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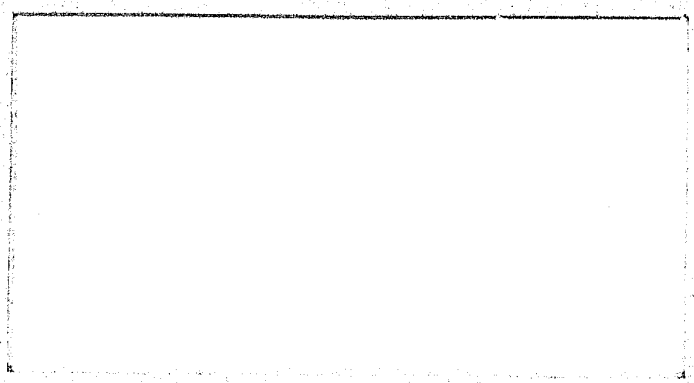

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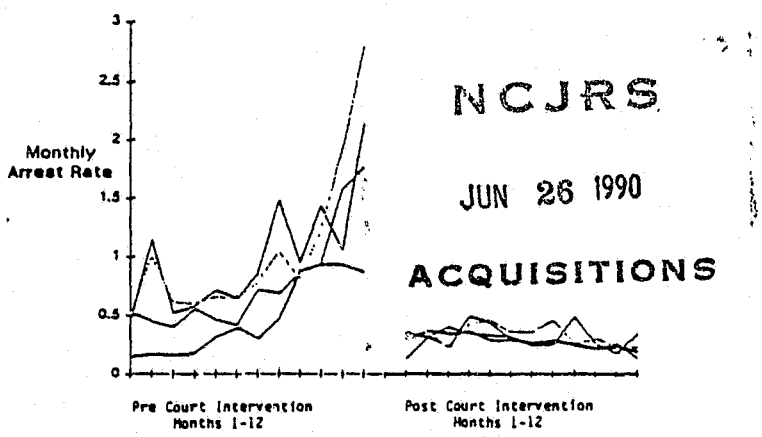
THE IMPACT OF JUVENILE COURT INTERVENTION

Pre and Post Juvenile Court Intervention Arrest Rates



August, 1987

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Appendix A

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to assess the impact of various juvenile court interventions on serious juvenile offenders. This inquiry is extremely timely because of the grave doubts that are currently being expressed about the efficacy of court sanctions. In particular, concepts such as individualized treatment and rehabilitation, cornerstones of the juvenile court's philosophy, are under attack from liberal and conservative critics. The juvenile court is accused both with being too lenient with serious offenders and too punitive with minor ones. Calls for major reforms are being heard in legislatures throughout the nation.

This questioning of the juvenile court's basic philosophy coincides with the severe fiscal pressures known to all juvenile justice agencies. Accompanying this is an increase in demands to accomplish goals commensurate with public revenue investments. While there has been extensive research on the juvenile court, the existing research literature contains few rigorous and comprehensive studies of the impact of court sanctions on delinquent and adult criminal careers. Juvenile court research has focused on such issues as:

1. descriptions of court operations (Cicourel, 1968; Emerson, 1969; or Stapleton et al., 1982);

2. studies of court decision-making processes (Bailey and Peterson, 1981; Bortner, 1982; Cohen, 1975; or Thornberry, 1973); and

3. data on court functioning that are collected as part of larger longitudinal studies of delinquent careers (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Shannon, 1976; or Hamparian, 1978).

Much of the prior evaluation research in the juvenile justice field has been devoted to testing the efficacy of innovative treatment or correctional projects rather than the core dispositions of the court (Empey and Lubeck, 1971; Lerman, 1975; or Empey and Erickson, 1972). The current study attempts to test the relative effectiveness of a wide range of traditional court interventions on delinquent behavior and youth attitudes -- focusing on more serious juvenile offenders. The research draws heavily on the conceptual and methodological contributions of Murray and Cox (1979) in their controversial study, Beyond Probation. In that study, Murray and Cox found that institutionalization in Illinois training schools resulted in large reductions in the rate of offending of serious juvenile offenders. They also report that intensive non-incarcerative sanctions, such as wilderness programs and close community supervision produced sizeable reductions in the rate of offending.

Murray and Cox thus raise serious doubts about the popular assumption that incarceration only worsens delinquent careers. Moreover, they call for a reassessment of deterrence as opposed to rehabilitation as the major philosophical underpinning of the juvenile court:

> We suggest that recidivism was reduced for the simplest reasons of all: Society credibly changed the short-term payoffs of delinquency. Society did what was necessary to get delinquents' attention and gave them some good reasons why they should not do these things any more. Some of the reasons were negative - "You can't do that anymore, because some very unpleasant things will happen if you

> do." Some reasons were positive - "You shouldn't do that anymore, because you have better options."
>
> (Murray and Cox, 1979:176)

Their conclusions sharply challenge prevailing professional opinion that supports minimal intervention in the lives of children and sees treatment as the most effective means to reduce future criminality. Later in this report, we will have more to say about the results of Beyond Probation. The present study attempts to replicate the Murray and Cox findings in another correctional system and extend their analysis by focusing more attention on non-institutional sanctions. The major methodological and theoretical criticisms of Beyond Probation (McCleary et al., 1978; Lundman, 1986) will also be examined in light of the current research.

The Evolving Philosophy of the Juvenile Court

The founders of the juvenile court envisioned a social agency with broad jurisdiction that would primarily focus on the prevention of future delinquency. Progressive era reformers such as Jane Adams and Julia Lathrop sought to harness the powers of the emerging sciences of human behavior to accomplish the juvenile court's mission. They first commissioned Dr. William A. Healy to launch a comprehensive study of children going through the Chicago juvenile court (Krisberg and Austin, 1978). Healy proposed that detailed studies of individual delinquents be conducted to develop treatment plans for them. Thousands of youth were examined by Healy using social, medical, psychological and even anthropometric measurements.

Healy never isolated a single cause of delinquency but instead argued that delinquency has multiple causes. He was, however, greatly influenced by Freudian psychology and directed the attention of early court officials to the role of the family in the etiology of delinquent behavior.

The lasting contribution of Healy's work was the establishment of child guidance clinics which eventually became attached to courts throughout the nation. The basic model of the juvenile court and its clinic relied upon experts who employed scientific principles to structure treatment plans. Healy's work also justified the flexible and discretionary operations of the juvenile court. This approach possessed great intuitive appeal:

> The first two decades of the juvenile court movement produced a wealth of philosophic comment so sound in conception and so modern in tone that it has scarcely been modified or improved upon since that time.
>
> (Ketcham, 1962:26)

More recently, this historic model of the juvenile court has encountered considerable rethinking and reassessment.

In fact, as noted later, during the past two decades there has been a general shift in correctional philosophy away from the positivistic assumptions implicit in the rehabilitative ideal and toward a classical legal view based upon the concepts of deterrence or just deserts (Von Hirsch, 1985; Wilson, 1975). Whereas positivism views criminal behavior as a product of personal traits and environmental influences, the classical view of punishment draws attention to the relative efficiency of various sanctions to reduce crime.

Early positivistic theories of delinquency instead stressed the hereditary, physical and mental defects of delinquents (Hirschi, 1979). These theories were later replaced with ones that emphasized the inability of families to socialize their children (Platt, 1967; Breckinridge and Abbot, 1912). Moreover, these theories attempted to identify factors peculiar to the individual or family that were amenable to treatment programs.

Beginning with the work of Shaw and McKay (1942), Sellin (1938), and Sutherland (1939), a theoretical paradigm emerged that pointed to the central role of social disorganization in the etiology of delinquency. The social disorganization perspective concentrated on the breakdown of cultural traditions, community values and traditional mechanisms of social control. One programmatic expression of this view was the Chicago Area Project, founded in the 1930's, which was the forerunner of later community action projects and delinquency prevention efforts.

While court officials were knowledgeable about social disorganization theory, its basic premises were rarely incorporated into juvenile court operations. In some respects, the social disorganization view was a critique of the traditional philosophy of the juvenile court and an explanation of why court-based treatment programs could not reduce delinquency in urban areas (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Throughout the 1960's the social disorganization view gained increasing public attention and was highly significant in forging federal policy on juvenile delinquency (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960;

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967).

A major critique of the positivistic court philosophy was generated by the labeling perspective on deviance (Lemert, 1967). This perspective argued that current methods of controlling and treating deviants could lead to an even greater problem of delinquency (Lemert and Dill, 1972). The labeling perspective provided the theoretical rationale for policies to decriminalize a wide range of minor delinquent behaviors and to divert minor offenders from the juvenile justice system. Schur (1977) stated the ethos of this approach in his book, Radical Non-Intervention: "When at all possible, do nothing." The non-interventionists were joined in their sociological critique of juvenile court treatment by critics who pointed to the inferior legal rights given to clients of the juvenile court (Kittrie, 1974). In the late 1960's and early 1970's, a strong reform movement called for sweeping changes in court procedures and an expansion of community-based programs in lieu of court sanctions. This reform movement was central to the passage of the federal Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974.

What this movement lacked was (1) an adequate theory of how to deal with the more serious and chronic offenders (Zimring, 1978), (2) firm evidence that diversion policies would actually lead to delinquency reduction, and (3) solid evidence that deeper penetration into the juvenile justice system would necessarily result in increased delinquency (Tittle, 1975). These deficiencies made the labeling approach unappealing to some juvenile court officials.

These critics were eventually joined by more conservative perspectives that specifically attacked the juvenile court's rehabilitative model. Researchers and legal commentators criticized the failure of past rehabilitative efforts, the imprecise definition of rehabilitation, the involuntary nature of treatment and the indeterminant length of juvenile court sanctions (Finckenauer, 1984; Martinson, 1974; Wolfgang, 1982). Instead of rehabilitation, they argued that juvenile offenders should be punished swiftly and with certainty in order to deter further delinquent behavior of the offender as well as other potential violators. They also suggested that serious or chronic offenders should be incapacitated, and that their punishment should be proportional to the gravity of their crime (Van den Haag, 1975; Wilson, 1975).

Other penologists, less sanguine about the alleged deterrent or incapacitative impact of court sanctions, have proposed that penal sanctions merely be both proportionate to the gravity of the crime and administered in accordance with full guarantees of due process and equal protection of the law (Fogel, 1979; Morris, 1975). Juvenile justice standards promulgated by the American Bar Association and the Institute for Judicial Administration (Flicker, 1982) represent a complete procedural articulation of this last viewpoint. The state of Washington has come closest to enacting these standards as part of its juvenile court code. However, many states have adopted new juvenile court laws creating presumptive dispositions or guidelines for minor and serious juvenile offenders. These laws have generally facilitated the transfer of serious juvenile offenders to

adult courts and mandated increased penalties for certain offenses in the juvenile court. In many cases, these code revisions have encouraged non-judicial sanctions for status offenders or minor offenders (Krisberg, et al., 1986).

What we are currently witnessing is a fundamental debate over the most appropriate role for the juvenile justice system. This debate is occurring in the context of increasingly scarce public funds available for correctional programs. The key policy question is how to most effectively allocate juvenile justice resources so as to maximize both public protection and youth welfare.

While this question may be confronted in purely ideological terms, it is hoped that rigorous research-based information can assist policy makers in making rational fiscal and programmatic choices. A first step in this process is to develop criteria to classify offenders who require different levels of incarcerative and non-incarcerative sanctions. Past research has often dealt with a limited range of correctional options. What is now required, however, is a comprehensive study of the effects of a variety of juvenile court interventions on youth crime.

Previous Research on the Impact of Juvenile Court Sanctions

As mentioned earlier, the approach of Murray and Cox (1979) represents a significant conceptual and methodological step forward. Their approach is attractive because it stresses the need to examine the effect of court sanctions on the reduction in the incidence as opposed to the prevalence of serious delinquency. The measure of

the changed incidence of delinquency is called the "suppression effect". According to Murray and Cox, many previous studies that look solely at prevalence measures (i.e., the portion of juveniles who recidivate) may actually mask a major reduction in a prior rate of offending. These traditional measures of recidivism establish an absolute standard of the complete cessation delinquent behavior. Murray and Cox assert that this criterion is unrealistic and may be misleading in the evaluation of the relative effectiveness of different court sanctions. Further, they also direct researchers and policy officials to reexamine the concept of deterrence as a major objective of juvenile justice programs. Perhaps the most controversial finding of their research is that incarceration results in a reduction in arrests greater than any alternative court disposition.

Prior research that compares the recidivism impact of incarceration and various community-based sanctions does not provide consistant support for the major conditions of Beyond Probation. This includes studies that employ experimental or quasi-experimental designs. The most rigorous of these studies was the Silverlake experiment conducted by Empey and Lubeck (1971). Youth were randomly assigned to either a traditional juvenile training school or a community-based group home program that emphasized regular school attendance and guided group interaction therapy. The follow-up data, collected one year after release, showed that there was a 73 percent reduction in arrests for the training school group and a 71 percent reduction for the residents of the community-based program.

Thus, the two interventions had virtually identical suppression effects.

The Community Treatment Project likewise randomly assigned youth to either California Youth Authority institutions or to community supervision units that provided intensive supervision (Palmer, 1971). The youth were then tracked for 15 months after their return to the community. At the end of the first year, 28 percent of the youth in the community treatment units had violated their parole compared to 52 percent of the youth assigned to Youth Authority institutions. After two years of follow-up, the community treatment clients had a parole failure rate of 38 percent compared to 61 percent for their institutionalized counterparts. These dramatic findings which appeared to demonstrate the benefits of community treatment versus institutionalization were criticized by Lerman (1975). He concluded that differences in parole outcome were due to differential reactions to delinquency by parole agents, resulting in biased measures of crime. For example, the community program clients actually showed a slightly higher mean number of arrests during the follow-up period, even though their level of parole failure rate was far lower than that of the incarcerated youth.

The Provo experiment (Empey and Erickson, 1972) randomly assigned youth to either traditional probation supervision or to another version of probation that allowed them to live at home but attend daily sessions in guided group interaction at a center in Provo. Originally, youth were to be randomly assigned to the state training school, but this experimental condition was eventually

abandoned and youth committed to training schools were sampled from other Utah counties. While the Provo study design was less than ideal, the research offered suggestive findings that youth placed in the training school were less successful than either of the two non-institutional programs. The recidivism rate of the training school youth was 60 percent compared to 50 percent for the probation and treatment youth. However, given that the groups were not entirely comparable the results may not reflect the true effects of institutionalization.

Another highly relevant study was the Harvard University research which examined the impact of the closing of Massachusetts juvenile training schools (Coates et al., 1978). In the early 1970's, the Massachusetts Division of Youth Services revolutionized the state's juvenile justice system by closing down all public training schools. Over 1,000 youth were swiftly transferred to diverse, privately operated community-based programs. The Harvard researchers compared a sample of youth in the community system to another sample drawn from youth who had been released from the traditional training schools. There was no opportunity to implement an experimental design and the researchers relied on statistical controls. On the average, Coates and his associates found lower recidivism rates among the youth who had been institutionalized than those who had participated in the community-based programs. However, closer analysis of the data lent more empirical support for the intended direction of the Massachusetts decarceration movement.

> Recidivism, another long-term measure of the youngsters' reintegration into the community without further delinquent behavior, proved a complex indicator. Comparisons between a training-school sample and the community-based sample showed an increase in recidivism for the later group. While numerous possible explanations are plausible, such as the older age of the community-based sample, it seems clear that the new system did not systematically produce the desired decreases in recidivism. Regions that most adequately implemented the reform measures with a diversity of programs did produce decreases in recidivism over time, as did those programs receiving ratings reflecting a higher degree of normalization on the institutional-normalization continuum.
>
> (Coates et al., 1978:177)

The Massachusetts study concluded that after-care services were essential to successful community-based programs for serious juvenile offenders.

There have also been a number of studies which compare the recidivism rates of probationers with persons sentenced to prison or jail. Most of these studies have involved adult offenders and none have employed a rigorous experimental design. They have also produced contradictory results. For example, Beattie and Bridges (1970) reported a failure rate of 35 percent for probationers compared to a 59 percent failure rate for persons released from jail. Babst and Manning (1965) compared the failure rates of adult probationers with parolees and found no differences in outcomes. While the Beattie and Bridges research (1970) attempted to statistically control for a number of factors, it is not likely that their study groups were at comparable risk to recidivate.

Similar criticisms have been made of other studies that purport to show that probationers have lower failure rates than offenders

who are incarcerated (Levin, 1971; Wilkins, 1969). A recent study by RAND researchers examined recidivism rates for matched samples of probationers and prisoners. Petersilia and her associates (1985) found that the probationers had lower rates of subsequent arrest, court filing, conviction and recommitment to prison or jail. Although the RAND study employed more sophisticated statistical procedures to compensate for the absence of random assignment, their results must be interpreted with caution.

The studies summarized have been conducted on a variety of populations, in diverse areas of the country, using somewhat different designs and intervention programs in different time periods and with differing outcome measures. The collective results are nonetheless consistent with the assertion that non-incarcerative sanctions are no better or worse than incarceration in reducing subsequent recidivism. Indeed, many of the studies suggest that community-based sanctions yield better results than institutionalization. It is these conclusions that are contradicted and challenged by the Murray and Cox (1979) research.

As Empey notes in the forward to Beyond Probation, this study is clearly in need of replication. If the Murray and Cox results can be replicated it may not be necessary to focus as many resources on the treatment and rehabilitation services that have long been the hallmark of the positivist philosophy of the juvenile court. There may be a need to heed Martinson's (1974) call for more research and the development of programs designed around principles of deterrence, incapacitation and just deserts.

Indeed, it may be appropriate to increase the use of confinement, even if for short periods, thereby shifting correctional resources from traditional probation supervision caseloads to more intensive and, perhaps, restrictive programs. On the other hand, it may be that the findings of Murray and Cox relating to the effects of institutionalization are not internally valid or generalizable. In either case, it will be as informative to ask what the impact is of an entire range of noninstitutional interventions for serious juvenile offenders. It could be that a more restrictive or intensive form of traditional probation could be as effective as institutionalization in reducing recidivism at only a fraction of the cost. Or, perhaps even a minimal and cheaper form of supervision would work better, particularly for special categories of serious offenders.

Some prior research has been conducted on the effects of differing forms or levels of supervision, or variations in caseload size, or recidivism. However, aside from that noted above, there is no research on the effects of varied forms of probation using a randomized design among juvenile probationers, only juvenile parolees (Hudson, 1972) or youthful offender parolees (Jackson, 1983). There have also been numerous scientifically rigorous studies on the effects of varied supervisory styles or intensity of supervision among adult probationers or parolees (Greenberg, 1979; Star, 1978; Burkhart, 1979; Robison, et al., 1969). With minor exceptions, these studies have shown that, regardless of the nature or level of supervision, recidivism outcomes (variously measured as arrest, con-

viction, seriousness of offense, time to offense, revocation, or seriousness of sentence) are very similar. Less rigorous studies, in contrast, have suggested that parolees perform better than individuals directly discharged from prison without parole (Gottfredson et al., 1983; Sacks and Logan, 1984). The single exception is Waller's (1969) study of Canadian prisoners exiting prison, which used post hoc statistical controls and found no recidivism differences between parolees and dischargees.

These studies should not, however, be taken as conclusive for present purposes; criticisms applied to studies comparing the effects of institutional and community sanctions apply equally here. In addition, these studies also: (1) center on parolees, who are often viewed as more serious offenders than probationers; (2) apply largely to adults; and (3) used intervention methods that may have since changed.

Goals of the Current NCCD Study

The current study intends to test the merits of various juvenile court sanctions and to replicate and extend the analysis of Murray and Cox. We will test a broader range of court interventions than past research, including short and long term institutional placement, community-based placements and three styles of probation supervision. These interventions will be assessed in terms of their impact on youth attitudes and subsequent misconduct, as measured by both official and self-report data. Moreover, the study will randomly assign youth to three experimental models of probation. A

major limitation in the analysis by Murray and Cox is the assumption that probation is a unitary form of treatment and/or control. We will also examine the effects of a variety of intermediate interventions involving short term residential placements compared to intensive probation supervision. Overall, the analysis shows what forms of court intervention work best for different categories of serious youthful offenders. The results should be valuable for those involved in juvenile court classification and intervention decisions and for those planning comprehensive juvenile justice services.

Plan of this Report

The next chapter of this report will describe the research setting and provide an overview of our research methods. Chapter 3 will show how the Second District Juvenile Court and the Youth Corrections agency are assigning youth to differing forms of intervention. Chapter 4 will offer detailed descriptions of the nature, extent and character of surveillance and services associated with each intervention. Next, we will examine the recidivism outcome data on youth placed in the experimental probation groups. These results will then be compared with the outcome measures for youth placed on informal probation and in the non-randomized intervention groups. We examine multiple measures of recidivism, including the suppression effect, using both official data and measures of self-report delinquency. Finally, the results of each of these descriptive and impact analyses will be reviewed in light of further

research needs and policy implications for the juvenile court. The goal is to help practitioners improve contemporary juvenile court classification and intervention practices and test alternative theories about how the juvenile court can best control serious youth crime.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Overview of the Second District Court in Salt Lake

The site for this research is the Second District Juvenile Court of Utah. This court serves Salt Lake City and its suburbs. Together they constitute a metropolitan area of approximately 700,000 people. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in 1985 the Salt Lake City metropolitan area had a reported crime rate of 6,425 per 100,000 residents. Salt Lake City's crime rate is lower than other urban areas such as Dallas (9,349), Denver (8,062) or Chicago (6,697), but Salt Lake possesses a crime rate that is higher that cities such as Boston (5,505), Philadelphia (4,204) or San Francisco (6,056).

Data on juvenile arrests are not available by metropolitan areas, however state juvenile arrests rates are useful in comparing the level of juvenile crime in Utah to other jurisdictions. The Salt Lake area contributes a very large share of Utah's total juvenile arrests. Based on FBI arrest data and information about the at-risk juvenile population in each state, Utah ranked first in its rate of part one juvenile arrests. Considering juvenile arrest rates for violent crimes, Utah was ranked 21st among all the states. These data suggest that the Utah and the Salt Lake metropolitan area suffer from a high rate of serious youth crime.

A special feature of the research site concerns the Court's philosophy toward juvenile incarceration. Following a series of lawsuits challenging the conditions of confinement at the state

training school, Utah officials decided to close their one large scale congregate training school in favor of smaller regional facilities for the most dangerous youth and community-based programs for other offenders. The number of youth in secure confinement dropped from 350 to less than 60. Utah followed virtually the same policy direction adopted by Massachusetts in the early 1970's to minimize the use of incarceration for youthful offenders. Since 1980, Utah has possessed one of the nation's lowest rates of juvenile incarceration. The results of this policy thrust toward decarceration and community-based corrections is an major concern of the current research.

The five probation units of the court are staffed by a total of 25 probation officers. These units are located in the inner and outlying areas of the Salt Lake County region. In accordance with the juvenile court philosophy, these units operate as community probation centers physically separated from the juvenile court and provide youth with an environment conducive to change and growth, especially towards community awareness and responsibility. Specifically, the philosophy of the court is to:

* Preserve and strengthen family ties;
* Provide care, guidance and control, preferably in the child's home; and
* Promote the development of responsible citizenship.

Historically, the probation program evolved to meet the needs of the youth and their families as well as those of the court. Prior to the initiation of the NCCD study in 1983, a variety of pro-

bation services were provided to juvenile probationers. The following distribution of services provided to youth, as recorded by court personnel, illustrates that the probation program largely rested on counseling:

- 32 percent were individual counseling
- 15 percent were at court hearings and reviews
- 18 percent were phone calls
- 12 percent were single family counseling
- 7 percent were in detention and detention hearings
- 2 percent were home visits
- 2 percent were individual or group activities
- 1 percent were group probationer counseling

Before the NCCD study commenced, the average length of probation supervision and treatment was nine months. As a result of the Court's experience in this study, however, efforts were initiated to reexamine the probation program and to shift its primary focus from counseling to supervision, thereby resulting in changes in the average length and costs of probation.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to measure the impact of differing forms and levels of juvenile court interventions. In order to make this assessment, the following research questions were developed to guide the research design and analysis:

1. What form of court intervention is most effective in reducing delinquent behavior?

2. What form of court intervention is most effective in changing youth attitudes?

3. What categories of juvenile offenders are best suited for which forms of court intervention?

4. What are the costs associated with each form of court intervention?

These questions were approached by examining the entire range of court interventions. Whereas previous studies have primarily concentrated on the relative effects of incarceration versus probation (Murray and Cox, 1979; Empey and Lubeck, 1979; Warren and Palmer, 1966; Palmer, 1971; Empey and Erickson, 1972; Weeks, 1963), this research is designed to measure the effects of incarceration compared to the variety of experimentally generated options within the probation disposition itself. As mentioned earlier, the Second District's program provides a diverse number of counseling services to juvenile probationers. This study was, therefore, specifically designed to measure the effects of different types and levels of service including traditional probation supervision like that administered by most juvenile probation departments across the nation.

A total of nine distinct forms of juvenile court intervention were identified so as to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of their impact on delinquent behavior, adolescent attitudes and juvenile justice costs. These interventions are described in detail below.

Research Design

An experimental design with random assignment is the centerpiece of the research study. Figure A provides an overview of the study's design and indicates the three broad options available to

juvenile court judges at the point of adjudication: (1) informal probation, (2) formal probation, and (3) Youth Corrections. A variety of alternative interventions, highlighted below, are available within each of these broad options. In 1983, the Second District juvenile court judges agreed to permit all youth eligible for probation to be randomly placed into one of three models of probation for a twelve-month period. The design was intended to provide a rigorous experimental test of the effects of varying levels of probation supervision and services.

Random assignment was neither feasible nor appropriate for youth who were (1) placed in the custody of Youth Corrections, (2) ordered to informal probation, (3) sentenced solely to pay fines/restitution, or (4) referred to outside agencies. In fact, the latter two groups were excluded from the overall design and analysis since the study was specifically geared toward studying how the court deals with serious juvenile offenders.

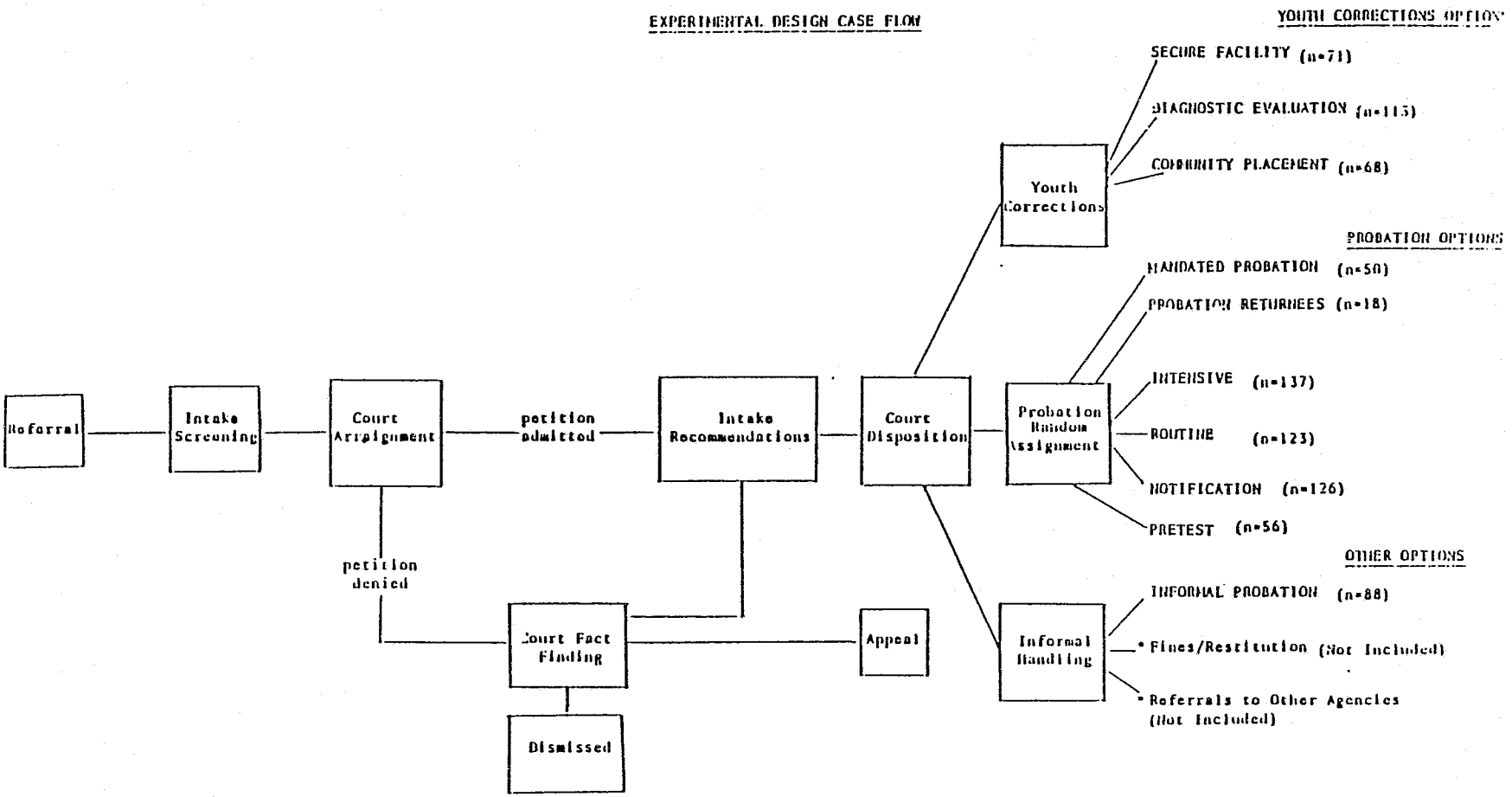
The Selection Process

All youth referred to the court between January 1, 1983 and June 30, 1984 and formally adjudicated for their offenses were included in the study. In total, this represented 851 youth.

After the court decided the disposition of each case, the information was forwarded to NCCD on a daily basis by juvenile court records personnel. During these phone contacts, NCCD completed a log sheet for each case which included residential and dispositional information. Youth who received a probation disposition were then

EXHIBIT A

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN CASE FLOW



* These court dispositions are not included in the study.

randomly assigned into one of the three experimental groups. Those who received a disposition of (1) informal probation, (2) a commitment to Youth Corrections or (3) mandated probation services were excluded from the randomization process but were, nevertheless, included in the overall design. Informal and formal probationer and the Youth Corrections community placements came from the Second District Juvenile Court. The Youth Corrections short-term diagnostic and secure confinement cases also include youth from courts throughout Utah. The decision to include all Utah courts in the latter two groups was due to the low number who received these sanctions if we restricted our sample to the Second District Court. In addition, at the time of the NCCD study there was only one facility for each of these dispositions.

Random Selection Process

Each judge had the authority to designate a youth as requiring services and therefore to remove the youth from the random assignment pool. The random assignment of youth occurred only after the juvenile court judges waived control over the case. Once the youth passed this final review a random assignment procedure was employed.

Those youth entering the probation eligibility pool (n=386) were randomly assigned to one of the three forms of probation supervision and services. Random assignment was made by NCCD on the day of court disposition. The randomization process was based on a computer generated list of random numbers and a list of all possible sequences of probation assignment. This procedure removed control

by local personnel and ensured the random assignment of each youth. Codefendants and siblings were assigned to the same group to avoid potential conflicts, which in part explains the differential sample sizes.

COURT SANCTIONS TESTED

The eight major dispositional categories included in the study are discussed here in order of severity:

Varieties of the Probation Sanction [1/]

1. Informal Probation (n=88)

On the recommendation of the court intake staff, youth were placed on informal probation; occasionally they received phone contacts from these court workers. At the end of ninety days, these cases were reviewed by the court. If the youth's behavior was satisfactory during this period, the petition was dropped. If the youth's behavior was unacceptable, the court usually imposed a more severe sanction, such as formal probation.

1/ Pre-test of Experimental Design Group (n=56)

At the beginning of the study (from January to March of 1983), NCCD only randomized youth from two of the five probation units - City and Northwest - to pretest the experimental design. Youth placed on probation at the other three units - Kearns, Sandy, and Murray - were included in the study as a pretest control group. The probation program for youth in this group was left to the discretion of the probation staff at these units.

2. Randomly Assigned Probation Youth

A total of 386 youth defined as eligible for probation were randomly assigned to one of the three following formal probation supervision/ treatment groups:

a. Notification (n=126)

These youth were assigned to probation but received no supervision or services. They received a copy of the probation order from the court when they were placed on probation. No contacts were made by probation supervisors or staff.

b. Routine Supervision (n=123)

This level of intervention was intended to represent probation as it is usually practiced, one which emphasizes supervision. Treatment needs of clients were handled by referrals to other community agencies. Probation officers met with youth no more than once per week but no less than twice per month solely to supervise and monitor the youth's progress. These face-to-face contacts were designed to ensure conformity with probation rules and restrictions.

c. Intensive Supervision (n=137)

This group was assigned to intensive supervision services. Both supervision and treatment services were provided to all cases. Youth were required to have a minimum of one face-to-face contact and one telephone contact weekly. These contacts were instigated by the probation officer. The contact could include individual, family or group counseling or educational and employment assistance. There was no upper limit to the number or type of contacts. Drug testing was not included as a requirement for this condition.

Probation officers were required to follow the guidelines set up for each treatment group for a period of at least ninety days from the initial staffing of the case. The probation staff were allowed to modify the treatment and/or supervision program for the routine and intensive groups after the ninety day period so long as NCCD was immediately notified of modifications and the reasons for these changes. Probation officers were not allowed, however, to modify the conditions of probation for the notification group and were not permitted to contact these youth unless the latter were rearrested.

3. Mandated Probation Cases (n=68)

In situations where the judges were not willing to allow the youth to be randomly assigned, NCCD provided the option of mandated probation. Under this condition, probation staff were allowed to develop their own program for the youth. In addition, youngsters who were eligible for random assignment had been terminated from a prior probation sentence within six months of their current disposition (n=18) were also treated as mandated cases. The use of this option was closely scrutinized on a case-by-case basis, and did not exceed 15 percent of the total number of the study's eligible probation population.

4. Commitments to Youth Corrections

The three remaining court sanctions reflect varying levels of institutionalization administered through the Division of Youth Corrections.

a. Community Placement (n=68)

These youth were admitted directly by the court to foster homes or other community based facilities and closely monitored by Youth Corrections community placement staff.

b. Short-Term Diagnostic Placement (n=113)

These youth were admitted to a short-term diagnostic center for up to ninety days for the purpose of treatment and evaluation. The court generally viewed these youth as needing security and control but not an extended period of confinement. Based on the results of this evaluation, youth were then either placed on probation, sent to a community based facility, or institutionalized.

c. Secure Placement (n=71)

This disposition represents the most severe juvenile court sanction. Youth given this disposition are confined for at

least six months. After release from secure placement they are supervised by the Parole Division of Youth Corrections. This supervision may last until the youth reaches the age of majority, which is 21 years in Utah.

Data Collected

Four data sources were used in tracking youth from the point of initial referral to termination:

1. Intake

Information regarding the youth's personal and family background, instant offense, and court disposition were collected by court screening officers at the time of the referral and dispositional hearing.

2. Youth Questionnaire

A self-report instrument, adapted from the National Youth Survey (NYS), was employed to collect data on self-reported delinquency as well as delinquency-related behavior and attitudes. It was extensively pretested. The questionnaire was administered within ten days after court disposition and readministered twelve months thereafter. Interviewers were hired and trained to administer the questionnaires in noninstitutional settings, when possible (exceptions included youth placed in the diagnostic center and secure facility), so as to ease anxieties in discussing issues of a personal nature. These were in-person interviews conducted by trained graduate students. Most interviews were done in the home.

3. Bimonthly Supervision/Service Contacts

Information was also gathered on the intensity and type of services and supervision delivered to all youth receiving some form of community supervision. Data were collected on a bimonthly basis by probation and Youth Corrections staff until the termination of court jurisdiction. These staff also recorded rearrest and court activity every sixty days.

4. Court Referrals

Offense and disposition information were obtained on all prior court referrals as well as all subsequent referrals up to twelve months from the disposition of the instant offense. These data were obtained from the Utah Automated Juvenile Court Information System. This information was supplemented with adult arrest and disposition records for those youth turning 18 years of age during the course of the study.

Summary

This research design has been developed to capture the impact of eight different juvenile court interventions on serious juvenile delinquency. It includes random assignment to one of three alternative forms of probation supervision. The data collection procedures involve key court actors who have contact with youth as well as self-report questionnaires and official court referral information. In the following chapters, these data are used to describe the youth, the nature of their court sanctions, and their subsequent delinquency.

CHAPTER 3

WHO COMES TO COURT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the youth who were the subjects of this study, namely, the most serious juvenile offenders processed through Utah's Second District Juvenile Court. At this point, we confine attention to the youth at the point of their disposition, particularly those placed on probation or committed to the Division of Youth Corrections. The descriptive data are drawn from sources described in Chapter 2, including the intake form completed at the point of disposition, the delinquent history data as found in the Utah Juvenile Court Information System, and self-report delinquency and attitudinal data from the NCCD administered questionnaire. In later chapters, information from these and other sources will be used to describe the nature of juvenile court interventions and their associated impacts on adjudicated youths' subsequent delinquency and their perceptions of the probability of arrest and punishment.

The thesis of this chapter is that the youth studied represent the most serious offenders handled by the Utah Second District Juvenile Court or by other comparable juvenile justice systems of concern. Moreover, disposition decisions roughly coincide with the current offense, prior record, and other legally relevant characteristics of these offenders.

Serious Delinquents in the Second District Court Caseload

Since the current study is primarily concerned with serious delinquent youth -- those placed on probation or sent to the Division of Youth Corrections -- it is important to first locate them within the overall caseload of the juvenile court. The most relevant and readily available data related to this question consists of juvenile court dispositions for 1981. Table 3-1 summarizes the dispositions of the 9,604 Second District Juvenile Court referrals.

Court intake workers handled 28.2 percent of referrals informally and the court dismissed another 7.7 percent of its referrals. These youth, along with 9 cases waived to adult court or referred and sentenced to an adult jail, were excluded from the NCCD study.

The most frequent sanctions of the court included fines, restitution and work orders; these account for over 48 percent of all dispositions. These reparative sanctions were used primarily for those charged with a status offense, misdemeanor or minor infraction. Thus, fines and restitution orders are employed to handle the large volume of minor delinquent acts coming before the court. These youth are not examined in this study.

Judges of the Second District Court prefer to reserve probation services for more serious offenders, particularly those with several prior referrals. However, restitution and fines are frequently used in combination with probation in more serious cases. The extensive use of restitution is not revealed in Table 3-1 because only the

TABLE 3-1

Dispositions of Second District
Juvenile Court Referrals in 1981 *

	Number	Percentage
Total Referrals	9,604	100.0
Adjusted at Intake	2,710	28.2
Dismissed by Court	744	7.7
Probation	677	7.0
Committed to Youth Corrections	164	1.7
Fines, Restitution and Work Orders	4,638	48.3
Waived to Adult Court	4	0.0
Adult Jail	5	0.0
Other Out of Home Placement	209	2.2
Other Dispositions	453	4.7

Source: Utah Juvenile Court Information System.

* In the case of multiple dispositions, the most restrictive disposition is counted.

most restrictive disposition is shown. As both Chesney (1977) and Schneider and Schneider (1977) report, a common disposition in most juvenile courts is a reparative penalty combined with probation supervision.

In 1981, there were 677 probation dispositions in the Second District, which represented 7 percent of all referrals. Commitments to Youth Corrections account for almost 2 percent of all referrals. Another 2 percent of court referrals received other out-of-home placements, usually through the Division of Family Services. Thus, youth included in this study represent only about 11 percent of all referrals to the Second District Court. Data presented below demonstrate that these probation and Youth Corrections offenders possess extensive prior juvenile court histories and have been charged with serious offenses. Most importantly, this small percentage of the total court workload exerts a vastly disproportionate claim on judicial and correctional resources. But, an important policy question remains: whether the larger share of court referrals could not be handled in more cost-effective ways, thereby freeing up additional juvenile justice resources to deal with serious and violent offenders.

A PROFILE OF SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN THE SECOND DISTRICT COURT

This analysis includes all youth who received a new disposition of probation or a commitment to Youth Corrections during 1983 and during the first six months of 1984. In addition, data were collected on youth placed on informal probation during the same time

period. Although the primary focus of the NCCD study was youth sentenced to formal probation or Youth Corrections, the informal probation group has great substantive significance because of the high percentage of referrals handled informally in the Second District Court and other juvenile courts.

Personal and Social Characteristics

The youth placed on informal probation are predominantly white males, 15 years of age, and are currently in the eighth grade at school. Whites account for 85 percent of the informal probation group while Hispanics comprise over 11 percent. More than half (53.6 percent) of these youth are members of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) church.

The typical formal probation youth is male, 15 years of age and currently in the ninth grade in school. Over three-quarters (77.6 percent) of the probationers are white, 16.3 percent are Hispanics and there are no Blacks). About half (50.2 percent) of the formal probationers belonged to the LDS church (Table 3-2).

In comparison, those sent to Youth Corrections are most likely to be male, older (16.0 years), and to have completed the ninth grade of school. Over 70 percent of the Youth Corrections youth are white and nearly 20 percent are Hispanic. Slightly less than half (46.5 percent) are members of the LDS church.

The three court disposition groups show marked differences in current school status. Whereas 45 percent of the informal probation clients are in a normal or advanced school placement, only 38

TABLE 3-2

SECOND DISTRICT COURT YOUTH
PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Background Variables	Informal Probation	Probation	Youth Corrections
	(N=88)	(N=510)	(N=252)
SEX			
Male	83.0%	87.1%	95.6%
Female	17.0%	12.9%	4.4%
MEAN AGE AT ARREST	15.0	15.0	16.0
HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED	8.2	8.6	9.4
ETHNIC BACKGROUND			
White	85.2%	77.6%	70.3%
Hispanic	11.4%	16.3%	19.9%
Other	3.4%	6.1%	9.8%
RELIGION			
LDS	53.6%	50.2%	46.5%
Other	46.4%	49.8%	53.5%
SCHOOL PLACEMENT			
Normal/Advanced	44.8%	38.2%	18.2%
Remedial	42.5%	48.2%	62.1%
Dropout	12.6%	13.6%	19.7%
EMPLOYMENT STATUS			
Full-Time	3.4%	3.0%	5.2%
Part-Time	13.8%	13.2%	4.8%
Unemployment	82.8%	83.7%	90.0%
DRUG OR ALCOHOL USE			
None	55.1%	31.1%	13.5%
Alcohol	10.3%	13.4%	15.1%
Marijuana	2.6%	8.4%	6.2%
Other	32.0%	47.0%	65.1%
DRUG OR ALCOHOL ABUSE			
None	76.3%	63.4%	31.1%
Alcohol	5.3%	11.5%	13.2%
Marijuana	4.0%	8.9%	3.0%
Other	14.4%	16.2%	52.7%
DRUG OR ALCOHOL ASSOCIATED WITH CURRENT OFFENSE?			
No	75.6%	63.6%	53.2%
Yes	24.4%	36.4%	46.8%
YOUTH'S RESIDENCE			
Two Parent Home	58.0%	56.9%	40.5%
One Parent Home	34.1%	36.4%	23.4%
Out of Home	8.0%	6.8%	36.1%

TABLE 3-2 (Continued)

SECOND DISTRICT COURT YOUTH
PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Background Variables	Informal Probation (N=88)	Probation (N=510)	Youth Corrections (N=252)
MEAN NUMBER OF SIBLINGS	2.0	2.0	3.0
MEAN NUMBER OF SIBLINGS WITH PREVIOUS COURT CONTACT	1.0	1.0	1.0
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE?			
No	83.5%	79.6%	85.5%
Yes	16.5%	20.4%	14.5%
MEAN GROSS MONTHLY INCOME	$1,952.00	$1,489.00	$1,687.00
FATHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS			
Full-Time	86.6%	78.3%	74.8%
Part-Time	1.5%	4.2%	2.9%
Unemployed	11.9%	17.5%	22.3%
MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS			
Full-Time	57.3%	56.7%	52.5%
Part-Time	5.3%	10.6%	8.0%
Unemployed	37.3%	32.7%	39.5%
FATHER'S OCCUPATION			
White Collar	36.1%	25.2%	25.5%
Blue Collar	52.5%	62.0%	59.8%
Other	11.5%	9.7%	12.8%
None	0.0%	3.0%	2.0%
MOTHER'S OCCUPATION			
White Collar	35.1%	34.7%	31.9%
Blue Collar	29.7%	34.4%	37.2%
Other	25.7%	28.3%	25.7%
None	9.5%	2.6%	5.3%
PARENTS ATTEND COURT HEARING			
No	4.7%	3.7%	18.7%
Yes	95.3%	96.3%	81.3%
PARENTS' DISCIPLINARY ACT			
No Action	36.9%	43.5%	64.2%
Action Unknown	11.9%	16.2%	
21.0%			
Routine Discipline	41.7%	34.0%	
12.4%			
Corporal	2.4%	1.5%	0.0%
Outside Agency	7.1%	4.8%	
2.5%			
HISTORY OF PHYSICAL ABUSE			
No	85.1%	81.7%	58.6%
Yes	14.9%	18.3%	41.4%

Note: Figures may not total 100% due to rounding.
Source: NCCD Intake Data Base.

percent of the probation and 18 percent of Youth Corrections youth are at this level. While the informal and formal probation youth are about equally likely to be school dropouts (13.6 percent versus 12.6 percent), Youth Corrections offenders are more likely to be school dropouts (19.7 percent).

The majority of youngsters experiencing probation and Youth Corrections dispositions report some drug and alcohol use or experimentation. Over two-thirds (68.9 percent) of the probationers and slightly more of the Youth Corrections group (86.5 percent) used drugs or alcohol. By contrast, a majority of the informal probationers did not use either drugs or alcohol. Among these youth, the most frequently used drugs include alcohol alone or alcohol used with marijuana.

While one-quarter of the informal probation group abused drugs or alcohol, slightly more of the probationers (36.6 percent) did likewise. But drug and alcohol abuse is greatest among Youth Corrections offenders (68.9 percent). Indeed, court records show that almost half (46.8 percent) of the Youth Corrections group had drugs or alcohol use associated with their current offense, compared to 36.4 percent for probationers and only 24.4 percent for informal probationers.

These data suggest that drug and alcohol abuse are relatively frequent among offenders sentenced by the Second District Court and that these problems are extremely pronounced for the Youth Correction cases. As we will see in the next chapter, neither the court's probation services nor the Division of Youth Corrections

emphasize alcohol and/or drug treatment and prevention efforts. This service gap may help explain why court intervention efforts fail to impact a significant segment of their offender population.

A majority of those in the informal probation and probation groups reside with two parents (58.0 percent and 56.9 percent, respectively) compared to a much lower proportion of Youth Corrections offenders (40.5 percent). In fact, more than a third (36.1 percent) of the Youth Corrections group were living outside their parents' home at the time of their current offense.

About 20 percent of the families of probationers received some form of public assistance compared to only 16 percent of the informal probationers and 14 percent of the Youth Corrections youth. The average gross monthly income is $1,489 for the families of probationers and $1,687 for those of Youth Corrections youth. The highest gross monthly family income is reported for youth on informal probation. Whereas the unemployment rates of mothers are similar for all three groups (roughly one-third unemployed), the Youth Corrections offenders report the highest percentage of fathers who are unemployed (22.3 percent). The proportion of fathers who are unemployed is 12 percent for the informal probationers and 18 percent for the probation youth. The fathers of most youth in all disposition categories hold blue collar jobs, whereas their mothers' occupations were equally divided between blue collar and white collar occupations.

The parents of virtually all youth attended court hearings. The proportion of parents at court hearings was 95 percent for youth on

informal probation and 96 percent for those on probation. A somewhat smaller proportion of the parents of Youth Corrections offenders attended their childrens' court cases (81.3 percent). Parents of Youth Corrections offenders were the least likely to impose their own routine discipline on their children (in addition to the court's actions) than the parents of youth receiving the other dispositions. However, court records reveal that a startling 41 percent of the Youth Corrections group have a history of parental or guardian physical abuse. In contrast, only 15 percent of the informal probationers and 18 percent of the probationers have a court recorded history of physical abuse.

The Nature of Offenses

Considering the instant offense leading to the current court disposition, Youth Corrections offenders are most likely to be charged with the most serious crimes (Table 3-3). Approximately one-fifth (20.7 percent) of these youngsters are charged with a Part I violent offense compared to 15 percent of the informal probationers and 13.5 percent of those on probation.[2/] The majority (56 percent) of probationers are charged with Part I property offenses.[3/] Slightly less than half of the informal probation and

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[2/] Part I violent offenses include homicides, rape, robbery and aggravated assault.

[3/] Part I property crimes include burglary, theft, auto theft, and arson.

TABLE 3-3

SECOND DISTRICT COURT YOUTH
OFFENSE CHARACTERISTICS

Background Variables	Informal Probation	Probation	Youth Corrections
	(N=88)	(N=510)	(N=252)
MOST SERIOUS CHARGE AT INTAKE			
Part I Violent	14.8%	13.5%	20.7%
Part I Property	47.7%	59.6%	47.8%
Part II	36.4%	25.9%	31.1%
Status	1.1%	1.0%	0.4%
TYPE OF VICTIM			
Person	42.7%	40.2%	35.9%
Property	48.8%	54.3%	57.3%
Victimless	8.5%	5.1%	6.8%
Other	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND YOUTH			
Stranger	44.1%	51.3%	52.4%
Friends	45.6%	40.9%	35.9%
Family	10.3%	7.8%	11.8%
TYPE OF PROPERTY DAMAGE			
Residence	14.0%	24.6%	29.2%
Automobile	25.6%	22.9%	24.5%
Private Property	18.6%	16.6%	18.0%
Public Property	9.3%	10.4%	4.7%
Other	32.6%	25.6%	23.6%
WEAPON USAGE			
None	84.7%	87.8%	79.6%
Gun	2.8%	2.0%	8.0%
Other	12.5%	10.1%	12.4%
MEAN NUMBER OF CODEFENDANT(S)	1.0	1.0	1.0
TYPE OF CODEFENDANT(S)			
Juvenile	76.1%	80.3%	74.0%
Adult	8.7%	4.4%	16.7%
Juvenile and Adult	15.2%	15.2%	9.4%

NOTE: Figures may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: NCCD Intake Data Base

Youth Corrections youth are similarly charged. Across all dispositions, youth are rarely charged with status offenses. The remainder are charged with a Part II offense, which might involve a wide variety of minor property offenses, drug violations, traffic offenses and other crimes. Less than half of all offenders were referred for crimes involving a victim and most were adjudicated for crimes against property. About 6 percent of all youth were charged with victimless crimes. Overall, when there was a victim, it was usually a stranger or friend rather than a family member. Only a small percentage of victims were family members, ranging from 8 percent for probationers to 12 percent for Youth Corrections offenders. The informal probationers were somewhat less likely to victimize strangers.

If property was damaged, it was more likely to be a residence, an automobile, or some other private property.[4/] Public property was the crime target in 9 percent of the informal probationer cases, 10 percent of the probationer cases and only 5 percent of the Youth Corrections group. Overall, weapon usage was infrequent. Less than 20 percent of the Youth Corrections youth used a weapon during their offense, compared to 12 percent of the probationers and 15 percent of the informal probationers. However, Youth Corrections offenders

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[4/] Probationers and Youth Corrections offenders were more likely than informal probationers to have damaged residential property and less likely to have damaged "other" property.

were between 2 and 4 times more likely to use guns than the probationers.

As found elsewhere (Zimring, 1978), the majority of the youth committed their offenses with co-defendants. The mean number of co-defendants is 1 for each group. Most co-defendants (between 74.0 percent and 80.3 percent) were also juveniles. Youth who were sentenced to Youth Corrections were more likely to have adults as co-defendants.

Processing of Offenders

The seriousness with which officials viewed these offenders is reflected in processing patterns (Table 3-4). One-third (33.0 percent) of the informal probationers were detained at intake. By comparison, 43 percent of probationers and 86 percent of those sent to Youth Corrections were detained pending their court dispositions. While the average length of detention for the informal probationers and probationers was 1 and 2 days respectively, it averaged fully 15 days for the Youth Corrections offenders. The lengthy detention stay of the latter group probably reflects considerations surrounding the severity of their instant offense, the extent of their prior delinquent histories, and the court's judgement of the suitability of their home environment.

Most youth pled guilty to the most serious or only charge brought against them, including 96 percent of those in the probation groups and 92 percent of those sent to Youth Corrections. In a prior study of the Second District Court (NCCD, 1981), we found that

there were very few contested cases. Our observations of court processing revealed that while little formal plea bargaining takes place, the probation officers present in court at the adjudication hearings court generally advise the youth on the likely disposition. In the past, at least some probation officers engaged in "judge shopping" to find one who would be most sympathetic to their disposition recommendations. The Second District Court subsequently reorganized its procedures for court case assignment to discourage such "judge shopping" by probation staff.

Attorneys were provided to over one-third (36.4 percent) of the youth who were subsequently committed to the Department of Youth Corrections, compared to 9 percent of youth on informal probation and 12 percent of those placed on probation. The higher proportion of Youth Corrections offenders with assigned counsel is due to the comparatively low economic status of their families and the severity of their charges. An average of 54 days passed between arrest and disposition for Youth Corrections cases, only 52 days for informal probationers, and fully 63 days for probationers. It is unclear why the probationers experienced a longer delay. Given the greater seriousness of the offenses of Youth Corrections offenders, one might have expected their case dispositions to be prolonged. However, the high percentage of such offenders detained prior to adjudication might have required expedited case processing.

In addition to the sanction of informal probation or probation, the court ordered the payment of restitution or a fine in a majority of these cases (55.7 percent and 59.0 percent, respectively). For

Youth Corrections offenders the court ordered restitution or the payment of a fine in less than a quarter (23.9 percent) of the cases. The average amount of ordered restitution or fines for those who received such a penalty was highest for the Youth Corrections group ($767), intermediate for the probationers ($215), and lowest for the informal probationers ($133).

Using the Utah Juvenile Court Information System (data displayed in Table 3-4), the prior delinquent histories of the study youth were examined both in terms of the number of prior referrals and the average number of charges or offenses included in those court referrals. The informal probationers had an average of 3.5 prior referrals to the juvenile court, averaging a total of 4.9 offenses. Probationers had a slightly higher mean number of prior referrals (5.6) which included an average of 8.4 offenses. The Youth Corrections group had much more extensive delinquent careers- averaging 15.1 prior referrals for an average of 23.8 offenses (see Table 3-5).

These data are useful for comparing these youth to serious delinquents in other major juvenile justice research studies. In the Murray and Cox study (1979), the average number of prior referrals was 13. Their study sample is most comparable to the Second District youth committed to the Division of Youth Corrections. The Second District formal probation group have prior records that, on the average, fit the definition of chronic juvenile offenders used in the Philadelphia birth cohort study of Wolfgang et al. (1972). These data on delinquent histories lend some support to the argument

TABLE 3-4

SECOND DISTRICT COURT YOUTH
LEGAL CHARACTERISTICS

Background Variables	Informal Probation	Probation	Youth Corrections
	(N=88)	(N510)	(N252)
YOUTH DETAINED AT INTAKE?			
No	67.0%	57.3%	14.5%
Yes	33.0%	42.7%	85.5%
MEAN LENGTH OF DAYS IN DETENTION CENTER	1.0	2.0	15.0
PLEA FOR MOST SERIOUS CHARGE AT DISPOSITION			
Guilty	96.3%	96.4%	92.0%
Not Guilty	2.4%	2.6%	6.6%
Other	1.2%	1.0%	1.4%
ATTORNEY PROVIDED?			
No	90.8%	88.5%	63.6%
Yes	9.2%	11.5%	36.4%
MEAN DAYS BETWEEN ARREST AND DISPOSITION	52.0	63.0	54.0
RESTITUTION/FINE DISPOSITION			
No	44.3%	41.0%	76.1%
Yes	55.7%	59.0%	23.9%
MEAN AMOUNT OF RESTITUTION/ FINE ORDERED	$133.00	$215.00	$767.00

NOTE: Figures may not total 100% due to rounding.

Source: NCCD Intake Data Base

TABLE 3-5

PRIOR OFFENSE AND ARREST CHARACTERISTICS
OF ADJUDICATED DELINQUENTS

	Informal Probation	Probation	Youth Corrections	Total
Official Delinquency	(N=87)	(N=500)	(N=248)	(N=835)
Mean number of arrests	3.5	5.6	15.1	8.2
Mean number of offenses	4.9	8.4	23.8	12.6
Types of Official Prior Offenses	(N=426)	(N=4,189)	(N=5,897)	(N=10,512)
Violent	6.6%	6.4%	5.5%	5.8%
Part 1 Property	39.4%	49.3%	45.3%	46.6%
Other Property	12.9%	12.6%	13.2%	13.0%
Drugs & Alcohol	13.6%	8.0%	5.4%	6.8%
Other	13.9%	12.4%	22.8%	18.3%
Status	13.6%	11.2%	7.8%	9.4%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Utah Juvenile Court Information System.

that the youth from the Second District Court are comparable to delinquents in other jurisdictions.

Table 3-5 shows the distribution of prior offenses by offense type. Of the 10,512 offenses youth were charged with, only 6 percent are for Part I violent crimes. The largest proportion of prior offenses are Part I property crimes (46.6 percent). Another 13 percent are minor property crimes; 7 percent involve drug and alcohol offenses and 9 percent are status offenses. Although there are major differences among the three disposition groups in the total number of prior offenses, there are minimal group differences in the types of offenses that comprise these delinquent histories. This reflects the relative absence of offense specialization among youth with extensive or lengthy offense histories (Wolfgang et al., 1972).

The Attributes of Youth Corrections Clients

A final analysis of client characteristics focused on those youth committed to the Division of Youth Corrections. In general, these youngsters were either (1) sentenced to a secure facility; (2) committed for a short-term diagnostic placement; or (3) placed directly into a community-based residential or non-residential program. It is worth noting that those placed in the short-term diagnostic program were almost always sent to community placement or returned to the court to be placed on probation.

Not surprisingly, the diagnostic and community placement offenders look quite similar, and both groups differ considerably from offenders placed in a Youth Corrections secure facility. For

example, those placed in secure confinement were more likely to be charged with a violent offense, to have more priors and to have victimized a stranger. Offenders sent to a secure facility were also older than the other Youth Corrections youth, entirely male, more likely to be school dropouts, and to have abused drugs and alcohol. The secure facility youth were also more likely to have been detained prior to their adjudication.

In contrast to the secure facility group, no offenders in the community placement group were charged with weapons offenses or armed robbery. The community placement youth were also less likely to have used or abused alcohol or drugs. Interestingly, Hispanic youth were most common in the community placement group. This is in sharp contrast to national research, showing that Hispanic youth are disproportionately confined in secure juvenile correctional facilities. A possible explanation of why Utah is an exception to the national trend may be that the Division of Youth Services and the Salt Lake Hispanic community have collaborated to develop specialized community-based programs designed to meet the particular educational and cultural needs of Hispanic youthful offenders.

Prior Record Based on the Self-Report Questionnaire

Besides the official juvenile court data presented above, NCCD collected self-report data via a questionnaire administered to youth within seven to ten days of their court disposition. Use of the NYS instrument discussed in Chapter 2 allows us to make direct

comparisons of the responses of the youth in the Second District study groups with a national probability sample of all youth (Elliott, et al., 1982).

Self-report questionnaires were completed for 59.4 percent of the youth who entered the study. Missing questionnaires are due to (1) youth who were placed on probation during the pretest period of January-March, 1983; (2) some Youth Corrections offenders who were committed prior to April 1, 1983; and (3) youth who declined to voluntarily complete the questionnaire or whose parents withheld their permission to administer the questionnaire to their children.

Self-report delinquency instruments reveal much higher levels of delinquent behavior than estimated using official juvenile arrests statistics (Elliot et al., 1982). This finding is confirmed by the Second District study. The results of the initial administration of the self-report questionnaire are shown in Table 3-6. For example, the Utah Juvenile Court Information system reports an average of 8.2 prior referrals and 12.6 prior offenses for the study group youth during their entire career. Responses to the youth questionnaire, however, indicate that the mean number of delinquent acts committed during the preceding 12 months was 178.6. It should be pointed out that this high number of delinquent acts is composed of a large number of status offenses and minor law violations, in addition to more serious crimes.

Table 3-6 also reveals that the Youth Corrections group reports the highest - and informal probationers the lowest - number of self-reported delinquent acts in the previous 12 months. The mean number

TABLE 3-6

INCIDENCE OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENCY
OF SECOND DISTRICT YOUTH COMPARED TO
NYS SCORES DURING 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO COURT DISPOSITION

	Informal Probation	Probation	Youth Corrections	Average Second District Youth	NYS 1980
	(N=50)	(N=308)	(N=136)	(N=496)	(N=1,494)
Mean number of total crimes	56.8	90.2	425.7	178.6	35.5
Mean number of violent crimes	15.2	31.7	135.1	58.5	1.6
Mean number of property crimes	30.4	46.6	157.8	75.2	1.5
Mean number of drug crimes	11.1	11.3	131.6	44.3	5.8

Sources: NCCD Youth Questionnaire Data Base and Elliott et al. (1983).

of delinquent acts for Youth Corrections clients was 425.7. This figure includes an average of 135.2 violent offenses, 157.8 property offenses and 131.63 drug offenses: a level of delinquency 4 to 5 times that of the probationers. The probationers report an average of 90.2 delinquent acts, including 31.7 violent offenses, 46.6 property crimes and 11.3 drug offenses. As expected, the self-report delinquency of the informal probationers is the lowest of all the disposition groups. The informal probationers show a mean of 56.8 self-report delinquent offenses, which consists of 15.2 violent offenses, 30.4 property crimes and 11.2 drug violations.

The self-report data therefore reveal that there are major differences across the three disposition groups in terms of their relative involvement in delinquent behavior -- including serious offenses. These differences are pronounced between the probation groups and Youth Corrections offenders. Moreover, an extensive amount of delinquent behavior is occurring and vastly exceeds the officially recorded events that the juvenile court employs in its decision-making processes.

It is also worth noting that the incidence of self-reported delinquency shown here is much higher than the average incidence of delinquency reported by the cross-section of American youth surveyed by the NYS. For example, the Second District Court offenders as a whole report an incidence of violent delinquent acts that is over 36 times that of the NYS group. The study group offenders show an incidence level for property crime that is over 50 times that of NYS

youth. These data illustrate that youth processed through the Second District Court are indeed serious juvenile offenders.

Youth Attitudes and Perceptions

The youth questionnaire also includes items on attitudes toward various aspects of juvenile court processing. Table 3-7 shows the percentage of youth in each disposition group who were in agreement with these items. There were virtually no differences in youth perceptions of the court across the range of court interventions. For all groups, most youth agreed that the juvenile court treated them fairly. They agreed that the court informed them of their legal rights, that court workers accurately understood their family situations and that they received a fair sentence. More than three-fourths of the youth believe that the court was concerned about them. However, about a fifth feel that the court doesn't care what happens to them and more than a third of the youth have less respect for the court than before.

Interestingly, most offenders do not believe that the court was too lenient with them. They also perceive that the court will punish them for future misconduct. The latter responses are particularly relevant in assessing whether a youth's court experience has a deterrent effect. These preliminary data suggest that the actions of the Second District Court may lead youth to believe that their misbehavior will result in negative sanctions, moreso as the seriousness of the youth's disposition increases. However, whether

TABLE 3-7

SECOND DISTRICT COURT YOUTH ATTITUDES
TOWARDS THE JUVENILE COURT
TIME 1

PERCENT AGREEING*

Variables Regarding Juvenile Court	Informal Probation (N=49)	Probation (N=314)	Youth Corrections (N=144)
- The court fully informed me of my legal rights before sentencing.	75.0%	75.3%	83.0%
- My intake worker accurately understood my family situation.	72.9%	71.3%	57.5%
- Given what I had done, I received a fair sentence from the court.	70.8%	73.3%	65.1%
- My respect for the court has worsened as a result of my experience with them.	20.8%	41.2%	42.6%
- The court was too lenient with me.	10.4%	14.9%	14.7%
- I'm going to receive a lot of help from the court in the future.	38.3%	39.1%	36.7%
- The court really doesn't care about what happens to me.	14.6%	20.9%	23.4%
- Even if I get into trouble again, the court won't do much to punish me.	2.1%	4.7%	9.4%

* Answer alternatives included: (1)strongly agree; (2)agree; (3) neither agree nor disagree; (4)disagree; and (5)strongly disagree. Percentages are shown for categories (1) and (2) combined.

Source: NCCD Youth Questionnaire Data Base.

court processing or some other factor(s) explain the offenders' perceptions is open to question.

Because of the theoretical importance of this finding to the arguments of Murray and Cox, we also measured youth attitudes related to the probability of apprehension and sanction that might result from adjudication for a range of delinquent behaviors. Youth responses were measured immediately after their court disposition and again 12 months after they had actually experienced that disposition. Tables 3-8 and 3-9 show the responses of youth shortly after they received their court disposition.[5/]

Across the three dispositional groups there are no significant differences in perceptions of the probability of being apprehended. However, youth in these groups have very different levels of prior involvement with the juvenile court. Given this, it might be argued that youth who have been arrested more frequently in the past would perceive a higher probability of getting caught. However, some previous research (Henshel and Silverman, 1975) suggests an opposite conclusion; that the highest rate offenders underestimate their probability of getting caught. This issue is further clouded by the fact that rates of self-reported delinquency are vastly higher than official rates of arrest. Put simply, even youth with many prior arrests may correctly perceive that an arrest is improbable because their own arrest experiences are relatively infrequent compared to

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[5/] Youth were asked to estimate the probability of arrest or the likely severity of punishment for someone who committed the acts mentioned in the tables.

TABLE 3-8

SECOND DISTRICT COURT YOUTH PERCEPTIONS
OF THE PROBABILITY OF ARREST
TIME 1

PERCENT SAYING AN ARREST WAS LIKELY *

Delinquent Offense	Informal Probation (N=49)	Probation (N=314)	Youth Corrections (N=144)
- Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him or her.	69.4%	72.0%	75.7%
- Hit or threatened to hit a teacher or adult at school.	83.7%	84.4%	79.2%
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school.	57.1%	55.1%	51.0%
- Stolen or tied to steal a motor vehicle, such as a car or motor-cycle.	83.7%	85.9%	73. 6 %
- Broken or tried to break into a building or vehicle to steal something or look around.	51.0%	64.0%	50.0%
- Used or tried to use credit cards without the owner's permission.	71.4%	72.9%	78.6%
- Stolen or tried to steal things worth between $5.00 and $50.00.	51.0%	53.0%	31.5%
- Thrown objects such as rocks, snowballs, or bottles at cars or people.	53.1%	43.4%	35.0%
- Been involved in gang fights.	25.0%	36.6%	23.8%
- Sold marijuana or hashish.	28.6%	33.2%	22.9%
- Bought or provided liquor for a minor.	30.6%	26.1%	18.1%
- Used alcoholic beverages, beer, wine, hard liquor.	20.4%	26.4%	18.9%
- Skipped classes without an excuse.	49.0%	55.7%	48.2%

*Alternative answers included: (1)very likely; (2)likely; (3)neither likely nor unlikely; (4)unlikely; snf (5)very unlikely. Percentages are shown for categories (1) and (2) combined.

TABLE 3-9

SECOND DISTRICT COURT YOUTH PERCEPTIONS
OF THE SEVERITY OF PUNISHMENT
TIME 1
PERCENTAGE SAYING PUNISHMENT WOULD BE INCARCERATION *

Delinquent Offense	Informal Probation (N=49)	Probation (N=314)	Youth Corrections (N=144)
- Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him or her.	65.3%	67.7%	78.9%
- Hit or threatened to hit a teacher or adult at school.	12.5%	6.4%	15.6%
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school.	0.0%	1.3%	3.5%
- Stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle, such as a car or motor-cycle.	28.6%	23.2%	24.5%
- Broken or tried to break into a building or vehicle to steal something or look around.	6.1%	10.5%	15.4%
- Used or tried to use credit cards without the owner's permission.	14.3%	29.4%	44.8%
- Stolen or tried to steal things worth between $5.00 and $50.00.	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%
- Thrown objects such as rocks, snowballs, or bottles at cars or people.	6.1%	3.5%	3.5%
- Been involved in gang fights.	6.1%	10.5%	10.4%
- Sold marijuana or hashish.	32.6%	27.4%	28.7%
- Bought or provided liquor for a minor.	4.1%	16.0%	9.1%
- Used alcoholic beverages, beer, wine, hard liquor.	4.1%	8.6%	4.2%
- Skipped classes without an excuse.	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%

*Alternative answers included: (1) Court warns and releases back home; (2) required to pay a fine; (3) probation; and (4) sent to training school or insititution.

their frequent law violating behavior. Thus, whether the similarity of perceptions is due to the effect of court sanctions or to the prior record of the youth is an open question.

In any event, the responses reported in Table 3-8 show that most youth consider apprehension to be more likely for violent offenses or serious property crimes. However, substantially fewer youth believed that status offenses or minor drug and alcohol crimes resulted in an arrest.

The youth were also queried as to their views on the punishment associated with various delinquent acts. These questions were intended to measure their perceptions as to the severity of sanctions - another key aspect of deterrence theory. Once again, we found no significant differences in perceptions of the severity of sanctions across the disposition groups. In general, offender perceptions of the severity of punishment appear to correspond to the severity of sanctions actually used by the juvenile court.

Summary of Comparisons

The data reported above suggest reasons why the Second District Court places offenders into its major dispositional categories. The primary determinants of decision-making appear to be the nature and seriousness of the instant offense and especially the extent of prior record. In addition to these legal factors, the court also identifies drug abuse and severe family problems as key factors in making the decision to commit youngsters to Youth Corrections. Using bivariate analysis, we did not find that sentencing patterns

were based on such inappropriate factors such as race or family economic status. The self-report delinquency data highlight the dramatic differences in prior records of offending across the three dispositional groups. It also appears that a youth with severe drug and alcohol abuse problems or those living outside their homes are more likely to be committed to the Division of Youth Corrections. Judges may be using the Youth Corrections disposition not solely for punitive purposes. Many judges and court personnel feel that Youth Corrections possesses a greater capacity than probation to provide specialized treatment planning and temporary residential services. It should be recalled that the majority of youth committed to Youth Corrections are placed in community-based programs after a brief diagnostic period.

Mandated Services

We also compared the characteristics of the youth placed in the mandated services probation group. As noted in Chapter 2, the Second District judges were given the option of exempting certain offenders from random assignment if they believed that special services were essential or that they would have to commit the youth to Youth Corrections (without a clearly mandated set of intensive probation services). In total, the judges assigned 68 youth to the mandated group. This represented 15 percent of all of the youth potentially eligible for random assignment. Youth who fell into the mandated group usually had been on probation recently (i.e., within 6 months of the new adjudication). Other assignments into the man-

dated group involved a variety of reasons. For example, it seemed irregular to provide codefendants with different probation conditions if they were siblings. Other mandated cases included special family circumstances which deemed intensive services. These decisions to place a youth in the mandated group were made after consultation with NCCD staff.

When one examines the aggregate profile of the youth placed in the mandated group, however, they have essentially the same background and legal characteristics as youth in the experimental groups. Whatever the particular reason for judicial assignment to mandated services, in practice, these youth were quite similar to youth in the experimental groups. This lends additional support to the internal validity of the experimental design.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Major Findings

1. The youth in the NCCD study constitute serious offenders, as shown by their current offenses and extensive prior records.

2. The Second District Court is assigning youth to its major dispositions based largely on the nature and seriousness of the instant offense and the extent of the youth's prior court history.

3. In addition to prior record and offense factors, patterns of drug abuse, severely troubled family situations and physical abuse may influence the Court's decision to seek the broader range of treatment services available through the Division of Youth Corrections (DYC).

4. Youth receiving the three major dispositions vary dramatically in the nature and extent of their self-reported involvement in delinquency over the preceding 12 months. Court sanctions roughly correspond to the nature and extent of past delinquent behavior engaged in by youth.

5. On the average, youth in all groups positively evaluate their treatment by the Second District Court. Despite their large differences in offenses and prior court contacts across groups, the offenders share similar perceptions of the likelihood of future apprehension and the severity of punishment for a variety of offenses.

6. Youth committed to community-based placements within DYC had less serious offenses and fewer prior court involvements than those sent to the secure facility.

CHAPTER 4

PROBATION SERVICES AND SUPERVISION

INTRODUCTION

The impact of the various forms of juvenile court sanctions can only be assessed after the actual nature and frequency of supervision and treatment services for each of the different disposition groups is described. More directly, we need to determine whether youth receiving different formal court sanctions actually received differing forms or levels of intervention. This is especially critical for the experimental probation groups.

This analysis is important because it will specify the actual form and intensity of interventions that underlie the experimental and non-experimental sanctioning conditions. Deterrence or treatment effects studied in later analyses should, in turn, be related to the form and intensity of supervision and treatment services. Consequently, this chapter will sensitize subsequent data interpretation as to the sanctioning conditions that may affect intervention outcomes.

This chapter first looks at the implementation of the experimental design. Next we examine the nature and frequency of the supervision the experimental probation groups received and point out the extent to which this conformed to the specifications of the original design. Comparisons of supervision contacts are then made across the experimental probation groups and with the other probation and Youth Corrections groups.

Differences in the frequency and types of treatment services provided to the youth by probation and non-probation agencies in the three experimental groups will be investigated and compared to the youth in the non-experimental groups. Another issue to be explored is the extent to which juvenile offenders received services from agencies other than the juvenile court.

Finally, data on the frequency and form of termination from juvenile court supervision among the various sample groups are reviewed.

Randomization Check: Differences Across the Three Probation Experimental Groups

Detailed comparisons were made of the background and legal factors of the offenders across the three experimental probation groups. If the randomization process worked as intended, the three probation groups would be identical in all respects except their level of probation intervention. To check whether the random assignment worked, comparisons were made on 31 variables, including background factors, legal variables, prior court records, drug and alcohol use patterns and court processing factors. None of the these variables were found to be statistically associated with group membership at the .05 probability level or below. However, six items were found to have slight associations at the .15 probability level. These items are presented in Table 4-1 and briefly discussed below.

TABLE 4-1

STATISTICAL TEST OF RANDOMIZATION VARIABLES
FOUND TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH GROUP ASSIGNMENT

	Notification		Routine		Intensive		Total		
	N	Column %	N	Column %	N	Column %	N	Column %	P
Detention									
No	83	67.5%	65	54.2%	75	55.6%	223	59.0%	
Yes	40	32.5%	55	45.8%	60	44.4	155	41.0%	.0647
Type Codefendant									
Juvenile	74	85.0%	67	75.3%	77	77.0%	218	79.0%	
Adult	6	7.0%	6	6.7%	2	2.0%	14	5.1%	
Both	7	8.0%	16	18.0%	21	21.0%	44	15.9%	.0671
Ethnic									
Hispanic	14	11.1%	23	18.7%	31	23.0%	68	17.7%	
Other	11	8.7%	7	5.7%	9	6.6%	27	7.0%	
White	101	80.2%	93	75.6%	95	70.4%	289	75.3%	.1380
Sex									
Male	104	82.5%	112	91.1%	117	85.4%	333	86.3%	
Female	22	17.5%	11	8.9%	20	14.6%	53	13.7%	.1390
Type of Victim									
Victimless	3	2.5%	7	5.9%	8	6.0%	18	4.9%	
Person	56	47.9%	37	31.4%	54	40.3%	147	39.8%	
Property	58	49.6%	74	62.7%	71	53.0%	203	55.0%	
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%	1	.3%	.1395
Mother's Occupation									
White Collar	29	31.8%	37	43.0%	34	32.4%	100	43.1%	
Blue Collar	28	30.8%	29	33.7%	39	37.1%	96	41.4%	
Other	30	33.0%	20	23.3%	31	29.5%	31	13.4%	
None	4	4.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.0%	5	2.1%	.1460

Two of the six variables (sex and ethnicity) are especially noteworthy as previous studies have linked these variables to the prevalence, incidence and seriousness of delinquent acts. With respect to ethnicity, it should be noted that whites comprised over 75 percent of all probationers, while the "other" category (containing Blacks and Asian-Americans) was evenly distributed across the probation groups. Hispanics are somewhat disproportionately located in the intensive supervision category. Part of the bias was due to the difficulty of coding the correct ethnic identification of Hispanic youth. Coders relied either on official records or the youth's own response to determine ethnicity. An unknown number of Hispanic youth are probably classified as white.

Similar small differences are found for the variable of sex. While about 14 percent of all the probation cases are female, only 9 percent of the routine supervision group is. The intensive and notification groups are 14.6 and 17.5 percent, respectively.

The remaining four variables also show moderate differences across the groups, but in no consistent direction that would suggest any systematic biases among the three experimental groups. This finding, together with the fact that the three groups were virtually identical on 25 other variables, lends strong support to the conclusion that the randomization procedures worked as intended.

FORMS OF JUVENILE COURT SUPERVISION

The Experimental Probation Groups

A central component of this study is the provision of varying forms of probation supervision in a true experimental design. As

noted in Chapter 2, three supervision groups - notification, routine, and intensive - were created to measure the effects of various court interventions. The extent to which youth actually received greater or lesser surveillance as implied by the supervision conditions is worth careful examination.

1. Notification

The notification group consists of youth placed on probation who were to receive no further supervision or services from the juvenile court. Probation officers could not modify this program during the first 90 days after adjucication. However, if a youth is rearrested the probation officer was required by Utah's juvenile codes to represent him or her at the detention hearing. During this period, the presiding judge may mandate that the probation officer provide an individualized supervision program for the youngster. At this point, the youth was considered terminated from the notification condition, but NCCD continued to track court services and outcomes.

Fully sixty-four percent of the notification cases actually received supervision during their probation period, which lasted about one year (Table 4-2). Approximately 15 percent of the youth in this group received minimal supervision contacts (1 to 12 or no more than one per month) while on probation.

These data raise the question of how it was possible that such a large proportion of the "notification" group received supervision contacts. It is also important to evaluate the effect of the contacts on the integrity of the experiemtnal design. The answer to

TABLE 4-2

MEAN NUMBER OF PROBATION SUPERVISION CONTACTS
AND AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY BY SAMPLE GROUP

	Informal Probation	Pre-Test Probation	Notification Probation	Routine Probation	Intensive Probation	Mandated Probation	YCP
	(N=72)	(N=50)	(N=111)	(N=118)	(N=135)	(N=64)	(N=72)
Face-to-face	3.0	18.3	15.0	23.9	30.0	25.8	38.4
Office	1.9	12.8	9.0	15.0	18.3	16.8	5.3
Home	.3	1.5	1.5	2.0	3.5	1.8	9.2
Other	.9	3.9	4.5	6.9	8.3	7.2	24.0
Phone	2.0	12.1	9.8	16.5	23.7	16.9	11.0
Mail	2.0	1.4	.5	1.5	2.2	1.6	0.2
TOTAL	6.9	31.8	25.3	41.9	55.9	44.4	49.6
Length of Supervision	207 days	427 days	368 days	371 days	379 days	332 days	419 days
Total Contacts Per Month	1	2.3	2.1	3.4	4.4	4.0	3.5
Percent Receiving No Contacts	36.1%	4.0%	36.0%	0.0%	1.5%	1.6%	0.0%
1-12 Contacts	54.2%	28.0%	15.3%	10.2%	2.2%	6.2%	6.9%
13 and Above	9.7%	68.0%	48.7%	89.8%	96.3%	92.2%	93.1%

these questions lies in the outcome and termination data to be presented later in this chapter and in Chapter 5. These data show that nearly two-thirds of the notification group were rearrested while under supervision, which triggered probation intervention. It does not indicate, however, that probation officers intentionally disregarded the experimental design.

Because of the data on service contacts, the impact analysis was easily adapted to take account of the actual levels of intervention within each form of supervision. As will be shown in the following sections, not all of the routine or intensive supervision youth received the precise number of contacts required by the experimental design.

2. Routine Supervision

The youth in the routine supervision group were expected to receive a level of supervision commensurate with what is generally expected in most probation departments across the nation. Treatment services were to be provided through a referral agency, i.e., one other than the probation department. There was also a minimum requirement of two face-to-face supervision contacts per month. Probation officers were allowed to modify this probation program but only after the first ninety days.

Table 4-2 shows that the routine group did receive a substantially higher level of supervision than the notification group (mean = 41.9 vs. 25.3, respectively) across all categories of contacts during a similar period of supervision (mean length of 371 and 368 days, respectively). However, it should also be noted that 10 per-

cent received 12 or fewer contacts compared to 51 percent of the the notification youth. Table 4-3 displays the mean number of contacts for each sixty-day period of supervision for the routine and intensive supervision groups. These data further indicate that probation officers generally followed the suggested guidelines and did not alter the program of these youth until after the ninety day period. Approximately 24 face-to-face supervision contacts were made during the routine probation group's average one year length of supervision, or an average of two contacts per month.

3. Intensive Supervision

The weekly supervision level for youth in the intensive group includes a minimum of one face-to-face and one phone contact plus discretionary use of treatment services. Unlike the routine condition, probation officers were permitted to provide both supervision and treatment services but they were allowed to alter the probation program after the first 90 days if appropriate.

Table 4-2 again shows that, similar to the other two experimental groups, the intensive supervision group remained under the court's jurisdiction for about one year (mean length of supervision of 379 days). Moreover, they also received the highest level of supervision, with an average of 56 contacts during the 12 months of supervision. Only a very small number of offenders had no contacts (1.5 percent) while a few others had no more than one contact per month (2.2 percent).

If we examine the number of contacts per month of supervision averaged across the entire year, it is clear that probation officers

TABLE 4-3

MEAN NUMBER OF PROBATION SUPERVISION CONTACTS
BY SIXTY DAY PERIODS FOR THE ROUTINE
AND INTENSIVE EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS*

	DAYS 1-60		DAYS 61-120		DAYS 121-180		DAYS 181-240		DAYS 247-300		DAYS 301-360	
	Routine	Intensive	Routine	Intensive	Routine	Intensive	Routine	Intensive	Routine	Intensive	Routine	Intensive
FACE TO FACE	4.7	8.0	4.3	7.5	4.5	6.2	4.0	4.7	4.1	4.7	4.8	4.0
OFFICE	3.6	5.5	2.9	5.0	2.7	3.7	2.3	2.6	2.3	2.8	2.5	2.6
HOME	.3	.9	.3	.8	.5	.7	.4	.5	.3	.5	.4	.7
OTHER	.9	1.5	1.1	1.6	1.4	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.2
PHONE	3.0	5.5	3.4	5.9	2.9	4.4	2.8	4.0	3.0	4.4	3.2	4.0
MAIL	.5	.6	.2	.3	.4	.4	.2	.3	.3	.5	.2	.4
TOTAL	8.2	14.1	7.9	13.8	7.7	11.1	7.0	9.1	7.4	9.4	8.2	9.0

* Routine: N=118
Intensive: N=135

did not deem it appropriate to maintain the minimum levels of supervision for the entire year. For example, during the roughly one year length of supervision, the intensive group received an average of 2.5 face-to-face and 2 phone contacts per month. This is approximately one-half the amount required if the experimental design had been followed for an entire year. Consequently, the next step was to examine the number of supervision contacts over time to determine whether this average changed after the first period of probation supervision.

Table 4-3 shows that the intensive probation offenders received levels of supervision close to the requirements of the research design for the first 120 days but thereafter, supervision levels tapered off. By the last 60 days of supervision, the intensive cases received supervision levels similar to the routine group.

A closer inspection of Table 4-2 shows that the principle form of intensive supervision was a weekly face-to-face contact with the probation officer, primarily held at the probation office. Significantly, very few of these contacts were in the youths' homes.

The average number of phone contacts (6) made to the intensive supervision youth during these first two months was lower than the number specified in the program guidelines (10). Probation officers began to modify the probation program for the youth in the intensive group during the fifth month of intervention. Face-to-face contacts gradually declined from three to two and one-half per month during the remainder of the intervention period. By the twelfth month, the

routine and intensive groups received about the same number of supervision contacts.

In contrast to the intensive supervision cases, probation officers with routine caseloads did not modify the supervision levels over time. These youth consistently received the specified amount of face-to-face contacts required by the program guidelines. For each sixty day period, the youth in the routine group had an average of one face-to-face contact with the probation officer every other week. As with the intensive cases, most of these face-to-face contacts occurred at the probation office and very few at the youth's homes.

In general, it appears that the major difference in supervision between the routine and the intensive groups occurred <u>during</u> the first 120 days of court intervention. Therefore, the analysis of recidivism in the next chapter will examine delinquent behavior at various points in the intervention process. One would expect to find the greatest differences in rearrest rates between these two experimental groups - if there are any - during the first four months of probation (e.g., when supervision levels actually differ). If differences are found, this may well have significant implications for the current state of juvenile probation.

Overall, the data on supervision indicate that the experimental design was successfully implemented. While the levels of supervision provided in each experimental condition were not precisely what they should have been, the level of supervision (with minor exceptions) nonetheless varies directly with the form of random

assignment. Seeming violations of the supervision rules in the notification group were largely, in fact, post hoc responses to rearrest allowed for by the design. Moreover, the drop off in contacts in the other two groups after an initial period of supervision was, strictly speaking, permitted since probation officers were allowed to change supervision rules after the first 90 days. In general, then, the experimental conditions of supervision were followed by probation staff.

Comparison of Non-experimental and Experimental Groups

4. Mandated Probation

The mandated probation group, for whom randomization was deemed inappropriate or unfeasible, remained on probation an average of one month less than any of the experimental groups. The youth in this group also had slightly fewer contacts than the intensive probation group but slightly more than the routine group.

5. Pretest Design Probation

A comparison of the three experimental groups with a pre-experimental group - those youth who were included in the study as a pretest control group and received the probation program employed in the Second District prior to the NCCD study - led to an unexpected and somewhat surprising finding. While the pretest group had an average length of probation supervision two months longer than any of the three experimental groups, the former's average number of face-to-face and phone contacts closely resembles that of the notification group. Each group received a total of 1.3 supervision contacts per month. Based on the juvenile court's philosophy and

past experience, one would have expected the number of supervision contacts of the pre-test group to be somewhere between that of the routine and intensive probation groups. These data suggest that the experiment itself produced a "Hawthorne effect", which substantially elevated the average level of supervision provided to most probationers.

6. Informal Probation

As expected, those youth placed on informal probation had the shortest length of supervision (7 months). They also received far fewer face-to-face and phone contacts than the youth in the notification-only group.

7. Youth Corrections

As noted earlier, 45 percent of the youth placed in the custody of Youth Corrections were sent to a diagnostic and evaluation center for 90 days. After this period, the judges frequently placed youth in the Youth Community Placement (YCP) program with additional supervision provided by Youth Corrections staff. Therefore, this group includes all youth who experienced community placement dispositions as well as those who were sent to community placement upon completion of the ninety day evaluation program.

It is somewhat surprising to find that these Youth Corrections offenders received approximately the same average length of supervision as the pretest probation group (15 months) and, in turn, only three months more than the experimental probation groups. One would have expected these youth to have remained with the program for a longer period of time since they have more extensive and serious

prior criminal histories. However, the majority of them were placed in group homes and received constant supervision and treatment from counselors working there. The Youth Corrections staff primarily provided additional supervision, and the majority of the face-to-face contacts were conducted in "other" environments (e.g., group homes) unlike the situation for probation youth.

Their level of supervision was supposed to be quite similar to that experienced by the intensive and mandated groups supervised by the probation department. However, the supervision was actually provided by Youth Corrections community placement staff (an agency independent of the probation department).

The extent to which this actually occurred can be seen in the data presented in Table 4-2. Community placement youth received a level of supervision similar to the intensive probation cases but a different form of supervision. Whereas probation officers placed a greater emphasis on office contacts, Youth Corrections staff maintained a much higher level of "other" contacts and fewer phone contacts. These "other" contacts refer primarily to those in community placement centers and group homes where the Youth Corrections clients resided and participated in alternative educational and counseling programs. Youth Corrections staff provided supervision contacts in these community placement centers rather than in an office setting primarily because of the highly structured programs the offenders were involved in there.

PROBATION SERVICES

The second important component of the Second District Court's intervention strategy is the provision of a variety of treatment services ranging from counseling to work programs. As noted earlier, however, the Court historically has directed its probation efforts toward individual counseling. These treatment services are normally provided by probation staff but occasionally are referred to outside agencies (e.g., mental health, boy's clubs, family services, and LDS social services).

The probation programs of the three experimental groups were designed in order to assess the effectiveness (both in terms of cost and prevention of future delinquency) of the various types of treatment services provided by probation and other community agencies. Two conditions - the intensity of the treatment service and the type of agency providing the service - were crucial elements of the experimental design.

According to the study's guidelines, the youth in the notification group were not supposed to receive any treatment by probation or non-probation staff unless they were rearrested. Although 68 percent of the youth in this group did receive supervision contacts during their probation period, slightly less than 50 percent of these youth received individual and family counseling and information services (Table 4-4). Individual counseling and information services were most frequently used, followed by other therapy and family counseling. Other treatment services such as recreation, employment, education and vocational, were provided

TABLE 4-4

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH RECEIVING SERVICES AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF SERVICES BY SAMPLE GROUP

Service Types	Informal Probation (N=88)		Pretest Probation (N=56)		Notification Probation (N=126)		Routine Probation (N=123)		Intensive Probation (N=137)		Mandated Probation (N=68)		YCP (N=72)	
	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X
Informational	25.0	4.4	60.7	14.2	42.8	23.5	84.6	24.0	77.4	28.7	77.9	26.7	26.4	18.6
Individ. Counsel	21.6	10.3	85.7	12.3	48.4	18.7	71.5	20.5	95.6	20.5	91.2	19.5	40.3	21.9
Group Counsel	5.7	6.6	12.5	4.4	11.1	5.3	18.7	22.6	37.2	5.5	27.9	6.0	20.8	27.7
Family Counsel	15.9	3.4	75.0	5.4	42.1	10.1	61.8	8.1	85.4	7.7	82.4	9.2	20.8	26.7
Other Therapy	3.4	6.7	12.5	2.0	9.5	11.7	26.8	5.6	16.8	7.3	26.5	6.0	1.4	15.0
Recreational	4.5	2.8	32.1	3.4	16.7	6.3	29.3	9.8	55.5	4.4	41.2	3.6	8.3	15.3
Employment	3.4	2.7	21.4	7.6	15.1	5.5	25.2	4.1	30.6	5.4	33.8	5.3	8.3	10.3
Educational	5.7	40.6	28.6	8.4	19.8	7.3	32.5	6.0	44.5	7.8	47.0	9.9	22.2	43.1
Vocational			8.9	5.8	5.6	5.4	9.8	10.4	14.6	6.9	17.6	7.2	11.1	33.0
Work Program			12.5	2.7	10.3	3.9	16.2	3.8	27.7	4.1	25.0	5.5	2.8	4.0
Other			7.1	2.8	12.7	1.9	8.9	6.2	18.2	6.1	10.3	1.6	11.1	32.4

approximately every two months to less than 20 percent of these youth.

Although there were no restrictions on the type or intensity of treatment services provided to the youth in the routine group, the probation officers were required to broker the treatment needs of these youth to outside agencies. (The extent to which this rule was adhered to will be examined in the next section.) Most youth in this group received information services (85 percent) twice a month (Table 4-4 and 4-5). While approximately one-fourth of the youth in this group received recreation, therapy and employment assistance less than once a month, almost three-fourths of them were given individual counseling two times a month.

The probation program for youth in the intensive group included weekly treatment services to be delivered exclusively by probation staff. No restrictions were made as to the type of service to be delivered. (The question of "who" provided the treatment will be examined below.) As expected, individual and family counseling sessions were conducted with almost all of the youth in this group (96 and 85 percent, respectively). Individual counseling was held three times as often as family counseling (Tables 4-4 and 4-5). Fewer of the youth in the intensive group received informational services (77 percent) slightly more than two times a month. We also found that less than 50 percent of these youth were given services such as group counseling, therapy, assistance with employment, educational, vocational, and work programs. Thus, individual and family counseling sessions and informational services were the most

TABLE 4-5

CHARACTERISTICS OF SERVICING AGENCIES:
PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH RECEIVING ALL SERVICES AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF SERVICES
BY SAMPLE GROUP AND AGENCY

Servicing Agency	Informal Probation (N=88)		Pretest Probation (N=56)		Notification Probation (N=126)		Routine Probation (N=123)		Intensive Probation (N=137)		Mandated Probation (N=68)		YCP (N=72)	
	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X
Probation	6.8	24.0	85.7	32.5	55.5	39.7	94.3	38.4	97.1	48.4	92.6	51.1	5.6	19.8
Non-Probation	44.3	10.9	28.6	6.0	31.0	20.0	55.3	32.3	51.8	19.0	63.2	22.9	54.2	54.3
Youth Corrections	6.8	5.0	1.8	1.0	0.8	2.0	2.4	8.7	1.4	19.5	1.5	2.0	33.3	33.2D

common forms of treatment delivered to the three experimental groups. While there was virtually no difference across groups in the frequency of such treatment services as informational, individual counseling, family counseling, employment, educational, and vocational assistance, the percentage of youth receiving these services was highest for the intensive group and lowest for the notification group. Although there are a few differences in the intensity of the treatment services, the most important aspect of the experimental design - who provided these services - must be examined so that we can estimate the extent to which the experimental conditions were correctly implemented.

Table 4-5 indicates that all of the experimental groups received their treatment primarily from probation staff. Substantially fewer of the youth in these two experimental groups (between 52 percent and 55 percent) were given treatment from outside agencies. However, the routine youth did receive, on the average, almost twice as many "outside" services (32.3) as the intensive group (19.0). These findings suggest that probation officers did not adhere to the "servicing agency" guidelines established for the routine and intensive groups. These results were found to be consistent over time.

Comparison of Non-Experimental and Experimental Groups

One would expect that the offenders in the informal probation group would receive few, if any, treatment services. Indeed, less than one-fourth of them received any type of counseling once a month

and this was primarily from other community agencies. (Services provided by probation staff were for those youth who had a subsequent probation status imposed for being rearrested or who unsuccessfully completed their informal probation.) Even fewer were assisted with educational and employment matters or participated in recreational activities (less than 6 percent). None of these youth received vocational assistance or participated in the Court's work program.

Youth in the pre-test probation group were most likely to receive individual and family counseling (86 and 75 percent, respectively) primarily from probation staff. The frequency of these counseling sessions was lower than any of the three experimental probation groups. These youth had, on the average, one individual counseling session per month and one family counseling meeting every other month. Approximately 61 percent of these youth received one informational contact per month. It is interesting to note that less than 33 percent of the youth in this group were given other types of treatment services, much like the routine experimental probation group. The intensity of these services is also similar to that of the routine experimental probation group. The majority of youth in the mandated group received individual and family counseling sessions (91 and 82 percent) as well as informational services (78 percent) from probation officers. It is not surprising to find that these three treatment services were provided to the mandated group as frequently as they were to the intensive experimental probation group. Less than 50 percent of the

mandated group received other treatment services less than once a month. This finding parallels that found for the intensive experimental probation group.

Since the Youth Corrections program emphasizes intensive community treatment and supervision, we anticipated finding that the Youth Corrections group was more likely to receive residential treatment services than the probation groups. Table 4-6 reveals that more than three-fourths (79 percent) of the Youth Corrections offenders received residential treatment services. It is surprising, however, to find that the average length of residential treatment (7 months) is only one-half of the length of supervision (14 months). It would appear that fewer of the Youth Corrections offenders (less than 40 percent) received other types of treatment services such as counseling, recreation, or vocational, educational and employment services than did the probation groups. However, it is important to note that the figures for the Youth Corrections offenders reflect only those service contacts known to Youth Corrections staff. That is, these staff were unable to obtain information from the agencies administering the community placement centers regarding the type and intensity of the treatment services the Youth Corrections offenders received during their stay at the centers. Therefore, it is difficult to make direct comparisons of the probation and Youth Corrections offenders regarding different levels of treatment.

TABLE 4-6

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT SERVICE: PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH RECEIVING RESIDENTIAL CARE AND THE AVERAGE LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN DAYS

	N	PERCENT RECEIVING RESIDENTIAL CARE	AVERAGE LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (in days)
Informal Probation	88	1.1	310.0
Pretest Probation	56	3.6	65.5
Notification Probation	126	10.3	54.5
Routine Probation	123	18.7	69.6
Intensive Probation	137	11.7	99.0
Mandated Probation	68	11.8	60.1
YCP	72	79.2	204.6

COURT TERMINATION

A comparison of the reasons for official program termination from probation across the experimental groups reveals an unexpected result: those youth randomly assigned to the notification group were more likely to successfully complete their probation program (63 per-cent) than those in the routine and intensive groups (54 percent and 55 percent respectively). Table 4-7 reveals that the percentage of "failures" is highest among the routine probationers (22 percent) compared to 16 percent of the intensive and only 15 percent of the notification groups. These differences are not, statistically significant at the .05 level.

The youth placed in the experimental groups fared better on probation than the non-experimental probationers except for the informal probationers. The percentage of successful cases in the pretest and mandated probation groups was 50 percent and 53 percent, respectively. The pretest probation group had the highest percentage of unsuccessful terminations (29 percent) as compared to the other probationers and Youth Corrections offenders.

Slightly less than one-half of the offenders in this latter group had terminated from the jurisdiction of Youth Corrections by the end of this study. However, those Youth Corrections offenders who terminated did fairly well: 31 percent successfully completed their program requirements.

As mentioned earlier, across all dispositions the informal probationers had the highest percentage of successful program completion (77 percent). This finding was expected because these

TABLE 4-7

REASONS FOR TERMINATION BY SAMPLE GROUP

	Informal Probation	Pre-Test Probation	Notification Probation	Routine Probation	Intensive Probation	Mandated Probation	YC
	(N=57)	(N=24)	(N=96)	(N=102)	(N=109)	(N=53)	(N=39)**
Successful Completion of Program	77.2%	50.0%	62.5%	53.9%	55.0%	52.8%	30.8%
Unsuccessful Completion of Program	10.5%	29.2%	14.6%	21.6%	15.6%	24.5%	10.2%
Other *	8.8%	8.3%	1.0%	5.9%	4.6%	9.4%	12.8%
Administrative Cutoff	3.4%	12.5%	21.9%	18.6%	24.8%	13.2%	46.2%

* This category includes inappropriate placements, family moved out of state, death, completion of mental health requirements.

** Since Youth Corrections staff could not provide tracking data for youth placed in the diagnostic and evaluation center, this analysis reflects only those cases sentenced to community placement. In addition, many of the youth in this latter group had not completed the community placement program by June 30, 1985, the study's administrative cut-off date.

youth had the least serious prior records and instant offenses than youth in other probation groups.

SUMMARY OF INTERVENTION FINDINGS

1. There were no major differences across the experimental probation groups in terms of background factors or offense variables. In general the randomization process worked as intended.

2. There is virtually no difference in the average length of intervention (12 months) across the three experimental probation groups. Youth in the pretest probation and Youth Corrections community placement groups remained, however, under the court's jurisdiction for a slightly longer period (14 months). The informal and mandated probationers' supervision lasted less than one year.

3. Sixty-eight percent of the youth in the notification group received more than one supervision contact per month during court intervention. This figure reflects the percentage of youth who were rearrested and mandated, not a flawed experimental design. The youth in the routine and intensive experimental groups received the specified levels of supervision contacts during the first 120 days of intervention. The number of supervision contacts probation officers had with the intensive probationers started decreasing during the fifth month of intervention; by the twelfth month they received a similar level of supervision as the routine probationers.

4. Those youth who received the pre-study probation program were given similar levels of supervision as the youth in the notification group who had been rearrested.

5. The offenders who were considered to be at too high a risk for random assignment to one of the three experimental probation groups received a level of supervision between that of the routine and intensive experimental probation groups.

6. Probation staff provided the majority of treatment services to the youth in the notification, routine and intensive groups throughout the entire length of intervention. The source of the service of the routine group, therefore, did not meet the research design requirements, which envisioned treatment services provided by non-probation agencies.

7. Individual and family counseling sessions and informational services were the most common forms of treatment provided to

the youth of all the probation sample groups. More than three-fourths of the youth in the pretest, intensive, and mandated probation groups received these services. The Youth Corrections offenders were most likely, however, to receive residential treatment services.

8. The intensity of the treatment services for those youth in the experimental and mandated probation groups were fairly similar.

9. In terms of program termination, the youth in the notification group had the highest success rate among the experimental as well as non-experimental probation groups, except for the informal probationers.

CHAPTER 5

THE IMPACT OF JUVENILE COURT INTERVENTION

Introduction

This chapter examines the effects of juvenile court sanctions on the behavior and attitudes of youth who passed through Utah's Second District Juvenile Court. We begin by comparing the rearrest levels of the youth across the range of court interventions. After this, we examine the suppression effect of the dispositions, using official rearrest data. The chapter also examines the effects of court intervention on the attitudes of the youth and to rival explanations for the suppression effect.

Finally, the chapter concludes with an analysis of the factors which are predictive of risk of failure on probation supervision. This analysis is done to learn if a risk classification model can be used by court officials to more efficiently allocate probation services for adjudicated probationers.

12 Month Follow-Up Rearrest Rates

The basic data on the timing and number of rearrests and the nature of the rearrest charges of the various probation and Youth Corrections offenders are displayed in Tables 5-1 and 5-4. Data shown in Table 5-1 reflects all arrests that occurred 12 months after the date of court disposition but do not fully control for time incarcerated during the post intervention period. In particular, these data do not account for sanctions which occurred

TABLE 5-1

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH
REARRESTED AFTER ADJUDICATION

	PROBATION					YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
Item	Informal (N=87)	Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	Mandated (N=67)	Diagnostic (N=113)	Community (N=68)	Secure (N=66)
Time Period:								
0-120 days	32.2%	46.0%	44.6%	46.3%	59.7%	49.6%	55.9%	63.6%
0-183 days	42.5%	55.6%	53.7%	59.0%	64.2%	60.2%	67.6%	68.2%
0-365 days	52.9%	66.1%	70.2%	70.9%	80.6%	69.9%	76.5%	78.8%
Average Number of Days to First Arrest:								
$\bar{x}$	124.8	116.6	114.4	110.9	91.1	121.1	116.8	90.1
SD	101.7	115.6	93.4	103.3	88.1	126.4	133.4	102.6
Number of Arrests:								
0 None	47.1%	33.9%	29.8%	29.1%	19.4%	30.1%	23.5%	21.2%
1 Arrest	17.2%	13.7%	10.7%	17.9%	14.9%	21.2%	27.9%	18.2%
2 Arrests	11.5%	13.7%	13.2%	7.5%	7.5%	17.7%	13.2%	21.2%
3 Arrests	6.9%	8.1%	9.1%	10.4%	11.9%	13.3%	8.8%	12.1%
4 Arrests	4.6%	4.8%	10.7%	6.7%	7.5%	7.1%	11.8%	12.1%
5+ Arrests	12.7%	25.8%	26.7%	28.4%	38.8%	10.6%	14.8%	15.2%
Avg. Arrests over 12 months	1.4	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.8	2.0	2.2	2.5

TABLE 5-1 (cont.)

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH
REARRESTED AFTER ADJUDICATION

	PROBATION					YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
Offense Types	Informal (N=172)	Notification (N=397)	Routine (N=388)	Intensive (N=434)	Mandated (N=280)	Diagnostic (N=377)	Community (N=255)	Secure (N=252)
Violent	3.5%	5.5%	8.5%	8.1%	10.0%	2.9%	9.4%	6.0%
Part 1 Property	37.2%	43.6%	37.4%	42.4%	30.4%	41.9%	46.3%	42.1%
Other Property	9.3%	11.8%	14.2%	12.2%	13.6%	11.9%	12.6%	15.5%
Drugs and Alcohol	12.8%	11.8%	11.6%	11.3%	15.7%	8.2%	10.2%	5.1%
Other	19.8%	17.6%	18.8%	19.6%	21.1%	28.9%	14.1%	29.3%
Status	17.4%	9.6%	9.5%	6.4%	9.3%	6.1%	7.4%	2.0%

during the follow-up period producing an additional period of incarceration. If these sanctions are not accounted for, some youth will not have "at risk" time in the community for the full 12 month period. Table 5-4 corrects this problem by extending the following time for each documented incident of incarceration that occurred during the original 12 month follow-up period. For example, if a youth was placed in a secure facility for 6 months, the 12 month window was extended to 18 months. And, if there were other intervening periods of incarceration that were documented, the window would be extended even further. (The same process is used for estimating the 12 month pre-arrest for the suppression analysis as presented later on in this chapter).

In the discussion that follows, the results are presented separately for three major groups; (1) experimental probation groups (notification, routine, and intensive), (2) non-experimental groups (informal and mandated), and (3) Youth Corrections groups (community placement, diagnostic, and secure placement). However, there were several major re-arrest trends that cut across all groups which can be highlighted as follows:

- The vast majority (53 percent to 81 percent) of these youth were re-arrested at least once during the follow-up period. In general, these rates were highest for the Youth Corrections offenders and lowest for the probation groups.

- Most of the arrests occurred during the first 120 days after court disposition or release from institutional care.

- The majority of these rearrests were for non-violent offenses although a substantial number

were Part 1 property crimes, of which the majority involved burglary crimes.

- With the exception of the informal probation youth, all groups reported a rearrest rate of about 2 arrests per year.

1. Experimental Probation Groups

Of special interest in the recidivism results is the relative performance of the three groups of randomly assigned probationers. The data indicate there were essentially no differences in the level or timing of rearrest across the three groups. Between 66 and 71 percent of each group experienced at least one arrest within one year following intervention. Moreover, during the first three month period of probation--the period during which one would expect the differences in the impact of probation to be greatest--there were no differences in the percent rearrested at the .05 significance level.

While the notification and routine groups showed a slightly higher mean number of arrests than the intensive group, the difference was not statistically significant. Likewise, the small differences in average number of days to first arrest for the three groups was not significant.

The data on the nature of the offenses incurred during the first year of follow-up are also shown in Table 5-1. These data refer to the aggregate number of offenses of various types rather than a single offense. A total of 1,219 offenses were charged against the three groups of randomized probationers. There were no large or systematic differences in nature of offenses across the

three groups. For all groups the most common offense was Part I property crime, ranging from 37.4 percent for the routine probationers to 43.6 percent for the notification group. Violent offenses accounted for less than 9 percent of all offenses.

2. Nonexperimental Probation Youth

The rearrest data for the nonexperimental probation youth showed greater variation in outcome. Informal probationers had more favorable outcomes which was expected given their lower pre-intervention arrest rate. They had a lower average number of rearrests (mean=1.4), a smaller overall percentage of rearrests (52.9 percent), the greatest percentage with no rearrests (47.1 percent), the greatest number of days until rearrest (mean=124.8 days), and the lowest proportion of violent arrests (3.5 percent).

In contrast, youth who were mandated by the court to receive special probation had worse outcomes than those experiencing other forms of probation as revealed in average number of arrests (mean=2.8), percentage with no rearrest (19.4 percent), time to first arrest (mean=91.1 days), and proportion of violent offenses (10.0 percent). This finding was also anticipated because these youth represented, in the court's eyes, high risks for future misconduct.

3. Youth Corrections

Community placement and diagnostic placement youth performed similarly to the experimental probation youth and slightly better

than mandated and secure facility offenders. The secure facility group had the highest proportion of youth rearrested (88.8 percent), the shortest period to first arrest (90.1 days), and the highest annual arrest rate (2.5 per year) although these differences are not very large. For these youth, a small proportion of the subsequent charges involved violent crimes (6 percent).

Court Reaction To Rearrests

Given that such a large proportion of these youth are being re-arrested, we then examined how the court responded to their subsequent delinquency, as measured by the dispositions of these arrests (Table 5-2). Note that the unit of analysis is the disposition and not the youth.

1. Experimental Probation Youth

Fully three-fourths of the charges brought against the experimental youth resulted in a petition being filed, with no significant differences across the three groups. Not shown in the table are the dispositions for offenses which were not filed. In these instances, the youth in each group were equally as likely to receive a citation, nonjudicial closure, referral to outside agency, counseling or some other minor disposition.

Those charges that resulted in a filing, with a few important exceptions, led to fairly similar dispositions across the three groups. The most frequent disposition was a continuance of the

TABLE 5-2

JUVENILE COURT RESPONSE TO OFFENSES COMMITTED DURING 12-MONTH FOLLOWUP

	PROBATION					YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
Court Response	Informal	Notification	Routine	Intensive	Mandated	Diagnostic	Community Placement	Secure Facility
Initial Response	(N=167)	(N=388)	(N=365)	(N=419)	(N=265)	(N=340)	(N=243)	(N=219)
Petition Filed	73.6%	74.0%	75.6%	76.6%	70.6%	83.8%	81.9%	70.3%
Final Response	(N=120)	(N=305)	(N=264)	(N=301)	(N=187)	(N=293)	(N=200)	(N=160)
Dismissed	10.8%	16.4%	11.4%	14.3%	12.8%	12.6%	14.5%	17.5%
Fine/Restitution	26.7%	23.3%	14.4%	16.6%	23.5%	16.0%	12.0%	11.9%
Previous Order Continued	8.3%	26.9%	45.8%	37.9%	32.1%	28.7%	37.5%	1.9%
Probation	28.3%	3.9%	2.3%	3.3%	2.3%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Youth Corrections:								
Community Placement	9.2%	4.9%	11.7%	10.6%	5.9%	2.7%	2.5%	0.0%
Diagnostic Evaluation	1.7%	1.3%	0.8%	1.7%	4.8%	2.1%	9.5%	0.0%
Secure Facility	0.0%	0.6%	0.8%	0.6%	0.5%	15.7%	3.0%	33.8%
Jail/Prison	1.7%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	2.2%	0.3%	0.0%	2.5%
Other*	13.3%	22.4%	12.8%	15.0%	15.9%	18.8%	15.0%	32.5%

*Other includes: Admonished, counseled, work orders, held in contempt, ordered to write an essay, custody altered, etc.

previous court order (35 percent of all dispositions), followed by fine or restitution (18.3 percent), or dismissal (14.1 percent).

2. Nonexperimental Probation Youth

As with the randomized probation groups, the modal reaction to the offenses of the nonexperimental probation youth is the filing of a petition (between 70 and 74 percent of the informal and mandated probationers' charges resulted in a petition). However, the modal disposition for offenses differs greatly. For informal probationers, it is formal probation, representing an escalation in the court's level of intervention, followed closely by a fine or restitution. For mandated youth it is a continuance of a previous court order which was more similar to the experimental probationers.

3. Youth Corrections Youth

Youth Corrections youth have a higher petition filing rate than the probationers. Somewhat surprisingly, the secure confinement youth had a lower petition filing rate compared to the other youth corrections groups although this may be related to the fact that many of these youth were on parole supervision and could be sanctioned though other means (i.e., return to custody as a parole violation in lieu of a petition filing).

For community placement youth the most frequent disposition essentially resulted in the continuance of a previous order, while the offenses of secure placement offenders led (once again) to secure facility commitments. One must keep in mind that many of

these youths were on parole status at the time of the rearrest and have lengthy criminal histories. It is therefore not surprising that the court decided to return these youth to secure facilities. Offenses by the diagnostic youth led about equally to "other" dispositions or continuance of a prior order.

Overall the modal disposition of the Court for all groups was "more of the same". The court appears reluctant to use the most severe form of sanction escalation (commitment to the Division of Youth Corrections) for a rearrest. And, given that of most these youth were rearrested there is undoubtedly a practical concern to not overwhelm Youth Corrections with rearrested probationers.

The single exception to the "more of the same" trend are the rearrested informal probationers who were far more likely to have their current court status escalated to formal probation and less likely to receive a continuance of the prior court order. This is as one would expect since youth placed on informal probation represent a kind of marginal offender who may not require a longer period of probation intervention.

The group which received the most severe sanctions were the diagnostic placement offenders. As shown earlier, these youth were rearrested about as often or slightly more than the randomized probationers, but they show a higher percentage of receiving subsequent commitments to secure confinement. Yet, this pattern is consistent with the court's sentencing policies of using the least restrictive sanction when possible. The diagnostic cases represent the last stop for youth who the Court feels may require long term

placement. Should these diagnostic youth be rearrested, the Court is hard pressed to justify continuation in the community due to the youth's continued involvement in delinquent activities.

As useful as these findings are in describing the outcomes of the youth, we are still left with the question of how well the youth performed relative to their own prior offending histories and the specific form of intervention that they experienced. To answer these questions we turn to a consideration of the suppression effect of juvenile court intervention.

The Use of Suppression Effect as an Alternative Measure of Juvenile Court Impact

The question of whether various juvenile court interventions affect the subsequent delinquent behavior of youth is, according to Murray and Cox (1979:32), "not whether delinquency is any sense cured, but whether things get better" (emphasis in original). This turns attention to the amount of change in delinquency that occurs after court intervention, using as a yardstick what the individual's offending behavior was before intervention. The concern is therefore with marginal rather than absolute gains in the reduction of delinquency. Given the pessimistic findings of past research as to the effects of treatment, this approach to measuring the impact of juvenile court intervention holds a certain intuitive policy and practical appeal.

Three requirements must be met to accurately estimate the amount of change youth experience in offending behavior; these are

preliminaries to the calculation of the suppression effect defined below. The first is a measurable criterion variable, namely, the behavior of interest--delinquency--that we wish to understand change in. In this study it is defined as the rate of arrests, number of offenses, and type of offenses. A rate is operationally defined as the number of the criterion divided by the number of potential offenders.

A "potential offender" here has a distinct meaning--it refers to a youth who is free of institutional restraint, and is therefore at least in theory capable of committing an offense against members of free society. As explained earlier, this means that we do not include in our analysis the offenses that youth are charged with during incarceration.

The second requirement of the analysis is that the criterion variable must be measured in the same way both before and after intervention and over the same amount of time. An important point to note is that the post period of observation includes the one year period subsequent to incarceration of the youth corrections offenders, whereas for the probationers and community placement offenders the post period begins at the point of disposition. As shown in Table 5-3, the Youth Corrections diagnostic and secure facility offenders spent an average length of 59.6 and 206.4 days in confinement, respectively (excluding detention days). Thus, the calendar time of their tracking period extends over a longer time. Most importantly, the post period of observation is approximately one year for youth experiencing all interventions.

TABLE 5-3

AVERAGE LENGTH OF CONFINEMENT FOR
THE YOUTH CORRECTIONS GROUPS

	Diagnostic	Community	Secure Facility
	(N=112)	(N=67)	(N=66)
In Days			
$\overline{X}$	59.6	--	219.3
$\overline{SD}$	27.9	--	154.0

The third requirement is that the intervention posited as affecting the criterion variable must occur subsequent to the pre-test period. In this study the forms of intervention include three youth corrections dispositions, mandated and informal probation, and the randomized probation conditions.

Thus, our concern is with the amount of change in the rate of offending from one year before to the year subsequent to court intervention. As defined by Murray and Cox (1979:41), the suppression effect is simply defined as the post-intervention arrest rate minus the pre-intervention arrest rate divided by the pre-intervention arrest rate. The suppression effect is simply a statistical calculation. We make no necessary inference that the suppression effect is caused by the Court's intervention. We will have more to say about this issue later.

Below we examine the suppression effect as it relates to arrest, type of offense, and number of offenses, and compare the results across the range of court interventions. After this analysis we ask whether the observed change in the rate of offending is due to the impact of the various court dispositions or whether it results from other processes, such as maturation, history, or statistical artifacts such as regression to the mean.

Suppression Effect Results

The results of the suppression analysis on arrests and offenses for all groups are shown in Table 5-4. Three major findings stand

TABLE 5-4

12 MONTH AT RISK TIME PRE AND POST INTERVENTION
ARRESTS AND OFFENSES:
THE SUPPRESSION EFFECT*

	PROBATION					YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
Measure	Informal (N=87)	Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	Mandated (N=67)	Diagnostic (N=105)	Community (N=64)	Secure (N=64)
Mean Number of Arrests:								
Pre Intervention	2.3	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.4	6.3	5.4	7.0
Post Intervention	1.4	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.8	1.9	2.0	2.2
Difference	-0.9	-1.3	-1.4	-1.5	-0.6	-4.4	-3.4	-4.8
Suppression Effect	-39.1%	-37.1%	-39.0%	-42.8%	-17.6%	-69.8%	-62.9%	-68.5%
Mean Number of Offenses:								
Pre Intervention	3.4	6.1	5.7	5.5	5.5	12.1	9.2	12.5
Post Intervention	2.0	3.2	3.2	3.2	4.2	3.0	3.4	3.6
Difference	-1.4	-2.9	-2.5	-2.3	-1.3	-9.1	-5.8	-8.9
Suppression Effect	-41.1%	-47.5%	-43.8%	-41.8%	-23.6%	-75.2%	-63.0%	-71.2%

* The Suppression Effect is the mean number of offenses postintervention (A_{po}) minus the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) divided by the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) or:

$$S = \frac{(A_{po} - A_{pr})}{A_{pr}}$$

out from the data and are highlighted below. First, the groups show great variations in their reductions in the rate of offending.

Second, there are no major differences in the suppression rate reductions between the three experimental probation groups. This finding further validates the 12 month follow-up outcome analysis that also indicated that none of the experimental forms of probation led to better recidivism outcomes. Given this lack of effect across conditions, the randomized probation youth will be combined and discussed as one group in the discussion which immediately follows. Third, although the suppression effect varies greatly across the range of court interventions, the greatest reductions occurred for the Youth Corrections group. Overall, the Youth Corrections offenders show a 62.9 to 69.8 percent reduction in their rate of arrest and a 63.0 to 75.2 percent reduction in offenses. This contrasts with the relatively small reduction of 39.1 to 42.8 percent in the rate of arrest for the informal and experimental probationers. The mandated probation group experienced a mere 17.6 percent reduction.

As can be seen in Table 5-4, what distinguishes the dramatic reduction in offending on the part of the Youth Corrections offenders is their very high pre-intervention rates of offending which of course had much to do with the court's decision to commit these youth to Youth Corrections at the outset.

Some may incorrectly interpret these results to show that probation does a worse job than Youth Corrections in handling delinquent youth. But one should remember that the large differences in pre-intervention arrest rates clearly dictate that statistical com-

parisons cannot be made between the probationers and Youth Corrections groups with respect to the suppression effect. The probationers, as a whole, represent very different types of offenders than the more chronic and serious Youth Corrections cases. For the probationers to have matched the Youth Correction groups' suppression rates would have required a near absolute cessation of all delinquent activities--a highly improbable event in view of these youth's social and delinquent backgrounds. And there is no evidence that probationers placed in Youth Corrections would have necessarily produced greater suppression rates.

These suppression effect results, however, leave open the question of whether the declining arrest rates can be attributed to court intervention or are being driven by other factors.

Testing Alternative Explanations of the Suppression Effect

The study of Murray and Cox (1979) led to a critical reaction by various researchers, the best known being McCleary et al., (1978). The essential question asked by these critics is whether the sharp reduction in offending is due to known threats to validity in similar research designs, including maturational reform, history, and regression. In attempting to compensate for these possible statistical artifacts as rival explanations for the presumed effects of incarceration, Murray and Cox still found that incarceration led to a reduction in offending greater than alternative non-incarcerative sanctions. Hence, they concluded that the reduction

was due to the sanction and not merely an artifact of a weak research design.

The Regression to the Mean Explanation

In the NCCD study we have encountered a variety of findings that lead us to question whether the suppression effect is only measuring program impact. One is the extremely high pre-intervention scores of the Youth Corrections offenders. Are these scores abnormally high and likely to fall without an incarcerative sanction, as the regression to the mean argument would suggest? A second issue involves the inconsistent effects of length of confinement on the subsequent reduction in offending. The results of our analysis, based on official data, suggest that longer periods of incarceration led to similar crime reductions as shorter periods of confinement.

Finally, the timing of the court's intervention may have a significant effect on any suppression result. Most of the youth are sanctioned by the court at a point where their offending level may have reached its peak. This implies that the reduction in offending across all levels of court intervention--and particularly for the somewhat older Youth Corrections offenders--may be due to maturation (Matza, 1969). This underlying process, which has been a source of embarrassment for numerous crime and delinquency theories, lurks as a plausible rival explanation for the presumed deterrent effects of incarceration.

Our interpretation of the observed suppression effect is based on a re-analysis of the pre and post intervention rates using monthly arrest rates as graphically plotted in Exhibit 5-1. (The raw Data are presented in Appendix A). Here one can see that for all groups there is a steady and rapidly increasing rate of arrest 12 months prior to the court's intervention for the offense that led to entry into the study sample. After juvenile court intervention the monthly arrest rates are markedly lower and more stable for all groups.

Exhibits 5-2 to 5-5 represent individual plots for each group to better analyze the pre and post intervention trends. The three Youth Corrections groups show somewhat similar patterns marked by sporadic peaks as part of a steadily increasing monthly rate only to be followed by the dramatic post-intervention drop. The probationer pattern is somewhat different in that the pre-intervention rate is lower and actually begins to taper off prior to court intervention. These monthly patterns are useful in assessing the relative merits of alternative arguments that these reductions would have occurred independent of court intervention.

In order to further refine the evaluation of the suppression effect, the pre-intervention arrest rate was first recalculated to exclude the offense for which the intervention was imposed (Table 5-5). When the adjustment was made for the instant offense, post intervention reductions were less dramatic, but the trends remained the same. With the exception of informal and mandated probation, all of the groups showed marked suppression effects. Again, the

Pre and Post Juvenile Court Intervention Arrest Rates

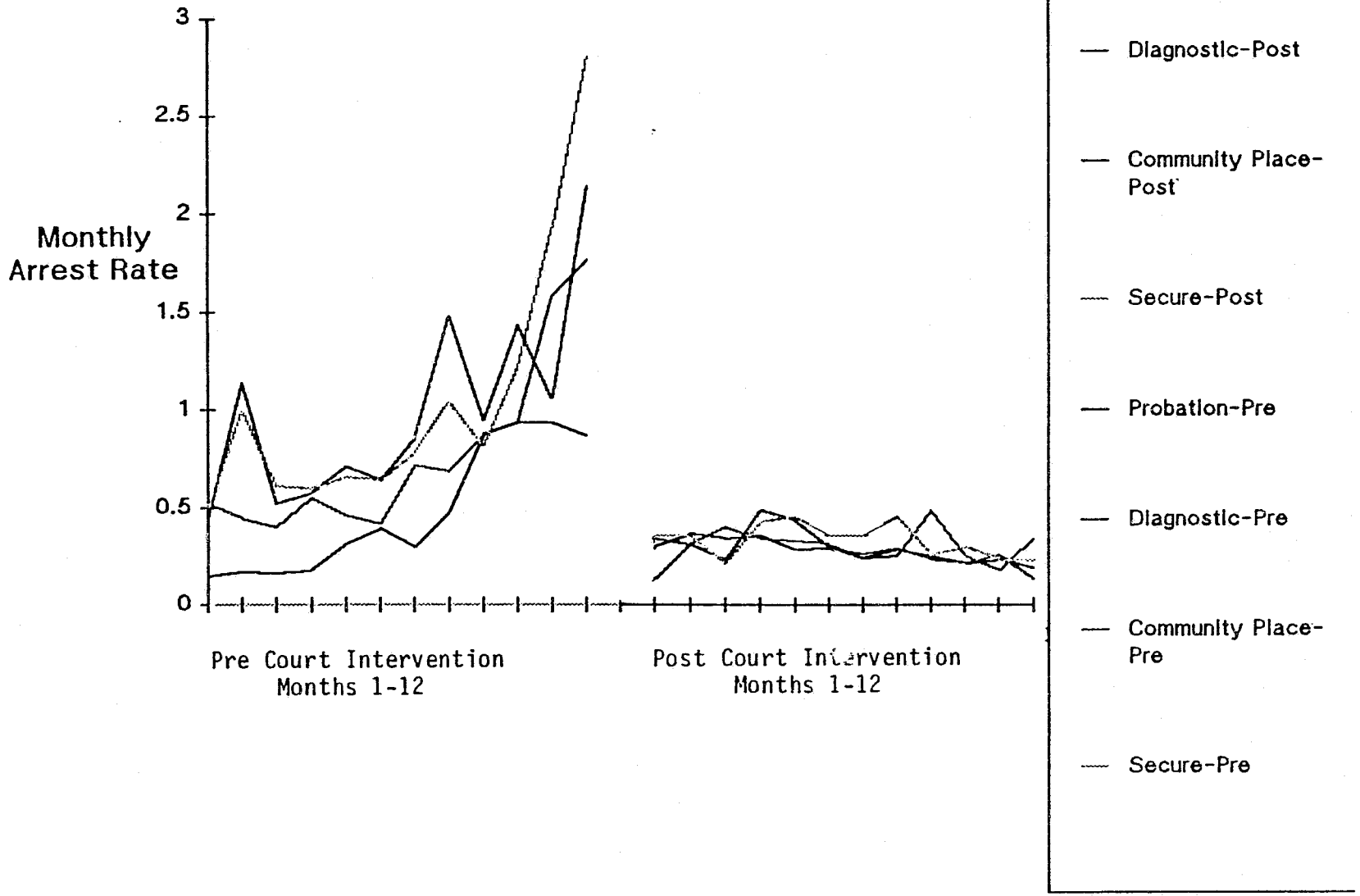


EXHIBIT 5-1

EXHIBIT 5-2

Probation Monthly Arrest Rates -- Pre and Post Intervention

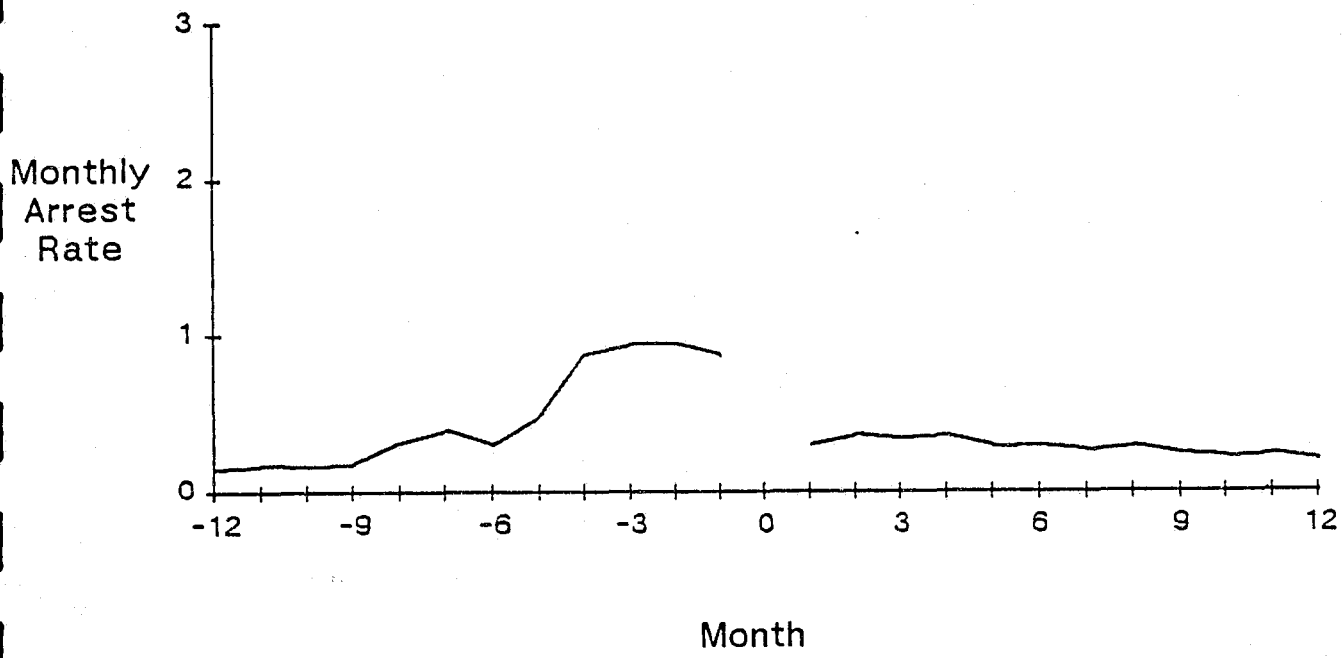


EXHIBIT 5-3

Community Placement Monthly Arrest Rates -- Pre and Post Inter

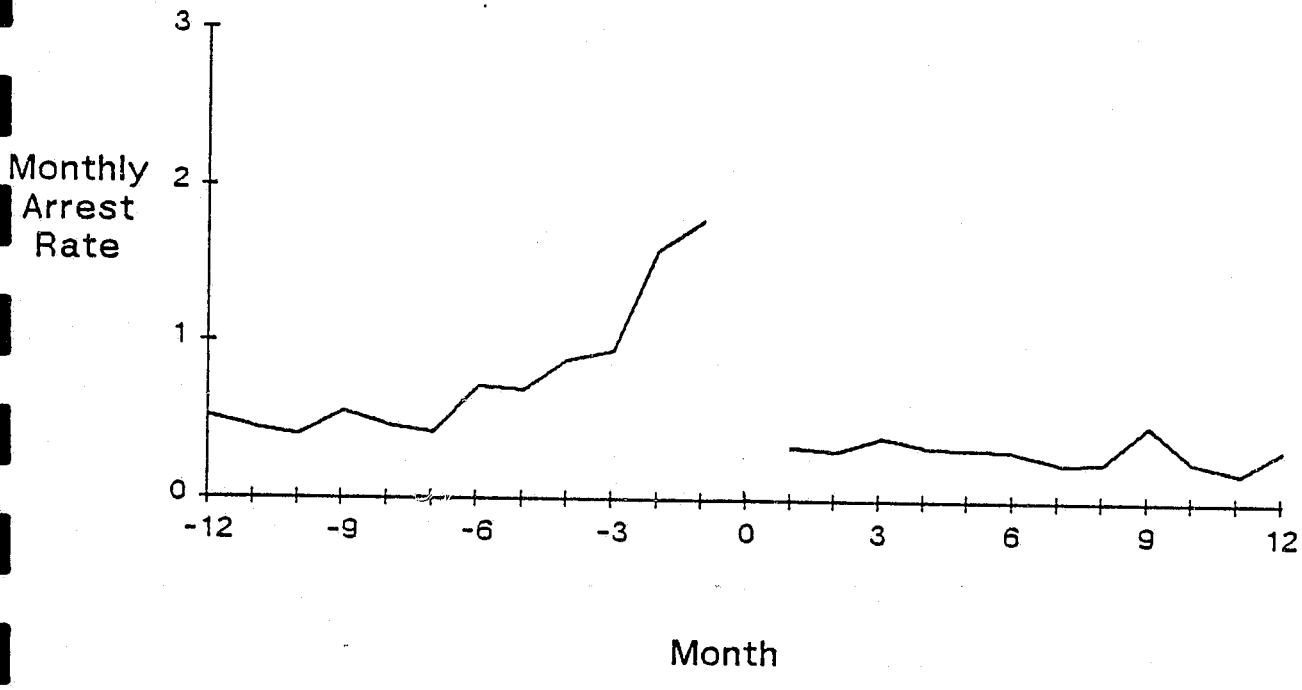


EXHIBIT 5-4

Diagnostic Monthly Arrest Rates -- Pre and Post Intervention

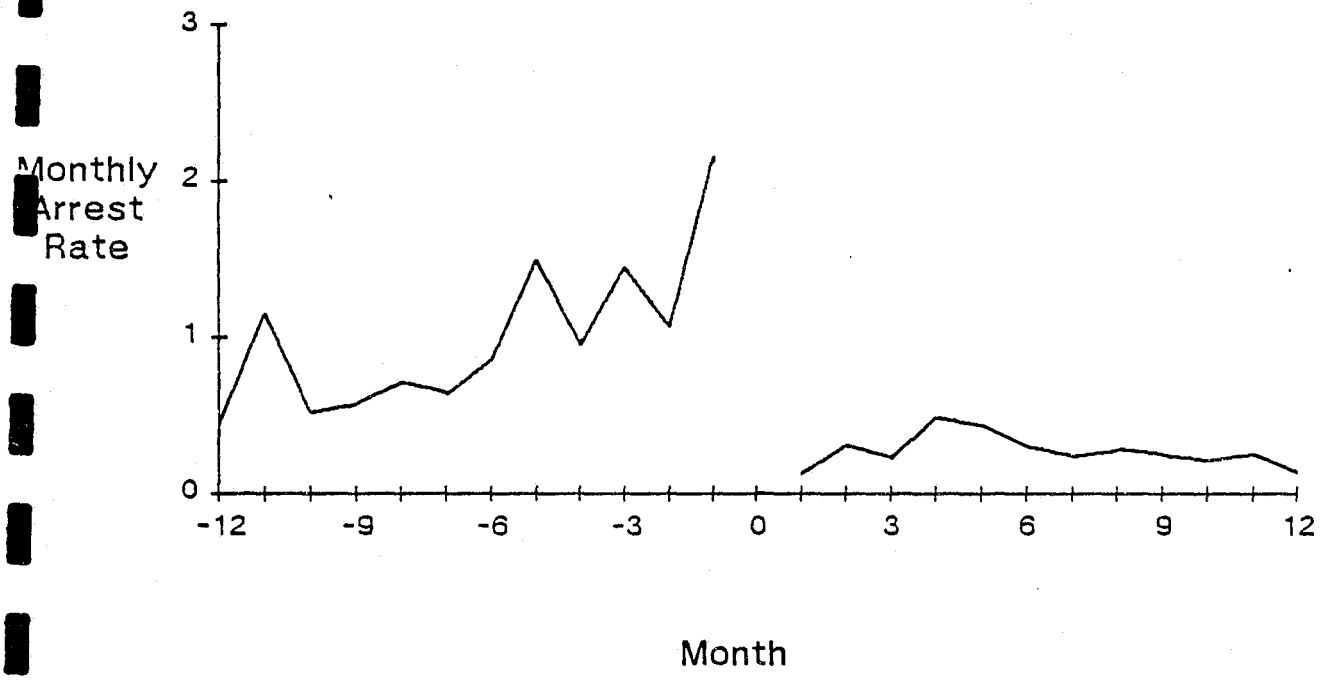


EXHIBIT 5-5

Secure Monthly Arrest Rates -- Pre and Post Intervention

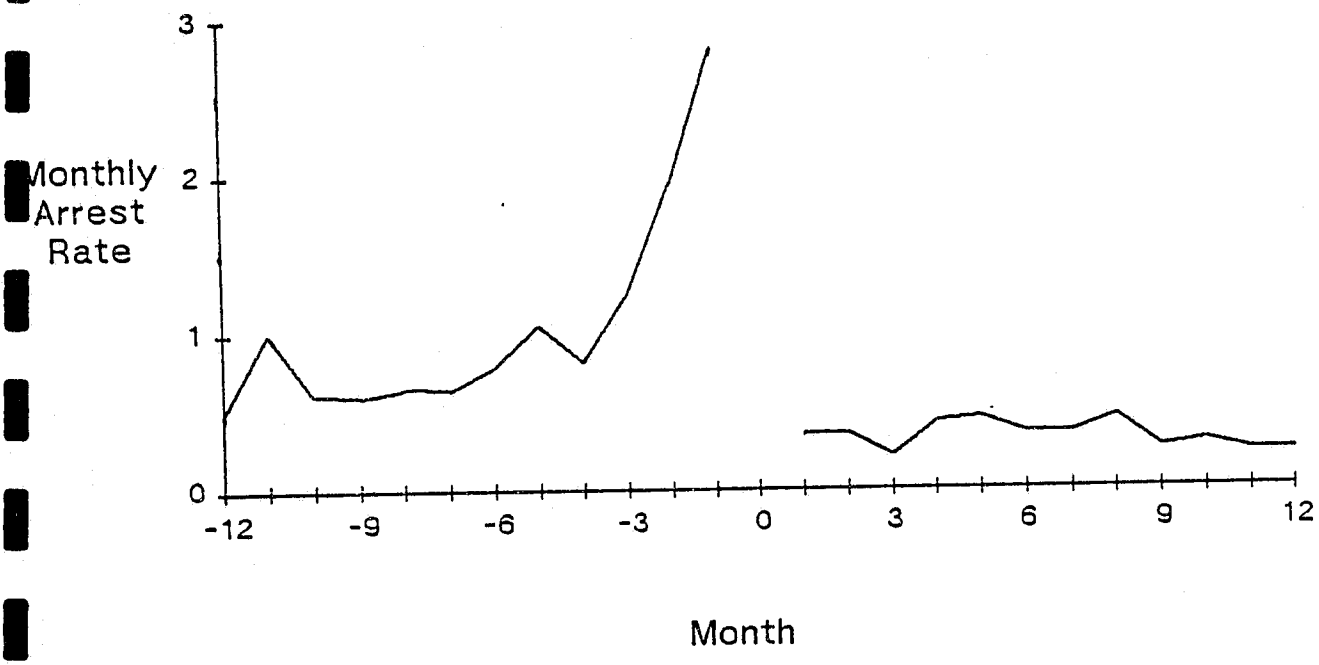


TABLE 5-5

12 MONTH AT RISK TIME PRE AND POST INTERVENTION
ARRESTS*:
THE SUPPRESSION EFFECT**

	PROBATION					YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
Measure	Informal (N=87)	Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	Mandated (N=67)	Diagnostic (N=105)	Community (N=64)	Secure (N=64)
Mean Number of Arrests:								
Pre Intervention	1.3	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.4	5.3	4.4	6.0
Post Intervention	1.4	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.8	1.9	2.0	2.2
Difference	0.1	-0.3	-0.4	-0.5	0.4	-3.4	-2.4	-3.8
Suppression Effect	7.7%	-12.0%	-15.3%	-20.0%	16.7%	-64.1%	-54.5%	-63.3%

* In this analysis, the original preintervention number was used -1 (to control for instant offense).

** The Suppression Effect is the mean number of offenses postintervention (A_{po}) minus the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) divided by the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) or:

$$S = \frac{(A_{po} - A_{pr})}{A_{pr}}$$

diagnostic placement and secure facility youths showed the most dramatic decreases in post intervention arrest, 64.1 percent and 63.3 percent respectively.

One explanation is that the observed suppression effect may only represent a statistical artifact known as regression to the mean. McCleary et al., (1978) have argued that the observed suppression effect could not be wholly attributed to juvenile court intervention. Instead, they believe that chronic offenders experience randomly distributed bursts of highly active rates of delinquent behavior which brings them to the attention of the court. After the court intervenes these youth return to rates of offending similar to the period of time prior to court intervention. And if maturation is operating as well, the post-intervention rate will be lower than the pre-intervention rate.

The regression to the mean argument suggests that dramatic post-intervention decreases might be due, in part, to the high number of pre-intervention arrests, and that it is the timing of the intervention that has a significant impact. In other words, the observation that arrests decline dramatically after court intervention is merely a coincidence and cannot be attributed to the court's intervention. Offenders may have random bursts of criminal activity or police may simply escalate their arrest practices for certain individuals which brings them to the attention of the court. However, their actual level of criminality somewhat constant and is not accurately reflected by the pre-intervention rates. Thus an "illusion" of suppression occurs.

In an effort to address this issue, a second analysis was done which excluded all arrests three months immediately prior to and after intervention (Table 5-6). Thus is done to minimize (but not eliminate) the extent to which regression to the mean is explaining the sharp declines for the three Youth Corrections groups.

The suppression effect disappears for all of the probation groups but remains strong for the three Youth Corrections groups. These results suggest that previously observed pattern of escalation followed by sharp declines after court intervention for Youth Corrections still persists. While the community and diagnostic groups experienced a 43 to 45 percent reduction in arrests, the secure facility group's arrest rate decreased by nearly 68 percent.

This is not to say that the subsequent reduction in delinquency is the sole result of court action and that there are no regression to the mean effects. Although the suppression effect is considerably reduced for the less serious probation groups, the observation that the post-intervention rates of Youth Corrections youth are still lower and remain low provide strong evidence that regression to the mean is not the sole factor causing the observed declines.

Another important finding from the analysis is that when the three months on either side of the intervention are eliminated, some insights into the patterns of offending behavior can be made. Table 5-7 indicates the number of cases in each intervention type that have "0" arrests for the months four through twelve of the post-intervention period. By eliminating the three months prior to the intervention we have accounted for increased delinquent activity

TABLE 5-6

9 MONTH AT RISK TIME PRE AND POST INTERVENTION
ARRESTS*:
THE SUPPRESSION EFFECT**

	PROBATION					YOUTH CORRECTIONS		
Measure	Informal (N=87)	Notification (N=124)	Routine (N=121)	Intensive (N=134)	Mandated (N=67)	Diagnostic (N=112)	Community (N=67)	Secure (N=70)
Mean Number of Arrests:								
Pre Intervention	.724	1.056	1.223	.992	.865	3.178	2.925	6.142
Post Intervention	.965	1.532	1.603	1.238	2.029	1.750	1.671	1.971
Difference	.241	.476	.380	.246	1.164	-1.428	-1.254	-4.171
Suppression Effect	33.3%	45.1%	31.1%	24.8%	134.6%	-44.9%	-42.9%	-67.9%

* In this analysis, arrests 3 months immediately prior to and after intervention were excluded.

** The Suppression Effect is the mean number of offenses postintervention (A_{po}) minus the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) divided by the mean number of offenses preintervention (A_{pr}) or:

$$S = \frac{(A_{po} - A_{pr})}{A_{pr}}$$

TABLE 5-7

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH
WITH
"0" POST INTERVENTION ARRESTS
MONTHS 4-12*

	PROBATION					YOUTH CORRECTIONS			
	Informal	Notification	Routine	Intensive	Mandated	Diagnostic	Community	Secure	Total
	(N=87)	(N=124)	(N=121)	(N=134)	(N=67)	(N=112)	(N=67)	(N=70)	(N=782)
"0" Arrests By Type of Intervention	56.32% (N=49)	42.74% (N=53)	33.88% (N=41)	41.04% (N=55)	31.34% (N=21)	38.39% (N=43)	41.79% (N=28)	30.00% (N=21)	39.77% (N=311)

* Arrests 3 months immediately after intervention were excluded.

that warranted intervention. By eliminating the three months subsequent to the intervention, immediate intervention effects are accounted for. The results in Table 5-7 at a minimum do not discount the notion that intervention can have lasting effects on delinquent activity.

From these analyses we propose that the regression to the mean argument cannot completely explain the results. The graphs indicate that pre-intervention arrest rates for youth steadily increase over time, whereas the post intervention rates for are flat with no recurring upward peaks. Additional analyses accounting for the instant offense and three months immediately prior and after intervention provide support for the suppression effect.

In the final analysis, the ongoing controversy of whether the court's intervention is largely or even partially responsible for the suppression effect cannot be answered by this study. To do so would require another experimental design where youth with extensive delinquent histories are randomly assigned to either some form of institutionalization or no court intervention. This is unlikely to be tried by most jurisdictions for obvious reasons. Furthermore, advocates of the regression to the mean explanation make the assumption that a youth being arrested 5-7 times in a year along with numerous periods of pre-trial detention has virtually no effect on a youth's behavior.

The Maturation Effect

The other factor that could be operating would be maturation. Namely, as the youth age, they mature and grow out of their delinquent behavior. One direct measure of maturation is achieved by computing suppression by age categories. If there was no maturation effect, there would be insignificant and unbiased suppression effects by age group.

This is not the case (Table 5-8). There are clear differences among the youth's age and the degree of suppression effect observed. Specifically, older youth, as expected, have significantly larger suppression effects. And since the Youth Corrections group are older in general, maturation does explain a large (but not all) proportion of the greater suppression effects for the Youth Corrections group.

Nevertheless, the nature of the pre and post intervention curves for the Youth Corrections groups as well as the duration of the intervention to question the suitability of maturation being the primary cause of the large suppression effects. As Murray and Cox noted in their analysis, such a maturation effect would be reflected in a more gradual bell shaped curve and not the dramatic increases and downturns shown in Exhibit 5-1.

Moreover, very little aging actually occurred for some of the youth, which warrants critical consideration of the maturation explanation. Community placement youth were immediately released to the community, diagnostic youth spent only about two months incarcerated and secure placement about seven months incarcerated before

TABLE 5-8

SUPPRESSION EFFECTS BY AGE

		Offenses			
		Youth Corrections		Probation	
		N	Sup	N	Sup
AGE	13	(8)	.365	(81)	.296
	14	(24)	.495	(69)	.262
	15	(55)	.586	(104)	.312
	16	(68)	.750	(108)	.522
	17	(82)	.746	(74)	.684
		Arrests			
AGE	13	(8)	.298	(81)	.243
	14	(24)	.555	(69)	.214
	15	(55)	.583	(104)	.321
	16	(68)	.659	(108)	.426
	17	(87)	.735	(74)	.682

they were returned. Had the time intervals between the two periods been longer there would be greater reason to accept the maturation argument but not under these circumstances. If there is a maturation effect, it would be greatest for the probation cases by virtue of the observed trends and what we have learned about the impact of probation intervention strategies.

The probation cases present a more complex problem of interpretation as both the pre- and post-intervention curves are less dramatic. Consequently, they are more vulnerable to arguments that other factors may be "causing" the declines. As we have seen in Table 5-6, if one deletes the three months of data immediately surrounding the court intervention date, there is no suppression effect suggesting that much of the effect is explained by regression to the mean. Maturation may also be having an some effect although the amount of maturation occurring over this time period is minimal. And, one is again reminded of the negligible effect varying levels of supervision had on rearrest rates giving further support to the alternative explanations of regression and maturation.

The Suppression Effect Findings Summarized

Official data show that a Youth Corrections intervention of any kind coincided with significant reductions of offending; secure facility (long term) and diagnostic placement (short term) offenders show the greatest reductions. These are partially but not totally explained by alternative factors of regression to the mean and maturation. We therefore concluded that court intervention has had

an independent effect in reducing delinquency among these chronic delinquents.

More significantly, whatever the reasons for the declines in offending rates the news is essentially positive for court intervention with youth defined as the more serious or "chronic" offenders. The NCCD research shows that these youth can be placed in the community under a well structured program and be expected to sharply reduce their level of offending. They will not be totally "cured" but neither can they maintain their extraordinarily high level of delinquent behavior.

A related finding is that the reduction in offending does not correspond to the amount of time that the Youth Corrections offenders spent in confinement. More specifically, even though the secure facility youth actually spent more than three and a half times as long in confinement as the diagnostic placements, their reduction in arrests and offenses is actually less than that of the diagnostic youth. Apparently the effects of confinement are not related to post-intervention behavior in a linear and/or additive fashion.

Probation cases showed virtually no suppression effect. A refined testing of the probation suppression effects suggested that regression to the mean plus maturation did play a more significant role than probation services. Moreover, no single experimentally induced form of probation outperformed another.

Impact on Youth Attitudes and Peer Relationships

Despite the more general finding that most of the youth showed a reduction in offending subsequent to intervention one is also concerned with the continuation of criminal behavior despite court intervention for the majority of youth. This suggests that court interventions are unable to effectively reverse all of the factors which contribute to delinquent behavior. Specifically, it may be that court interventions have minimal impact on delinquency-related attitudes or other behavioral measures known to be related to delinquency.

Control theory suggests that various elements of the bond to society, including beliefs, attachments, involvements, and commitments affect the likelihood of delinquency (Hirschi, 1969). Under the appropriate conditions, the acquisition of the relevant elements of the bond to society may eventually lead to a reduction in offending. It could be, then, that the court interventions have not led to changes in youth attitudes toward and involvement in school, family, friends or work, positive changes in attitudes toward deviance, or exposure to delinquent peers. For instance, Differential Association theory argues that unless exposure to other delinquent peers is reduced, delinquent behavior, which is often a group phenomenon, will persist.

In past research a number of different scales have been developed to measure these aspects of control theory (Hirschi, 1969; Hindelang et al., 1981; Paternoster et al., 1983; Wiatrowski et al., 1981; Krohn and Massey, 1980; Elliott et al., 1983). Nine of these

scales have been produced for the purposes of the present study. Table 5-9 presents the pre- and post-intervention means of the scales for the intervention groups.

These results can be summarized as follows. First and foremost, there appears to be little significant change in youth attitudes toward deviance, normlessness and involvement with family, school, friends, and delinquent peers. The change that did occur is approximately the same across all probation conditions on key youth dimensions: all showed slightly less involvement with family and school, and no discernable changes in their involvement with friends and delinquent peers in the post-intervention period.

Compared to the probationers, the Youth Corrections offenders show less favorable pre-intervention scores which is in line with their higher official crime intervention levels. The direction and nature of attitudinal change is not, however, consistent within or across forms of Youth Corrections interventions. The diagnostic and secure facility youth showed slight improvement in attitudes toward deviance, but the diagnostic youth improved on all scales of normlessness while the secure facility youth performed worse. The community placement youth, in contrast, show no change in attitudes toward deviance, improve on the normlessness scales of school and friends, but perform worse on the normlessness work scale.

The nature of change in the involvement scales similarly varies. The Youth Corrections community placement youth perform worse, whereas the secure facility offenders improve on family involvement but do worse in school involvement. Finally, the

TABLE 5-9

SELECTED ATTITUDE SCALES: COMPARISON OF
MEAN SCORES FOR 12 MONTHS PRE AND POST INTERVENTION
FOR THE THREE EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

	PROBATION										YOUTH CORRECTIONS					
	Informal		Notification		Routine		Intensive		Mandated		Diagnostic		Community		Secure Facility	
Scale	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Attitudes Toward Deviance[1]	29.7	30.2	30.2	29.6	28.9	29.3	29.9	29.3	29.6	28.8	27.1	29.5	28.0	27.8	27.2	28.3
Normlessness:[2]																
Family	9.8	9.9	9.6	9.5	10.4	10.4	10.0	9.8	9.5	9.6	10.4	9.5	9.8	9.6	9.6	10.3
School	12.8	12.5	12.5	11.8	12.8	12.6	13.1	12.2	12.3	12.9	13.4	12.2	13.6	12.6	13.2	13.4
Friends	10.3	10.6	10.3	9.4	10.2	10.0	10.9	10.1	10.3	10.0	11.7	9.6	11.4	9.6	11.2	10.9
Work	4.7	4.9	4.8	5.1	5.1	5.9	5.2	5.8	5.0	5.3	5.5	4.8	4.0	4.8	5.0	5.3
Involvement with:[3]																
Family	9.4	8.4	9.5	7.6	9.2	7.8	9.1	7.9	8.0	7.6	8.1	6.5	8.2	7.1	7.2	8.0
School	4.4	3.6	4.4	3.4	3.7	3.2	4.5	3.4	4.4	2.6	3.7	2.7	3.1	2.3	3.0	2.3
Friends	9.2	9.0	9.5	9.9	9.2	9.4	9.5	10.0	10.3	10.0	11.4	9.0	11.4	10.5	10.7	10.2
Exposure to Delinquent Peers[3]	24.1	24.8	24.8	24.7	25.1	26.2	24.1	25.0	25.6	25.0	30.9	25.5	31.4	26.3	27.2	30.2

[1] A higher score indicates a more conventional attitude.

[2] A lower score indicates less normlessness.

[3] A higher score indicates greater involvement/exposure.

diagnostic and community placement youth show reductions in exposure to delinquent peers, substantially so for the diagnostic placements, while the secure youth show an increase.

Overall, these data are not helpful in explaining the reductions in delinquency rates. There is little consistent movement in these attitudinal items which would suggest that suppression effects could be explained by changes in youth attitudes or social relations. Indeed, one might expect no changes in offending rates based on these results. Specifically, the Youth Corrections offenders--who experienced the more dramatic reductions--do not also show the relatively substantial changes in attitudes that one would expect to accompany such a decline. Having profiled the dramatic differences between probation and Youth Corrections youth, what kind of useful tool could be developed to appropriately assign individuals to various types of interventions? The following section addresses this issue.

The Application of a Risk Model For Probation

Although the results of the experimental test of probation supervision were disappointing, they do not mean that the assignment of differential levels of intervention is necessarily fruitless. Varying levels of probation services as tested in Salt Lake City did not produce the desired reductions in delinquency. However, probationers as a whole do reflect varying risk levels, which should be accounted for in deciding who should receive the most intensive forms of probation services. For example, we found that about one

third of the probationers were not re-arrested, while about one fourth were re-arrested at least five times. If nothing else, an attempt must be made to ensure that the high risk cases are properly identified and receive sufficient supervision and that the low risk cases receive minimal intervention.

To accomplish this goal an objective risk based instrument is needed. Such an instrument utilizes research knowledge on which factors have been shown to be statistically associated with probation failure. These factors can then be used to construct a scale which can then rank order probation caseloads in terms of supervision and service needs.

Bivariate analysis was first completed to identify those variables with some relationship to probation outcome. In this analysis the outcome or criterion variable was number of rearrests occurring during the 12 month follow-up period ranging from a value of zero to five or more. Those items found to have a statistical relationship of greater than .001 were:

1. Sex: males had greater chance of rearrest;

2. Youth's Employment Status At Arrest: Youth who were unemployed had a greater chance of rearrest;

3. Father's Occupation At Arrest: Youth whose fathers had a blue or no (unemployed) occupation status had a greater chance of rearrest;

4. Weapon Used In Offense: Youth who did not use a weapon in the instant offense had a greater chance of rearrest;

5. Drug or Alcohol Associated With the Offense: Youth who were intoxicated or under the influence of drugs at the time of the crime were more likely to be rearrested;

6. Age At First Arrest: Youth who were arrested at earlier ages (9-12) had a greater chance of rearrest;

7. Number of Offenses Occurring 12 Months Prior To The Instant Offense: Youth who had been arrested more frequently during the 12 months prior to the instant offense (three or more) had a greater chance of rearrest.

These factors were then weighted according to the strength of their relationships and used to construct a risk instrument scale as shown in Exhibit 5-6. As can been seen from the results shown in the exhibit, the instrument does a fair job of identifying the very low and very high risk cases. Assuming staff use appropriate judgement in adjusting these initial ratings by used of a behavior oriented reclassification instrument, this kind of classification system can be used to identify youth requiring no supervision and those who need the greatest amount of attention and services.

It also suggests that youth are in greatest need of employment and drug/alcohol intervention which as shown in Chapter 4 was not one of the primary services provided to probationers. Should an adjustment in providing these type of services occur one might also see an improvement in rearrest rates.

Exhibit 5-6

NCCD PROBATION RISK INSTRUMENT

Risk Score

Risk Level	N	%	0-1 Arrests	5+ Arrests
Low	102	19.1%	78.4%	1.5%
Moderate	230	43.2%	44.4%	25.2%
High	201	37.7%	33.8%	36.3%
Total	533	100.0%	46.9%	26.1%

Risk Instrument Items

Items Used		Points
1.	Age at first arrest:	
	9-12 years	2
	13	1
	14+	0
2.	Drug or alcohol associated with offense:	
	Yes	1
	No	0
3.	Number of offenses in last 12 months:	
	1 or 2	0
	3 or more	3
4.	Weapon used in the offense:	
	No	1
	Yes	0
5.	Father's occupation:	
	Blue collar profession	2
	Other	0
6.	Youth's employment status:	
	Full-time/Part-time	0
	Unemployed	2
7.	Sex:	
	Male	2
	Female	0

Scale

Points	Supervision Level
0-6	Low
7-9	Moderate
10+	High

CHAPTER 6

THE COSTS OF JUVENILE COURT INTERVENTION

Introduction

The final data analysis to be completed provides estimates on the variable costs of the major juvenile court interventions tested in this study. Such analysis is often a very difficult and controversial enterprise. Too often costs are exaggerated or understated for purposes of dramatizing the alleged costs of probation and other forms of community corrections versus secure confinement. Nevertheless, it is essential to provide juvenile justice officials with some basic cost comparisons to better inform them on how much these interventions cost to implement and maintain.

For purposes of this study the greatest amount of original cost analysis was done for the three experimental probation dispositions. A fairly detailed cost analysis for the Youth Corrections dispositions has been available for a number of years. But no such analysis had been done separately for the three forms of probation supervision. Consequently, this chapter represents a first attempt to provide an accurate cost analysis of probation services.

Calculating the Costs of Probation Intervention

Probation and the juvenile court provide a wide range of services and functions which are not directly related to the delivery of probation supervision and services for adjudicated

youth. As noted in Chapter 2, the vast majority of youth referred to the Second District Court are not placed on either formal or informal probation. Most youth receive fines, restitution orders or have their cases dismissed reflecting the minor nature of the delinquent activity which triggered the referral. In handling these thousands of cases each year, the Court spends a great deal of resources processing these cases through its intake unit. The intake unit must make a formal and detailed investigation of the youth's entire background and then provide the court with a formal recommendation for disposition. And the court itself spends a significant of its time in court hearings trying to determine the appropriate disposition. All of these functions require administrative support from clerical staff, the statewide information system, and the State Administrative of the Court.

For purposes of estimating the costs of probation intervention, these intake and court processing activities and associated costs are excluded from the calculations since they occur after a court disposition has been reached. Instead, we have narrowed the focus of the cost analysis to only those activities conducted by a number of juvenile court divisions which directly contribute to the work of probation supervision and services. This means that in addition to the direct costs of probation officers interacting with their probation clients, the external administrative support of those activities by other agency divisions have also been included. These administrative support services are as follows:

1. Second District Office Operations

Probation Unit staff are supported in their work by staff located in the Second District Administrative office. These staff provide clerical support on the filing, retrieval, and maintenance of key court documents as required by the court. Second District staff have estimated that approximately 20 percent of the total costs of that unit could be attributed to these support activities.

2. Second District Court Administrator

Probation Unit staff are supervised by the a senior level administrator. This office also provides direct liaison and coordination between probation and intake staff, the court, the state's administrator's office, and the Youth Corrections Division. That office has indicated that approximately 25 percent of its resources should be attributed to probation intervention activities.

3. State Administrative Office of the Court

This office provides information system services, staff training,and other general support costs of all probation and juvenile court functions on a statewide basis. Based on estimates provided by that office we have assumed that 10 percent of these costs can be attributed to support of probation officers working in the probation units of the Second District.

4. Judicial Court Case Reviews

Part of the probation intervention requires the judges to review the status of each case at review hearings held at each unit. Probationers who have completed 6 months of supervision and/or have encountered some difficulties in meeting the conditions of probation are reviewed by the judge with jurisdiction over the case. Here we have estimated, based on the number of hearings held each month and in consultation with court officials, that these case reviews, in total, consume 10 percent of a full-time judge's salary per year.

5. Residential Care for Probationers

Probationers who encountered difficulties in their homes or were rearrested while on probation were occasionally placed in residential care facilities. According to the NCCD data, presented in Chapter 4 approximately 13 percent of the probationers spent a total of 4,374 days in residential care during the 18 month period of data collection. When adjusted to reflect a 12 month time period, the annual amount of residential care is reduced to 2,731 days. The cost of residential care is approximately $55 per day according to youth corrections staff which is used to produce an annual expenditure estimate of $150,205.

In terms of collecting actual cost data for each of the above activities we relied upon a careful examination of original juvenile court fiscal documents (primarily annual expense statements) as maintained by the state administrative office of the courts and generously made available to us. From these documents each type of expense which could be properly associated with the delivery of probation services and supervision was tallied. These expense items include:

1. Staff salaries
2. Fringe Benefits
3. Contracted Services
4. Utilities, Phone, Rent
5. Administrative Support Costs (staff and materials)
6. Travel

Finally, it should be noted that the costs of the informal probation disposition have not been included here. Informal probation supervision is generally handled by intake staff. Precise cost

data could not be secured which accurately separated out the dual intake unit tasks of presentence investigations versus informal probation supervision and service delivery. However, it is fair to say that informal probation costs are considerably less than formal probation by virtue of the number of cases handled each year and the short period of supervision (approximately 3 months).

Costs of Probation

The most recent probation cost data for the six budget categories listed above are presented in Exhibit 6-1. The exhibit provides aggregate cost data for the five functional areas described above. The costs associated with the operations of the probation units, which are principally determined by probation staff salaries and fringe benefits represent almost two thirds of the total costs. The next largest cost item is for the administrative support of those units as provided by the Second District Office and the State Administrative Office.

To calculate an annual probation cost figure, the total expenditures ($1,442,497) by the average probation caseload as it existed during the study (N=402). A daily probation rate was then estimated by dividing the annual cost figure ($3,588) by 365 days which come to $9.83 per day.

Comparative Costs of Youth Corrections Interventions

Similar kinds of costs estimates had been developed for the three major Youth Corrections interventions using a similar

Exhibit 6-1

COSTS OF PROBATION

Expense Item	Annual Costs
A. Probation Unit Costs	
1. 21 Unit Staff (includes clerical)	$699,411
2. Supervising Officer	39,726
3. Rent, Utilities, and Phone	58,610
4. Travel	14,795
5. Youth Incorporated Services	9,700
	$822,242
B. Second District Office Operations Support Costs @.20 of Total Budget	267,571
C. Second District Administrator Support Costs @.25 of Total Budget	24,306
D. Judicial Court Reviews of Probationers @.10 of Judicial FTE of $64,832	6,483
E. State Juvenile Court Administrative Office Support Costs @.10 of Total Budget	161,690
F. Residential Care for Probationers 2,731 days @ $55 per day	150,205
G. Total Annual Probation Costs (A-F)	$1,442,4972
H. Annual Average Caseload	402
I. Daily Costs of Probation (H/G)/365 days	$9.83

Sources:
1. 1982-1983 Second District Court Statement of Expenses
2. Division of Youth Corrections 1985 Annual Report
3. 1985 Second District Court Statement of Expenses
4. 1985 State Administrative Office Statement of Expenses

Note: All staff expenses include salary and fringe benefits

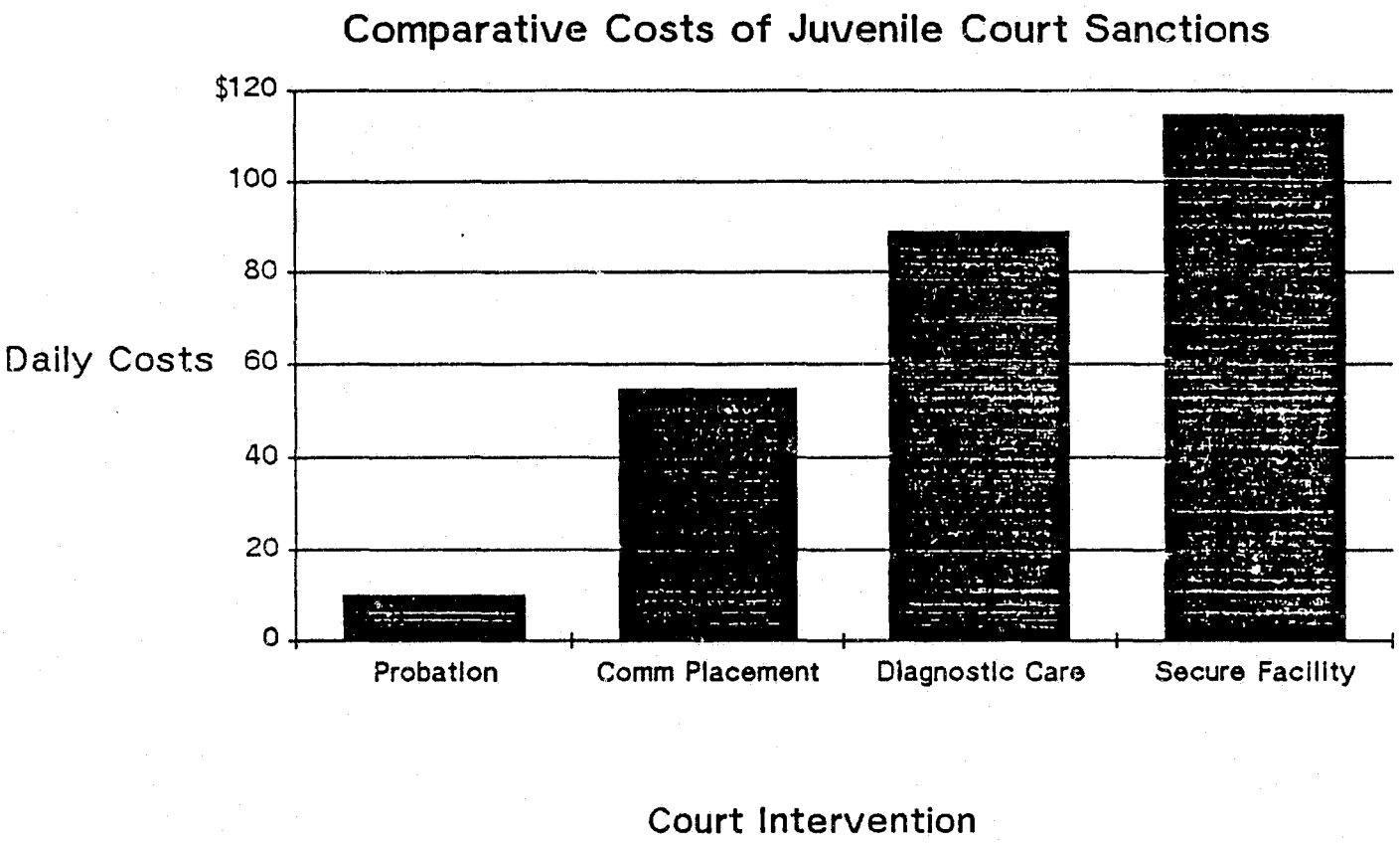
methodology. These daily cost figures are graphically displayed in Exhibit 6-2 along with the probation figure.

Clearly probation costs are substantially below Youth Corrections figures as one would expect given the type of supervision and absence of residential care provided to probationers. Within the Youth Corrections division itself, there are substantial differences between the community residential ($55) and the two forms of state confinement: diagnostic placement ($89) and secure placement ($115).

The secure confinement costs provide an opportunity to illustrate the fiscal implications of extending a policy of secure confinement to probationers and community placement cases as some might advocate. For purposes of this illustration we have used the number of admissions to probation and community placement which occurred during the 18 month sampling period and adjusted to reflect an annual admission number. We have also assumed that the period of confinement will be 270 days which mirrors the policy observed during the NCCD study.

The results of such a policy as shown in Exhibit 6-3 are rather dramatic in terms of their fiscal implications on state resources. The number of new beds that would have to be constructed would increase by 281 which is four times higher then the state's current bed total of 60. The 1983 construction costs for new security beds in Utah were $115,885 per bed. Even if one assumes there will be no financing charges associated with raising these constuction funds, Utah would have to finance an addition $32.5 million to build the

Exhibit 6-2


Comparative Costs of Juvenile Court Sanctions
Daily Costs
$120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Probation
Comm Placement
Diagnostic Care
Secure Facility
Court Intervention

281 beds. And, annual operating costs would increase by almost $10 million for each year that the extended use of confinement policy was in place. While such a policy would certainly prevent hundreds of crimes from being committed by youth who would be securely confined, these figures also dramatize the high cost of such a crime prevention policy on limited state resources.

Exhibit 6-3

Fiscal Implications of
Extending Secure Confinement
For Probationers and Community Placements

		Probation	Community Placement	Totals
A.	Annual Admissions	304	76	380
B.	Length of Stay	270 days	270 days	--
C.	Additional Beds Required	225 beds	56 beds	281
D.	Construction Costs (@ $115,885 per bed)	$26,047,125	$6,489,560	$32,563,685
E.	Operating Costs (@ $115 per day)	$ 9,439,200	$2,359,800	$11,799,000
F.	Current Costs	$ 820,800*	$1,128,600**	$ 1,949,400
G.	Difference (E-F)	+$ 8,618,400	+$1,231,200	+$ 9,849,600
H.	With Construction Costs (D+G)	$31,118,400	$6,831,200	$42,413,285

* @ $10 per day x 270 days
** @ $55 per day x 270 days

CHAPTER 7

POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR JUVENILE JUSTICE

A Court that Works

Overall, the NCCD study portrays a very complimentary view of the Second District Court. The findings support few of the popular criticisms of the juvenile court. For instance, judges in the Second District Court selected sanctions primarily based on the severity of the instant offense and the extensiveness of the youth's prior record. In this manner, the Second District Court managed to balance an appropriate concern for public safety with its commitment to providing services for troubled youth.

With few exceptions court placement decisions followed the specific policy direction set forth by the judges. In only a few cases did the court rely on Youth Corrections placements for relatively minor offenders who possessed severe drug and alcohol problems or who needed residential services.

For the most part, however, the court diverted minor offenders and status offenders to informal probation or employed fines and restitution to handle less serious offenders. Probation was reserved for those youth who had begun to escalate their involvement in serious property crimes. Placements with Youth Corrections were reserved for youth with extensive criminal histories of repetitive and serious property crimes, prior probation placements as well as youth engaging in violent behavior. The differences in those

sanctioned to probation and Youth Corrections were apparent in all the personal and legal factors of the clients.

Measures of self-reported delinquency revealed that Youth Corrections offenders were much more likely to be actively engaged in serious lawbreaking. Once youngsters were sentenced to Youth Corrections, a second round of placement decisions were made. Youth were assigned to various Youth Corrections programs based primarily on the severity of their current offense, the association of violence with their criminal behavior and the length of their prior records. Applying these public safety-oriented criteria Youth Corrections, with judicial concurrence, placed the vast majority of their clients in community-based programs. Thus, the Second District Court assigned youth to available sanctions, maximizing the use of the most restrictive and costly sanctions for those juveniles posing the greatest threat to public safety.

Previous juvenile court research has sometimes shown that court sanctioning decisions may be guided by arbitrary and even inappropriate criteria. For example, an earlier NCCD study of the Second District Court suggested that probation officers were "judge shopping" to attempt to influence dispositional decisions (NCCD, 1981). The question can be raised -- how is it that the Second District Court is able to effectively manage the assignment of offenders into various sanctioning alternatives? One potential explanation is that the court devotes considerable resources to thorough intake screening and regularly collects extensive client data prior to court decisions. Further, the court benefits from a sophisticated

automated information system that allows easy access to the complete criminal histories of each offender. In addition, the court and the Youth Corrections employ an advisory system of dispositional guidelines that is usually followed by most judges. The informal guidelines emphasize offense severity, chronicity and violence in determining appropriate sanctions. Taken together these factors help explain the positive results in terms of the Court's decision-making processes.

The Second District Court also received a favorable rating from youth who were sanctioned by the court and who were the direct recipients of its services. NCCD found that the vast majority of adjudicated offenders felt the Court was concerned about protecting their legal rights and that their judicial handling had been fair. The adjudicated youths also believed that court personnel were genuinely concerned for the youths' well-being and that court staff made reasonable efforts to learn about them and their families.

The Second District's clients believed that future delinquency would result in more severe sanctions and did not believe that the court was overly lenient with them. While somewhat skeptical that court services would substantially improve their lives, the youths felt court staff members were very concerned for their future welfare. These client attitudes are quite encouraging in light of often heard criticisms that juvenile courts are either (1) insensitive to the needs of their clients, (2) not fully committed to legal rights of children, or (3) overly lenient and easily manipulated by hardened juvenile offenders.

All juvenile courts may not receive the same level of positive feedback from their clients. The Second District Juvenile Court enjoys several advantages that may have produced these outcomes. The high caliber and extensive professional backgrounds of judges appointed to the Second District Court may contribute to these results. Utah has full-time juvenile court judges who are not routinely rotated to other courts.

Moreover, the Utah Juvenile Court enjoys a high level of respect within the judiciary. For example, the newly established Utah Court of Appeals will be headed by the former presiding judge of the Second District Juvenile Court. Judges from the Second District Juvenile Court actively participate with judges from other judicial districts in formulating statewide juvenile justice policy. Second District Court judges traditionally have been very active in national associations on juvenile justice matters and the organization of court operations reflects great knowledge about research and programmatic developments around the country.

The Limits of Probation Intervention on Delinquent Careers

In view of the commendable efforts of the Second District Juvenile Court it is fair to ask whether its policies and programs exerted a measurable impact on juvenile offenders. This central policy question should be answered separately for those youth placed on probation versus those sent to Youth Corrections. These youth differed markedly in their criminal histories and personal factors and received very different types of correctional intervention.

The NCCD study showed that probation was generally reserved for youth committing serious property crimes who had been to court several times before the instant offense. Before the commencement of the NCCD study these youth received various levels of supervision and treatment services based upon clinical judgments made by probation officers. The dominant services provided were various types of counseling supplemented with recreational services for selected youth. Supervision and services were delivered by probation staff themselves who saw their clients about once a week. Second District Court officials estimate that probation services cost about $10 per day.

The NCCD study changed this approach to probation in two important ways: (1) assignment of clients to different levels of probation supervision and services was accomplished via random assignment rather than clinical judgments and (2) the study created a level of intensive probation (defined as at least two face-to face contacts each week) that was greater than was previously the case in the Second District. Indeed, offenders who were removed from the randomization design due to their perceived special treatment needs, received half the weekly probation contacts as the intensive group. Further, the Second District probation staff quickly reduced their level of contact with youth once they were free to change supervision levels. This suggests that intensive probation services were not a regular feature of the Second District's sanctioning tools prior to the NCCD study. Our research also indicated that

implementing intensive probation services may require changes in organizational strategies for many juvenile probation departments.

The impact results obtained from the experimental probation groups revealed that large proportions of the probationers were rearrested during the 12-month follow-up period and the probation sanction produced virtually no change in their rate of offending.

Another key finding was that the three experimental probation groups were not significantly different either in terms of the proportion rearrested or the change in their rate of offending. Levels of probation service appear to be less important than the formal step of placing a youth on probation. That these youth are "maturing out of delinquency" is an another plausible explanation of the study findings. Probation services, regardless of intensity, did not alter these youths' attitudes or related behavior patterns that are closely associated with delinquency. These findings suggest that simply investing in more intensive traditional probation services will produce only marginal returns in terms of reduced recidivism.

The Need for New Forms of Probation

Given these findings it is imperative that juvenile courts review the role of traditional probation services as an appropriate sanction for serious offenders and support field testing of new models of probation for serious and chronic offenders. For example, the NCCD study showed that objective risk factors could be identified for those youth most likely to fail on probation. The use of

improved risk screening to augment probation officers' clinical judgments could result in more rational allocation of existing probation resources. The study suggested that large numbers of probationers could be managed with minimal or summary forms of supervision. This would free up staff resources to concentrate very high levels of supervision and services on high risk offenders. Further, the data on risk factors point to programmatic options that should be built into specialized caseloads for chronic offenders. Two factors that consistently emerged in the risk analysis were the youth's involvement with drugs and alcohol and their employment status. Thus, specialized probation services might contract with other community agencies to provide high quality drug and alcohol treatment services and job training.

Traditional juvenile probation services in the Second District were not particularly individualized. Indeed, minimal attention was given to youth with severe drug and alcohol problems. Similarly, most probation counselling in the Second District did not effectively engage family members in their treatment plans. Probation staff focused upon satisfying court requirements (e.g., ensuring that restitution was paid to victims), but staff lacked unambiguous guidelines on how to evaluate the progress of their clients. These findings suggest that the Court must provide greater leadership in defining the goals of probation. Moreover, probation staff require more specific guidance on how to develop treatment plans and how to measure the impact of various supervision and service strategies (Petersilia et al., 1985).

The reforms outlined above might well improve the impact of probation without requiring large amounts of new resources. Efforts to streamline probation operations and to maximize the use of existing budget allocations are much needed. The required changes in juvenile probation should follow a careful period of demonstration and field testing of new approaches. While we do not recommend increasing the investment in conventional probation services, it would be equally unwise to reduce current levels of funding. It should be noted that most metropolitan courts have been unable to sustain the level of budgetary support observed in the Second District Court. However, a larger share of current probation resources should be devoted to examining innovative models of probation. It is possible that probation can exert a greater effect on reducing the recidivism of serious and chronic offenders, but our expectations should be modest.

Utah's Experiment With Community-Based Corrections for Chronic Offenders

In 1980 Utah embarked on a bold attempt to close its one training school and convert to a community-based model of juvenile corrections. Following the prototype of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services, Utah reduced the number of youth in secure beds from 350 to less than 60. The remaining youth were placed in community-based group homes or day treatment programs. Some youth are confined during a diagnostic evaluation that lasts an average of 60 days prior to entering community placements. Those

placed in secure confinement spend an average of 206 days in one of two 30-bed regional facilities. Upon release the youth sent to secure confinement often enter one of the community-based programs as part of their parole requirements.

Juveniles sentenced to Youth Corrections possessed extensive and serious criminal histories including many violent offenses. They received nearly twice the number of weekly face-to-face contacts as youth in the intensive probation group. Youth Corrections services often included short-term residential placements and highly individualized treatment services. Surveillance and services provided to offenders were delivered primarily by private vendors under contract with the Youth Corrections.

The recidivism data for the three Youth Corrections groups are extremely important for future juvenile court policy. Although a large proportion of these offenders were arrested within 12 months of their adjudication, there were large declines in the rate of offending for all three Youth Corrections groups. The 247 Youth Corrections offenders in the NCCD study accounted for 1,765 arrests in the 12-months previous to their commitment to the Division. While under Youth Corrections supervision in the community, these same youth accumulated 593 new arrests -- a drop of nearly 66 percent compared to the pre-Youth Corrections period. If one considers the total number of charges involved in these arrests, the results are even more impressive. These Youth Corrections youth were charged with 3,215 offenses in the year prior to their court adjudication as compared to 884 offenses in the post-adjudication

period. These findings indicate that Utah's policy of community-based corrections did not worsen public safety. Of course, some might assert that if Utah securely confined all these youth for the entire 12-month period they were supervised in community-based programs, the reduction in crime would have been even greater. While this argument is correct in the abstract, in practice it would have required massive additional expenditures for capital construction and for the operations budget of Youth Corrections. Considering that the vast majority of subsequent offenses committed by the Youth Corrections offenders youth were minor property crimes, these extravagant public expenditures do not seem warranted.

The observed dramatic declines in rates of offending may be partially attributed to maturation and to a natural decline that is predictable after very high rates of offending behavior, but these two explanations are not sufficient to explain the large suppression effects for all three Youth Corrections groups. Further, the NCCD research was unable to precisely measure the contributions of treatment or simple deterrence effects to the declining rates of offending. However, the recidivism data for Youth Corrections offenders strongly indicate that the imposition of appropriate community-based controls on highly active serious and chronic juvenile offenders is consistent with public protection goals. The well-structured community-based programs of Utah's Division of Youth Corrections may well constitute an important new range of dispositional options for handling serious and chronic juvenile offenders. The NCCD study provided some evidence that short periods of confinement were as

effective as long periods of confinement. The Utah community-based programs are considerably more expensive than traditional probation, but less costly than confining youth in training schools. Further research should replicate the Utah results by testing the impact of similar correctional interventions in other juvenile court jurisdictions.

Future Research Needs

This study demonstrates that rigorous research can be conducted on the core operations of the juvenile court. The results provide new insights into how court services are organized and, most importantly, the impact of these services on reducing juvenile crime.

While the findings of this research ought to be carefully reviewed by all those interested in the juvenile court, it is crucial to remember that the NCCD study focuses on only one court. It is strongly recommended that the NCCD study be replicated in other jurisdictions. These studies should strive to implement random assignment of youth into various dispositional groups as classic experimental designs are the most powerful tools for testing policy options.

Future replications of the Second District study should address the impact of sanctions not examined in the NCCD effort. For example, it is important to test the efficacy of restitution and community service for serious and chronic juvenile offenders. In the present study our sample size did not permit rigorous testing of the most effective programs for young female offenders, however in

larger metropolitan courts it should be possible to separately analyze the results for females and males. Another consideration for replication should be court locales servicing higher proportions of minority youth than the Second District Court. It is also important to examine the results of different court sanctions in those jurisdictions less oriented toward the juvenile court's traditional treatment philosophy and more oriented toward a just deserts or "individual accountability" model of juvenile justice. New models of juvenile probation should be a priority for testing as indicated by the current study's findings on the impact of conventional probation approaches.

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APPENDIX A

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN	SUM	VARIANCE
SAMPLE=INFORMAL PROB									
M1	MONTH1	87	0.16091954	0.64472030	0	4.00000000	0.06912127	14.00000000	0.41566426
M2	MONTH2	87	0.14942529	0.61999129	0	5.00000000	0.06647004	13.00000000	0.38438920
M3	MONTH3	87	0.20689655	0.53129791	0	2.00000000	0.05696111	18.00000000	0.28227747
M4	MONTH4	87	0.12643678	0.45250203	0	3.00000000	0.04851331	11.00000000	0.20475809
M5	MONTH5	87	0.14942529	0.70757916	0	6.00000000	0.07586045	13.00000000	0.50066827
M6	MONTH6	87	0.27586207	1.00798735	0	7.00000000	0.10806759	24.00000000	1.01603849
M7	MONTH7	87	0.18390805	0.65643037	0	4.00000000	0.07037672	16.00000000	0.43090083
M8	MONTH8	87	0.18390805	0.61999129	0	3.00000000	0.06647004	16.00000000	0.38438920
M9	MONTH9	87	0.14942529	0.47074250	0	3.00000000	0.05046889	13.00000000	0.22159850
M10	MONTH10	87	0.14942529	0.84259753	0	6.00000000	0.09033594	13.00000000	0.70997060
M11	MONTH11	87	0.19540230	0.84686948	0	7.00000000	0.09079394	17.00000000	0.71718792
M12	MONTH12	87	0.04597701	0.26005572	0	2.00000000	0.02788090	4.00000000	0.06762898
SAMPLE=PROB									
M1	MONTH1	446	0.30044843	0.84499838	0	7.00000000	0.04001183	134.0000000	0.71402227
M2	MONTH2	446	0.36547085	1.00719686	0	10.00000000	0.04769215	163.0000000	1.01444551
M3	MONTH3	446	0.33856502	0.80709868	0	6.00000000	0.03821723	151.0000000	0.65140827
M4	MONTH4	446	0.35650224	1.15371032	0	18.00000000	0.05462977	159.0000000	1.33104751
M5	MONTH5	446	0.28251121	0.74412091	0	6.00000000	0.03523515	126.0000000	0.55371593
M6	MONTH6	446	0.29147982	0.74668951	0	5.00000000	0.03535677	130.0000000	0.55754522
M7	MONTH7	446	0.26008969	0.78730032	0	6.00000000	0.03727975	116.0000000	0.61984179
M8	MONTH8	446	0.28923767	0.93579065	0	8.00000000	0.04431097	129.0000000	0.87570414
M9	MONTH9	446	0.23542601	0.76771991	0	8.00000000	0.03635259	105.0000000	0.58939386
M10	MONTH10	446	0.21524664	0.65572042	0	4.00000000	0.03104926	96.0000000	0.42996926
M11	MONTH11	446	0.23542601	0.82690742	0	8.00000000	0.03915520	105.0000000	0.68377589
M12	MONTH12	446	0.19058296	0.74471991	0	6.00000000	0.03526351	85.0000000	0.55460775
SAMPLE=YC DIAGNOSTIC									
M1	MONTH1	112	0.13392857	0.56145781	0	4.00000000	0.05305278	15.00000000	0.31523488
M2	MONTH2	112	0.31250000	0.93028379	0	6.00000000	0.08790356	35.00000000	0.86542793
M3	MONTH3	112	0.23214286	0.69725514	0	4.00000000	0.06588442	26.00000000	0.48616474
M4	MONTH4	112	0.49107143	1.30829327	0	7.00000000	0.12362209	55.00000000	1.71163127
M5	MONTH5	112	0.43750000	1.15299258	0	9.00000000	0.10894756	49.00000000	1.32939189
M6	MONTH6	112	0.30357143	0.87856646	0	5.00000000	0.08301673	34.00000000	0.77187902
M7	MONTH7	112	0.24107143	0.81920128	0	7.00000000	0.07740724	27.00000000	0.67109073
M8	MONTH8	112	0.28571429	0.90472804	0	6.00000000	0.08548876	32.00000000	0.81853282
M9	MONTH9	112	0.25000000	0.81096095	0	5.00000000	0.07662861	28.00000000	0.65765766
M10	MONTH10	112	0.21428571	0.59166236	0	4.00000000	0.05590684	24.00000000	0.35006435
M11	MONTH11	112	0.25892857	1.19868949	0	9.00000000	0.11326551	29.00000000	1.43685650
M12	MONTH12	112	0.13392857	0.51105853	0	4.00000000	0.04829049	15.00000000	0.26118082

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN	SUM	VARIANCE
SAMPLE=YC COMM PLACMT									
M1	MONTH1	67	0.34328358	0.74979267	0	4.00000000	0.09160175	23.00000000	0.56218905
M2	MONTH2	67	0.31343284	0.82036495	0	4.00000000	0.10022353	21.00000000	0.67299864
M3	MONTH3	67	0.40298507	1.45705911	0	11.00000000	0.17800810	27.00000000	2.12302126
M4	MONTH4	67	0.34328358	0.86255854	0	4.00000000	0.10537830	23.00000000	0.74400724
M5	MONTH5	67	0.32835821	0.80506088	0	4.00000000	0.09835384	22.00000000	0.64812302
M6	MONTH6	67	0.31343284	0.95677734	0	5.00000000	0.11688896	21.00000000	0.91542289
M7	MONTH7	67	0.23880597	0.62980402	0	3.00000000	0.07694281	16.00000000	0.39665310
M8	MONTH8	67	0.25373134	0.78515167	0	4.00000000	0.09592154	17.00000000	0.61646314
M9	MONTH9	67	0.49253731	1.21072398	0	6.00000000	0.14791348	33.00000000	1.46585256
M10	MONTH10	67	0.25373134	1.29501707	0	10.00000000	0.15821152	17.00000000	1.67706920
M11	MONTH11	67	0.17910448	0.62584181	0	4.00000000	0.07645875	12.00000000	0.39167797
M12	MONTH12	67	0.34328358	1.33203238	0	9.00000000	0.16273366	23.00000000	1.77431027
SAMPLE=YC SECURE									
M1	MONTH1	70	0.35714286	1.03609795	0	5.00000000	0.12383739	25.00000000	1.07349896
M2	MONTH2	70	0.35714286	0.96362411	0	5.00000000	0.11517511	25.00000000	0.92857143
M3	MONTH3	70	0.21428571	0.69974855	0	3.00000000	0.08363595	15.00000000	0.48964803
M4	MONTH4	70	0.42857143	0.97164776	0	5.00000000	0.11613412	30.00000000	0.94409938
M5	MONTH5	70	0.45714286	1.00268790	0	4.00000000	0.11984413	32.00000000	1.00538302
M6	MONTH6	70	0.35714286	0.93305971	0	5.00000000	0.11152197	25.00000000	0.87060041
M7	MONTH7	70	0.35714286	0.81713026	0	3.00000000	0.09766575	25.00000000	0.66770186
M8	MONTH8	70	0.45714286	1.39029466	0	9.00000000	0.16617200	32.00000000	1.93291925
M9	MONTH9	70	0.25714286	0.60638425	0	2.00000000	0.07247678	18.00000000	0.36770186
M10	MONTH10	70	0.30000000	1.02646149	0	6.00000000	0.12268561	21.00000000	1.05362319
M11	MONTH11	70	0.22857143	0.93516531	0	6.00000000	0.11177363	16.00000000	0.87453416
M12	MONTH12	70	0.22857143	0.72574656	0	4.00000000	0.08674331	16.00000000	0.52670807

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN	SUM	VARIANCE
SAMPLE=9									
M1	MONTH1	87	0.04597701	0.21064938	0	1.00000000	0.02258398	4.00000000	0.04437316
M2	MONTH2	87	0.12643678	0.42603083	0	2.00000000	0.04567530	11.00000000	0.18150227
M3	MONTH3	87	0.16091954	0.56801497	0	3.00000000	0.06089760	14.00000000	0.32264101
M4	MONTH4	87	0.10344828	0.40446585	0	3.00000000	0.04336329	9.00000000	0.16359262
M5	MONTH5	87	0.12643678	0.42603083	0	2.00000000	0.04567530	11.00000000	0.18150227
M6	MONTH6	87	0.12643678	0.45250203	0	3.00000000	0.04851331	11.00000000	0.20475809
M7	MONTH7	87	0.18390805	0.56091154	0	3.00000000	0.06013603	16.00000000	0.31462176
M8	MONTH8	87	0.18390805	0.56091154	0	3.00000000	0.06013603	16.00000000	0.31462176
M9	MONTH9	87	0.45977011	0.88665294	0	4.00000000	0.09505917	40.00000000	0.78615343
M10	MONTH10	87	0.72413793	1.14820036	0	5.00000000	0.12310000	63.00000000	1.31836407
M11	MONTH11	87	0.65517241	0.98627307	0	4.00000000	0.10573957	57.00000000	0.97273456
M12	MONTH12	87	0.47126437	1.03248493	0	5.00000000	0.11069400	41.00000000	1.06602513
SAMPLE=15									
M1	MONTH1	446	0.14798206	0.45526430	0	3.00000000	0.02155739	66.0000000	0.20726558
M2	MONTH2	446	0.17040359	0.66880629	0	7.00000000	0.03166890	76.0000000	0.44730186
M3	MONTH3	446	0.16143498	0.65062922	0	9.00000000	0.03080819	72.0000000	0.42331839
M4	MONTH4	446	0.17713004	0.54670972	0	4.00000000	0.02588746	79.0000000	0.29889152
M5	MONTH5	446	0.31165919	0.89402432	0	11.00000000	0.04233328	139.0000000	0.79927949
M6	MONTH6	446	0.39461883	1.10417704	0	11.00000000	0.05228430	176.0000000	1.21920693
M7	MONTH7	446	0.29820628	0.86549144	0	8.00000000	0.04098221	133.0000000	0.74907543
M8	MONTH8	446	0.47982063	1.60288952	0	29.00000000	0.07589902	214.0000000	2.56925480
M9	MONTH9	446	0.87219731	2.88728917	0	32.00000000	0.13671710	389.0000000	8.33643876
M10	MONTH10	446	0.93721973	1.59651457	0	12.00000000	0.07559716	418.0000000	2.54885877
M11	MONTH11	446	0.93721973	1.46589862	0	10.00000000	0.06941231	418.0000000	2.14885877
M12	MONTH12	446	0.86547085	1.54623737	0	9.00000000	0.07321646	386.0000000	2.39085000
SAMPLE=20									
M1	MONTH1	112	0.44642857	1.19185891	0	8.00000000	0.11262008	50.0000000	1.42052767
M2	MONTH2	112	1.14285714	7.48434660	0	79.00000000	0.70720428	128.0000000	56.01544402
M3	MONTH3	112	0.52678571	1.12273653	0	5.00000000	0.10608863	59.0000000	1.26053732
M4	MONTH4	112	0.58035714	1.44968709	0	10.00000000	0.13698255	65.0000000	2.10159266
M5	MONTH5	112	0.71428571	2.31496725	0	21.00000000	0.21874384	80.0000000	5.35907336
M6	MONTH6	112	0.64285714	1.15358542	0	7.00000000	0.10900358	72.0000000	1.33075933
M7	MONTH7	112	0.85714286	1.40049633	0	6.00000000	0.13233446	96.0000000	1.96138996
M8	MONTH8	112	1.48214286	3.70532158	0	32.00000000	0.35011998	166.0000000	13.72940798
M9	MONTH9	112	0.94642857	1.72339120	0	12.00000000	0.16284516	106.0000000	2.97007722
M10	MONTH10	112	1.43750000	2.31633934	0	11.00000000	0.21887349	161.0000000	5.36542793
M11	MONTH11	112	1.06250000	1.93256237	0	14.00000000	0.18260998	119.0000000	3.73479730
M12	MONTH12	112	2.14285714	6.34568328	0	64.00000000	0.59961071	240.0000000	40.26769627

VARIABLE	LABEL	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE	STD ERROR OF MEAN	SUM	VARIANCE
SAMPLE=21									
M1	MONTH1	67	0.52238806	1.06398634	0	4.00000000	0.12998662	35.0000000	1.13206694
M2	MONTH2	67	0.44776119	1.29431838	0	8.00000000	0.15812616	30.0000000	1.67526006
M3	MONTH3	67	0.40298507	1.08794638	0	6.00000000	0.13291380	27.0000000	1.18362732
M4	MONTH4	67	0.55223881	1.13195436	0	6.00000000	0.13829023	37.0000000	1.28132067
M5	MONTH5	67	0.46268657	1.45985012	0	11.00000000	0.17834908	31.0000000	2.13116237
M6	MONTH6	67	0.41791045	1.03205082	0	5.00000000	0.12608508	28.0000000	1.06512890
M7	MONTH7	67	0.71641791	1.31201869	0	4.00000000	0.16028859	48.0000000	1.72139303
M8	MONTH8	67	0.68656716	2.21023072	0	17.00000000	0.27002266	46.0000000	4.88511986
M9	MONTH9	67	0.88059701	1.81343795	0	9.00000000	0.22154671	59.0000000	3.28855721
M10	MONTH10	67	0.94029851	1.97622687	0	10.00000000	0.24143454	63.0000000	3.90547264
M11	MONTH11	67	1.58208955	2.18915546	0	10.00000000	0.26744791	106.0000000	4.79240163
M12	MONTH12	67	1.77611940	1.96808548	0	8.00000000	0.24043991	119.0000000	3.87336047
SAMPLE=22									
M1	MONTH1	70	0.50000000	1.43203514	0	10.00000000	0.17116094	35.0000000	2.05072464
M2	MONTH2	70	1.00000000	1.57884566	0	8.00000000	0.18870815	70.0000000	2.49275362
M3	MONTH3	70	0.61428571	1.28866696	0	7.00000000	0.15402516	43.0000000	1.66066253
M4	MONTH4	70	0.60000000	1.31215057	0	8.00000000	0.15683199	42.0000000	1.72173913
M5	MONTH5	70	0.65714286	2.21251850	0	17.00000000	0.26444654	46.0000000	4.89523810
M6	MONTH6	70	0.64285714	1.19219338	0	6.00000000	0.14249436	45.0000000	1.42132505
M7	MONTH7	70	0.78571429	2.09825916	0	12.00000000	0.25078994	55.0000000	4.40269151
M8	MONTH8	70	1.04285714	2.39828268	0	14.00000000	0.28664961	73.0000000	5.75175983
M9	MONTH9	70	0.81428571	1.67065775	0	8.00000000	0.19968179	57.0000000	2.79109731
M10	MONTH10	70	1.22857143	2.18805339	0	10.00000000	0.26152240	86.0000000	4.78757764
M11	MONTH11	70	1.92857143	2.78360328	0	16.00000000	0.33270423	135.0000000	7.74844720
M12	MONTH12	70	2.80000000	4.17237290	0	21.00000000	0.49869395	196.0000000	17.40869565