opportunity to associate with interested and mature adult role models.

Hard work in the form of conservation chores was a programme technique, and the ability to follow orders, to act as crew leaders, to complete assignments and to acquire skills as well as the satisfaction of these acquisitions, were thought of as fundamental requirements for the adoption of work attitudes and habits necessary to obtain and hold a community job later. The pace was rapid, and hopefully exciting in its adventuresomeness and challenge.

2. The Short-Term Adolescent Resident Training (START) Programme

This programme was to serve the older manipulative more delinquency-oriented youth. Intensive group interaction was emphasized for the development of an understanding of the meaning of their behaviour. Youth worked on hospital grounds each day in a variety of work assignments.

3. Urban Home Programme

Youth were selected if they possessed sufficient stability, ties and strengths to be maintained in their home community with adult guidance and support. Individual schedules for community work and school were devised and the youth received counselling, maintenance, tutoring and other services in relation to his needs. Daily participation in local community activities was required.

4. The Short-Term Aid to Youth (STAY) Programme

This programme was a non-residential programme similar to START, with a daily, supervised work experience. Group sessions, emphasizing a confronting probing approach were scheduled, as well as parent-youth group sessions with the director.

Several rudimentary approaches underline the four programmes:

- 1) Youth had to be helped to accept that they had worth and potential.
- 2) Youth contact with the real world had to be maximized (i.e., community-camp athletic leagues, shopping trips, tours of cultural sites, general open-door policy which encouraged local civic groups to utilize the facilities). Staff members were encouraged to bring their own families to the facilities and to participate in Christmas parties, bowling leagues and other social events.
- 3) Youth involvement in programmes of service to others was important for enhancing feelings of self worth (i.e., fighting a forest fire, searching for a lost child, building a camp gymnasium or baseball field for the municipality, assistants in wards for mentally retarded children, distributing supplies to welfare clients, etc.).
- 4) Youth work experiences had to be realistically interpreted.

- 5) Youth acceptance of responsibility was paramount.
- 6) Community acceptance was needed and nurtured.
- 7) "New Careers Programme": 10% of the facility staff are former offender-graduates from the programme.

Apartment complexes, aftercare teams, satellite forestry and recreation camps and a college liaison have been instituted into the programme with the passage of time.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT

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