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Philadelphia  
Intensive Aftercare  
Probation Evaluation Project

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## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE STUDY FINDINGS

### Background

- o The Intensive Aftercare Probation Program of Philadelphia Family Court was evaluated using an experimental design. The sample consisted of 90 juveniles who were released from the Bensalem Youth Development Center between December 1988 and January 1990.
- o Intensive aftercare caseloads were limited to a maximum of 12 clients. Program standards mandated at least one face-to-face contact per month during the period of incarceration and at least three face-to-face contacts per week after release. Control group probation officers carried caseloads of approximately 90 clients and contacts were made at the probation officer's discretion.
- o Juveniles in the study had on average 5.1 arrests, 2.7 convictions and 1.2 placements prior to their commitment to Bensalem. Subjects averaged 17 years of age at the time of their commitment to Bensalem and remained in placement for an average of 10.8 months.
- o The intensive aftercare program was successfully implemented by the court with strong support from the judiciary. The program went through three stages of development and may now be considered institutionalized in terms of norms, policies and practices.

### Level of Service Delivered

- o Intensive aftercare probation officers had face-to-face contact with their clients about ten times as often as control group probation officers. Contacts with clients' families and with other significant individuals followed the same pattern.
- o Juveniles assigned to intensive aftercare were more likely to leave residential placement with firm work and/or school plans in place than were juveniles assigned to the control group.
- o Once in the community, intensive aftercare clients were more cooperative with their probation officers and experienced fewer family- and school-related problems than control group clients.

### Recidivism

- o Only 50 percent of the juveniles assigned to intensive aftercare were rearrested, compared to 64 percent of the control subjects. The seriousness of new offenses was comparable for both groups.
- o Juveniles assigned to the control group accounted for twice as many new arrests and six times as many convictions and incarcerations as juveniles assigned to intensive aftercare probation.
- o The success of the intensive aftercare program is attributed to effective risk management practiced by probation officers, who responded quickly and selectively to initial signs of "relapse."

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The major purpose of the correctional branch of the juvenile justice system is to reduce the likelihood that juvenile offenders will continue to engage in criminal behavior once "treated" by the system. This is an especially pressing concern in the case of serious, high risk, juvenile offenders, who have a history of committing multiple offenses which would be considered felonies if they were adjudicated in the adult system.

Numerous types of institutional programs to reduce serious juvenile criminality have been attempted; they have focused on a plethora of concerns, including juveniles' needs for vocational training, education, control of chemical dependency, improvement in self-esteem, development of self-reliance through wilderness experiences, and the like. The effectiveness of these residential programs has been subject to scrutiny by researchers, who have, in general, found few differences among them in their abilities to reduce recidivism among juvenile releasees.

In recent years, juvenile justice practitioners and researchers have increasingly recognized the importance of the context within which the juvenile returns to the community as an important influence on his or her likelihood to return to crime. This stands to reason, as the impact of one's institutional experience on one's post-release behavior is certain to be less salient than the impact of one's immediate environmental context. Whether a juvenile releasee is enrolled in school or not, has a job or not, is relating well to family or not, is involved in illicit substances or not--these are the

factors which may be most critical in determining whether that individual will be motivated to reengage in criminal activity.

One of the most direct means by which the juvenile justice system can influence the post-release environment of juveniles released from placement is through aftercare supervision by local juvenile probation departments. Probation officers are in an excellent position to encourage juveniles to remain in school or work, to counsel them and their families, and to make referrals to other agencies for needed services. However, with caseloads of up to 100 probationers each, little of substance can be expected to occur between the regular probation officer and his or her released client.

There is greater promise in the notion of intensive probation, in which a probation officer is assigned a small number of cases and is expected to deliver specified services on a frequent basis to the releasee and his or her family. If the probation officer has adequate time both to establish a personal relationship with the releasee and to monitor his or her behavior, the juvenile's chances of remaining crime-free may increase.

Intensive probation was initially conceptualized as an alternative to institutionalization and was primarily used with adult populations in its early stages. More recently, the concept has been applied to juvenile offender populations, with promising results. Moreover, it has been extended from a modality intended as an alternative to imprisonment to one which operates in conjunction with institutional placement. Specifically, offenders assigned to intensive aftercare probation (IAP) are released from institutional placement to probation supervision which involves intensive pre-release planning, probation officer involvement with the offender's family and

significant others, and increased contacts with the offender compared to so-called "regular" probation. This modality has been found to provide significant protection to the public while providing offenders with opportunities to remain in the community.

One such program was developed by the Juvenile Probation Department of the Family Court of Philadelphia in conjunction with a 1988 proposal by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission of Pennsylvania for the establishment of intensive aftercare programs in selected counties. Funding for this effort brought with it the opportunity for the present investigators to develop a research design which would allow for powerful tests of the effectiveness of the pilot program. Thus, simultaneously with the implementation of the intensive aftercare program, an evaluation study was undertaken. This document reviews the development, implementation and evaluation of the intensive aftercare program for serious, habitual or violent male juvenile offenders in Philadelphia who are committed to the Youth Development Center at Bensalem.

#### The Development of the Pilot Program

In 1987 the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission of Pennsylvania submitted a proposal for an Intensive Aftercare pilot program to be implemented in the counties of Allegheny and Philadelphia. Numerous counties in the state had encountered considerable success with aftercare programs in preceding years,<sup>1</sup> and these programs were thought to be effective in maintaining recidivism rates at levels lower than would otherwise be expected. While the designs of the evaluations of these programs did not allow for conclusive tests, for example for comparisons of similarly situated offenders exposed and not exposed to

the programs, their results were compelling enough to stimulate interest in disseminating the programs to counties which did not yet have them. Personnel at the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission who were instrumental in the development of the funding proposal anticipated substantial cost savings through such a pilot program. The anticipated savings were to come primarily from projected reductions in recidivism, thereby reducing costs to counties for reincarcerating offenders who had participated in the program. In addition, savings were expected because offenders targeted for the program while in placement were anticipated to have somewhat shortened institutional stays.

In conceptualizing this pilot program, attention was focused upon the segment of the juvenile offender population which was most serious, habitual, and violent, including youths who had been adjudicated for robbery, multiple burglaries, forcible sexual offenses, and aggravated assault. While these youths are likely to experience time in institutional placement, it was felt that "current aftercare programs are not adequately servicing this class of offender" (Anderson, 1987). Targeting this type of offender was also justified by the results of an earlier study sponsored by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission (Goodstein and Sontheimer, 1987), which concluded that various types of institutional placement could not be differentiated from one another with respect to their effectiveness in reducing recidivism among serious juvenile offenders. The authors of this study suggested that emphasis be placed on impacting on juvenile offenders at the point as close to their opportunity for reoffending as possible, i.e. during the aftercare period.

In 1988 the Commonwealth awarded the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission \$250,000 to implement the pilot Intensive Aftercare program

in Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties. Commission analyses of 1986 data indicated that Philadelphia and Allegheny counties had disposed of 523 and 133 juvenile offenders, respectively, who would be classified as habitually serious and violent (Anderson, 1987). The quantity of potential service recipients in each of these counties significantly superseded any other county in Pennsylvania by multiples of at least three.

The funds were to be used for the establishment of new Intensive Aftercare units in each county and for the hiring of a total of eight new probation officers (five in Philadelphia, three in Allegheny) to staff the units. Start-up work began on the program on which this evaluation is based, the Philadelphia Intensive Aftercare Unit, in the fall of 1988 and the full complement of probation officers was operational by February, 1989.

#### The Mission and Objectives of the Intensive Aftercare Program

Relatively little documentation exists concerning the mission, objectives and treatment philosophy of the IAP. When the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission (JCJC) contracted with Philadelphia County to administer the program, it presented the Probation Office with guidelines relating to the types of juveniles eligible for services (revised in January, 1989) and the operational responsibilities of the IAP probation officers in delivering these services (Guidelines Governing Philadelphia County Intensive Aftercare, 1988). This is the only document which defines the nature of the pilot program.

Initially, the criteria for admission to the Intensive Aftercare Program were operationalized to be consistent with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's conceptualization of

serious habitual and violent juvenile offenders (JCJC Quarterly Meeting minutes, 1988). These criteria required that for admission to the program, juveniles must have offense histories which match one of the following categories:

1. Three prior adjudications for any of the following offenses: aggregated assault, arson, burglary, involuntary deviate sexual intercourse, rape, or robbery.
2. One adjudication for aggravated assault, arson, burglary, involuntary deviate sexual intercourse, rape or robbery and five pending charges for any of the aforementioned offenses.
3. One prior adjudication for the sale of narcotics and a pending charge for the sale of narcotics.

Upon attempting to identify juveniles for admission to the IAP, it became clear that there would not be an adequate supply of offenders who conformed to the above mentioned criteria to fill the case-loads of the five probation officers who were to be hired to work in the program. This was not to imply that juvenile offenders in Philadelphia were less criminally active than originally assumed by the JCJC. On the contrary, it appeared that the Philadelphia County juvenile courts suffered from such extreme overloads that severe backlogs were standard. Since it apparently was common for arrests never to reach the disposition stage, many offenders who had been arrested multiple times for serious offenses may not ever have received dispositions for these arrests.

To compensate for this problem, alterations in the criteria were made, reducing the seriousness of the criminal history necessary for

program eligibility. The final criteria employed by the Philadelphia County IAP required conformity to one of the following:

1. Adjudicated delinquent for one of the following acts: aggravated assault, rape, involuntary deviate sexual intercourse, arson, or robbery; or adjudicated delinquent for burglary with one prior adjudication for any of the aforementioned offenses.
2. Adjudicated delinquent for a felony level narcotics offense.

While the revised criteria appear to allow a much less criminally experienced offender into the program, study findings to be discussed later in this report confirm that the vast majority of the offenders accepted in the IAP had extensive records of arrests for offenses which would have been considered violent felonies had they been committed by adults.

Few guidelines were provided to probation officers with respect to the philosophy or mission of the program. The program was not defined, for example, as emphasizing a social control or rehabilitative perspective. No effort was expended to articulate whether the emphasis of the program would be on enhancing family ties and pro-social relationships, facilitating educational or vocational growth, increasing probationers' perceptions of accountability through surveillance, or on some other combination of principles assumed to reduce criminality. Rather, the designers of the IAP guidelines provided probation officers with specific behavioral objectives which they were expected to meet in the course of supervising their specified number of probationers. What follows are the major elements of the program with respect to the nature of service delivery.

1. Caseload Size. IAP officers are restricted to a caseload size of no more than twelve offenders. Compared to the "regular" aftercare caseload size for Philadelphia County of between 70 to 120 cases per officer, this guideline obviously provides opportunities to IAP officers to practice a significantly different style of probation supervision.

2. Institutional Supervision. IAP officers are expected to assume supervision of probationers immediately following disposition, at entry to placement. They are expected to prepare a written plan for treatment for presentation at the facility's initial treatment planning staffing, to be completed no more than thirty days after the placement decision is made. While the juvenile is in placement, the IAP officer is required to make monthly visits to: (1) the juvenile and appropriate program staff at the placement facility; and (2) the parent(s)/guardians. During this time the IAP officer is expected to work with the juvenile and his family to initiate and implement aftercare planning. The officer is also expected to insure that the placement facility "provides a written treatment plan within forty-five days after the juvenile enters placement and written monthly or quarterly progress reports thereafter".

3. Aftercare Planning. The IAP officer is expected to develop a written post-release plan prior to the juvenile's release from placement.

4. Post-Release Supervision. The frequency of the IAP officer's contacts with the juvenile and significant others increases significantly after the juvenile is released from placement. For the first six weeks, guidelines require that

the IAP officer make at least three face-to-face contacts per week with the juvenile. Satisfactory adjustment may result in a reduction of face-to-face contacts to two per week after six weeks and one per week after twelve weeks.

In addition to contacts with the juvenile, the IAP officer must maintain contact with the juvenile's parents or guardians at least once per week throughout the course of supervision. One collateral contact, with school authorities, employer, or other significant others, must be made at least once every other week throughout the course of supervision.

IAP officers must make a minimum of thirty percent of their contacts with their juveniles on post-placement supervision during so-called "non-traditional" hours, worked "outside normal probation office hours."

Probation officers assigned to the IAP unit were given these guidelines to follow in implementing this new program. By their nature, the guidelines facilitated certain types of work which "regular" aftercare probation officers in Philadelphia County were unable, or unwilling, to perform. In addition, over time, certain norms developed among IAP officers which guided the nature of the services they delivered. Finally, the leadership of certain key actors, most notably one of the Juvenile Court judges in Philadelphia County who developed a particular interest in the Intensive Aftercare Program, and a program supervisor who was to assume the position after the program was launched, has significantly shaped the IAP's philosophy and direction. In the following chapter we describe the development of the Intensive Aftercare Program in Philadelphia, focusing upon the evolution of its philosophy, the impact of various personnel changes

on the program, and changes over time in the strategies employed by the IAP officers.

#### ENDNOTES

(1) The Juvenile Court Judges' Commission compiles annual data on the proportion of clients readjudicated as juveniles or reconvicted as adults for all intensive probation and aftercare probation programs in Pennsylvania. According to figures supplied by the JCJC, the recidivism rates for intensive probation during the period 1985-1989 ranged from 7.3 to 9.7 percent. The recidivism rates for aftercare probation during the same period ranged from 12.3 to 19.5 percent. The figures are based on follow-up periods of approximately one year.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONTEXTUAL EFFECTS SURROUNDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTENSIVE AFTERCARE PROGRAM

#### Introduction

In evaluation studies involving classic experimental research designs, the ideal model demands that researchers retain complete control over the implementation of the treatment, or program, being evaluated. In the most ideal world of the evaluation researcher, there would be no persons who were supposed to receive the program but who, for one reason or another, did not; the program would be delivered exactly as it had been designed; there would be no changes in methods of program delivery over the course of the study. While these objectives may provide for the optimal research study, they are rarely if ever met in practice. Evaluation researchers are generally confronted with several obstacles in the implementation of the program to be studied, as well as in the progression of the research itself, which fall short of the classical experimental model.

What is important in presenting the findings of an evaluation research study is to acknowledge the context in which the program being evaluated was implemented. This is the objective of Chapter 2. We will review the process of implementation of the Intensive After-care Program over the course of its first seventeen months of existence, highlighting some of the issues which we view as central to understanding the impact of the program. We will review changes in the nature of service delivery and the type of leadership provided by the Juvenile Court and program supervisors over time. In addition, we will examine changes in the cultures of both the probationers and the

program staff over time, commenting on the process of perceptual changes among both groups concerning the philosophy and practice of the IAP. Over time, both groups appeared to view the IAP as more and more distinct from conventional probation; after 16 months it has begun to acquire a unique identity.

This chapter is important to the evaluation process for two reasons. First, a careful description of how the program was implemented will be of assistance to a number of actors. Those who funded the program are concerned about whether it was implemented as intended; those who may wish to replicate the program in another jurisdiction desire to be aware of the possible pitfalls that they may then attempt to avoid; those who became more recently involved in the program may benefit from an historical overview. Second, the findings from the quantitative portion of the study may be more comprehensible from the perspective of a thorough grounding in the implementation process. Put another way, the changes which may have occurred within the process of delivery of the program over time may influence the study's results. Without knowledge of how the program was implemented over time, one's conclusions concerning the impact of the program may be at least biased and at most inaccurate.

#### Data Sources

Information for this chapter was obtained from a number of individuals. The principal investigator met several times with each of the two persons who have functioned as IAP supervisors over the course of the project. The research assistant responsible for collecting the various types of quantitative data included in the study design met with most of the IAP probation officers from time to time and, more

occasionally, with the project supervisors as well. The study consultant met with all IAP probation officers and the program supervisor in May of 1990 for personal interviews. The Philadelphia Juvenile Court judge who demonstrated the greatest interest and commitment to the program, Judge Abram Frank Reynolds, has been interviewed and consulted on several occasions by the principal investigator.

#### Program Overview

The time period being discussed in this chapter spans seventeen months, from January 1989 through May 1990, the first 17 months of the program's existence. For the evaluation study, the ability to initiate the research simultaneously with the initiation of the program itself provided significant benefits in increased researcher control over case assignment to treatment groups and in establishing norms for study data completion among the newly assigned IAP probation officers. On the other hand, this timing resulted in the fact that there were probably more transitions in the program during this first year and one half than would be expected in subsequent time periods of equal duration.

The JCJC guidelines specified the number of contacts required by IAP probation officers; however they did not specifically describe how those contacts were to be scheduled. More importantly, the guidelines provided little direction with regard to the overall philosophy of the program, other than to mandate increased contacts. Thus, probation officers, the program supervisor, and to an extent, participating Juvenile Court judges were faced with the challenge of developing norms for the program and influencing the perceptions of others that the IAP was something different than probation-as-usual.

The first 17 months of the IAP program can be conceptualized as having progressed through three stages, (1) start-up; (2) transition; and (3) institutionalization. In the following sections we will discuss these stages, with an eye to highlighting what we view are the critical issues in the development and articulation of the program over time. These issues relate to three areas: (1) leadership; (2) staffing and service delivery; and (3) client perceptions of the program, and in each section we will discuss these three areas as they reflect how the IAP was being implemented and operationalized.

### The Start-Up Phase

The start-up phase lasted approximately six months, from January 1989 through June 1989. In addition, planning for the establishment of the unit and for the evaluation study commenced in November 1988 and continued through December 1988.

#### Leadership

The start-up phase can be characterized by the leadership of two individuals, Probation Supervisor Brian Coen and Judge Abram Frank Reynolds. In the Fall of 1988 when the program was being conceptualized by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, Judge Reynolds was asked by the President Judge to take authority for the impending IAP. This program was viewed as providing the Philadelphia Probation Department with the opportunity to deal with some of its most serious cases in a more responsible and accountable manner than it was in a position to with its standard probationers. With standard caseloads of over 100, aftercare probation officers in the Community Related Institutional Probation (CRIP) unit had little opportunity to meet

with their aftercare probationers after their release from placement. The prospect of maintaining caseloads of 12, and mandating at least 3 face to face meetings per week between probation officer and probationer provided those involved in setting program philosophy with a chance to design a program which would have a real impact on the lives of the probationers.

Judge Reynolds was originally given authority over the program. He is known to be a charismatic individual who embodies a combination of toughness and caring in his dealings with probationers and probation officers. From the pre-implementation period in Fall of 1988, Judge Reynolds apparently had specific notions concerning the philosophy and mission of the program. He communicated these views to the evaluation researchers and the probation officers assigned to the IAP prior to its start-up in January, 1989.

Judge Reynolds also demonstrated his authority over the IAP program by giving permission to the evaluation research team to implement a study which would involve random assignment to groups. This technique, essential to a strong evaluation design, was to require considerable cooperation from all those involved in service delivery. The court was involved in assigning juveniles to IAP or regular probation, using lists prepared by the research team which had randomly assigned eligible juveniles either to receive the treatment or not. During the start-up phase, these lists were comprised of juveniles who were already confined to the Bensalem facility and who met the revised criteria for inclusion in the program. In later stages of the study, eligible cases were identified at commitment to Bensalem and were then assigned to either experimental or control.

Judge Reynolds' philosophy concerning the IAP involved an integration of two concepts which are generally considered to be independent and to some extent mutually exclusive: (1) counseling and supportive services and (2) surveillance and accountability. On the one hand, he appeared to view the IAP as a mechanism for insuring coercive control over its charges. Before the program was even implemented he indicated to the evaluation researchers and the probation officers identified for participation in the program that he viewed the probation officers' role as one of monitoring and surveillance. He also emphasized his willingness to deal sternly with intensive aftercare probationers who, in the probation officer's view, were not fulfilling the requirements of their probations. Specifically, he emphasized the importance of revoking the probations of non-cooperative probationers and returning them to placement. This strategy was a novel one for this jurisdiction, where most aftercare probationers were not followed closely enough for probationer officers to determine whether they were or were not fulfilling the obligations of probation.

On the other hand, Judge Reynolds emphasized the importance of the development of a personal relationship between probationer and officer. Moreover, he viewed the court as a third element in a triangle of relationships--among the probationer, probation officer and the court--which theoretically would provide the probationer with a sense that others were concerned with his behavior and would attempt to assist him in his efforts for self improvement. Later characterizing these relationships as "personal, hands on, and regular," Judge Reynolds emphasized the importance of a close relationship between the juvenile and probation officer in which the officer would be involved in the life of the probationer on a regular basis. He acknowledged

that juveniles on probation, even those habitual and serious offenders who were targeted for this program, were not beyond help; they simply had not received much but were likely to respond to it if offered.

Whereas in many contexts the function of monitoring and surveillance would be incompatible with an emphasis on relationship building, in Judge Reynolds' vision these elements complemented each other. He maintained that through the development of a close relationship and frequent interactions between probation officer and probationer, the probation officer would be in a better position to maintain higher expectations for the juvenile's conduct than was normally the case. Indeed, with the requirement that the officer maintain several contacts with the juvenile per week, the probation officer would be in the position to specify his or her expectations for the juvenile and to follow up in determining whether the expectations had been met.

Judge Reynolds also specified an active role of the court in the Intensive Aftercare Project. It was his opinion that for this program to work successfully, the court had to be not only involved on a regular basis with the welfare of the probationers but also be prepared to respond appropriately at the first signs that probationers were becoming uncooperative.

He also viewed the court as operating to influence the relationship of the probationer and officer. By constructing the situation as one in which the probation officer was accountable to the court for the mandated number of weekly contacts, the probationer may be less likely to view the probation officer as personally imposing undesirable restrictions. Rather, the probationer may view that he and his officer are "in this together" and may not perceive the officer's role as embodying such an extreme coercive onus.

## Staffing and Service Delivery

The program was launched with the leadership of Supervisor Brian Coen, a veteran probation administrator who had been asked to head up the unit in the Fall of 1988. After being promoted to this position Mr. Coen proceeded to recruit five seasoned probation officers into the program; all became functioning members of the program in January, 1989. The experienced officers hired to participate in the program were enthusiastic about the prospect of doing, to use the words of one of the officers, "real probation work," rather than the distant supervision they were able to accomplish in "regular" probation.

As the IAP guidelines specified that probationers be supervised initially while they were in placement, during the initial months the majority of the juveniles in the IAP caseloads remained in placement and were supervised there. In addition, there were a handful of probationers who had been included on the initial lists of eligibles who were released from placement early on and received little to no pre-release IAP supervision.

While the newly assigned IAP officers had been briefed by Judge Reynolds on his views of the mission and philosophy of the new program, the probation officers received no other formal orientation to the overarching goals and objectives of the IAP. Other than the JCJC guidelines, officers were provided with no written documentation concerning the program's mission or objectives. Hence, during the early months of the start-up period, they appeared to offer a particular brand of probation supervision which merged conventional concepts with the IAP opportunities for greater contact.

During the start-up period, the emphasis on conforming to the JCJC quotas for contacts appeared to be high. In some sense, officers' ability to meet these quotas was increased due to the large numbers of experimental cases who had not yet been released from placement. Therefore, IAP officers could cover their caseloads quite easily by making two or three visits per week to the Bensalem facility.

One of the byproducts of this situation during the start-up period, however, was that the IAP probation officers were not pressed to develop innovative strategies for supervision, nor did they need to spend much time working "irregular hours," such as nights and weekends. They apparently functioned much like conventional probation officers, often starting their working days in the central office to complete paperwork, leaving later in the day to make visits to the placement facility, and completing their work by the end of the normal working day. This schedule may have been compatible with the supervision of confined juveniles, but it showed itself to be less than optimal in providing intensive supervision to juveniles on the street.

Another byproduct of the early emphasis on supervising confined cases was the fact that probation officers did not have adequate opportunities to develop strategies to deal with non-cooperative probationers after their release. The traditional mechanism for handling probationers who did not appear for appointments, disregarded requirements for school or counseling participation, and the like was to issue a bench warrant. Bench warrants served the function of sanctioning a non-cooperative youth without requiring the probation officer to make personal contact in order to do so. The bench warrant indicated that the juvenile could be taken back into custody for violation of

conditions of probation when that juvenile was located by appropriate authorities. Realistically, however, bench warrants rarely resulted in the apprehension of juveniles, as Philadelphia police and probation officers had little time to devote to tracking youths who were not suspected of criminal offenses. Therefore, from the perspective of the juvenile, the issuing of a bench warrant meant very little.

With the new resources of time available to the probation officers of the Intensive Aftercare Program, it might be expected that they would respond to non-cooperation among probationers in different ways than would be the case in "regular" probation caseloads. Theoretically the probation officer had the time to energetically intervene with a youth who was showing signs of "relapse." Rather than simply issue a bench warrant, an IAP officer would have the flexibility to attempt to reestablish contact with the youth directly or at least to contact significant others in the youth's life.

With the relatively few cases "on the street" during the start-up period, the IAP officers were not faced with the necessity of developing creative responses to serious non-cooperation. However, during the subsequent period of the transition phase, two patterns of supervision which had been established during the start-up phase impacted upon the types of responses the IAP officer made when their cases began to manifest difficulties in the community. Their continuation of the more conventional probation methods, such as keeping regular hours, coupled with their concern for conformity to the JCJC guidelines in making their quota of contacts per week, together operated to create a situation during the transition period which led to some difficulties for the IAP which will be discussed in the next section.

## Client Perceptions of the IAP

During the first few months of program operations, most IAP probationers did not appear to perceive intensive aftercare as distinguishable from regular probation, except with respect to the amount of attention they received from their probation officers. Continuing to reside at Bensalem, the experimental probationers were provided with intensive services only through more frequent visits by their officers. Indeed, during this time some resentment surfaced among the control juveniles, who noted that others in the same institution, in relatively the same situation as they, received appreciably more attention.

An objective that was difficult to meet during this first phase was the realization of Judge Reynold's notion of accountability for all IAP probationers. Since few probationers were in positions to exhibit "relapse," the probation officers and the court could not demonstrate the "new" consequences for non-cooperation. Therefore, for this reason as well, during this phase most probationers apparently viewed the IAP as regular probation, only more of it.

### The Transition Phase

#### Leadership

The second phase was brief in duration, lasting for the months of July and August 1989. Nevertheless, so many significant changes occurred within the IAP that this period of time must be singled out for special attention. With respect to the leadership of the program, two critical developments occurred within weeks of each other. First, for reasons apparently unrelated to the IAP, the duties of Judge

Reynolds were reassigned and he gave up exclusive authority over the IAP program. The result of this development was that other judges, who may not have had the same vision of the mission of the IAP, began to hear IAP cases.

#### Staffing and Service Delivery

The second development which impacted on the IAP concerned staffing, both of the supervisory position and of the positions of IAP probation officers themselves. During the transition phase, there were profound upheavals in staffing, first through the reassignment of Supervisor Brian Coen to another unit, and then through what ultimately resulted in a 100 percent turnover of IAP staff.

In July of 1989 Brian Coen left the IAP to take over the supervision of the Habitual Offender Aftercare Unit, a new program also targeted at serious juvenile offenders. He asked two of the original IAP probation officers to accompany him to this unit. Coupled with one original IAP officer who had departed earlier to assume a supervisory position in a different unit, this depleted the original IAP staff by 50 percent. Another probation officer took an extended medical leave in response to several serious injuries incurred in the line of duty and then in August the remaining two original officers left the program.

For much of the transition period there was a leadership vacuum, which continued until Thomas Quinn, one of the original IAP officers who had left earlier to assume the supervisory position, returned to assume leadership of the program in early September, 1989. During July and August there was no formal supervisor and, while

substitutions were made to replace the departed original staff members, the effectiveness of the IAP staff suffered.

By this time, most of the juveniles originally assigned to the IAP had been released from the Bensalem facility and were receiving services in the community. Thus the number of juveniles who required community supervision increased dramatically while the numbers of probation officers available to provide services diminished at least temporarily. Despite the depleted staff, there was an effort to continue to supervise the cases through covering others' caseloads when possible.

With the withdrawal of both Judge Reynolds and Brian Coen from the program, there was no person remaining in a leadership position who could provide inspiration and information concerning the program's unique mission or philosophy. The involvement of a number of judges, each of whom had different views on the probation process, may have further diffused the sense of the program as a unique entity. What the remaining probation officers had to fall back upon were the supervisory methods that had been used for the few start-up months and their prior knowledge of probation practice. However, the situation they were beginning to be faced with, as the larger number of cases required community supervision, was rather different from the early months of the IAP.

To obtain a perspective on the IAP program during the transition phase, it is useful to consider three factors: (1) the norms of supervision which had developed during the start-up phase, (2) the new demands for probation officer response created by increased numbers of juveniles in the community coupled with a depleted probation staff,

and (3) the absence of a force in the court which could provide grounding on the program's mission and philosophy.

The norms of supervision which had been adopted during the early months of the program involved the continuation of conventional probation practices, primarily during normal working hours. In addition, probation officers continued to be committed to the JCJC quotas defining required probation officer contacts.

The prospect of fulfilling the demands for contacts which the transition phase probation officers had set for themselves during this period was not favorable, however. In addition to the depleted staff, resulting in additional work for each officer, some of the juveniles in the community were beginning to demonstrate signs of "relapse." When probationers began showing signs of non-cooperation, the probation officers could have responded with aggressive attempts to "rescue" the juveniles in an attempt to avert criminal activity while retaining them in the IAP. This would have been an approach that Judge Reynolds would have vigorously endorsed; however, he was functionally removed from providing leadership on the issue at this time.

Instead, the probation officers fell back on their conventional values. Apparently concerned that they would not be able to meet their quotas for personal contacts, they proceeded with the filing of bench warrants when juveniles manifested signs of non-cooperation, such as missing appointments. This process was facilitated by the fact that during this time period cases would be handled by a number of Juvenile Court judges, many of whom were not knowledgeable about the alternatives to filing bench warrants. Therefore, if an uncooperative youth did not appear for a hearing with a judge, a bench

warrant would have been issued after 30 to 60 days had passed during which time attempts were made to contact the youth.) This strategy had the "benefit" for them of removing unsuccessful cases from their caseloads. Indeed, this was a major benefit for those who knew they would be leaving the IAP to take other assignments. Nevertheless, this strategy had a major adverse impact on the IAP.

There were two immediate negative outcomes of the filing of bench warrants. First, the youths who had been uncooperative and on whom bench warrants were filed were probably aware that it was unlikely that once they were dropped from the IAP caseload, they would ever be apprehended. Hence, in a sense, filing bench warrants on IAP juveniles sent the opposite message than was intended; from their perspective, these youths had essentially "beat the system."

Secondly, the dropping of youths from IAP caseloads involved a waste of resources. It should be remembered that each of the IAP youths had received extensive attention both while in placement and after release. In dropping cases who had not behaved in ways which would have required recommitment and who may have been receptive to more proactive intervention, the IAP officers may have given up too soon. Consequently, the effort that had previously been devoted to the youths who received bench warrants was not capitalized upon.

#### The Institutionalization Phase

##### Leadership

Fortunately for the IAP, the transition period was relatively short-lived. By the beginning of September a new person had been

brought on board as Program Supervisor. Thomas Quinn was probably uniquely qualified for the position, having been one of the original probation officers in the program and having worked as a supervisor to "regular" probation officers in the intervening period between leaving and returning to the IAP. Moreover, Judge Reynolds again established a visible role for himself in the program, agreeing to reassume his position as the sole Juvenile Court judge to review all IAP cases and to take responsibility for working closely with IAP officers.

When Judge Reynolds and Tom Quinn began their work during the transition phase, they were both faced with a program which had been strongly launched, but which had faltered to a point where there were major problems which demanded strong leadership and clear vision. In his own way, each of these individuals succeeded in making certain changes which ultimately brought the program back on keel.

Judge Reynolds continued to develop and disseminate his vision of the importance of the tripartite relationship among the court, the probation officer and the probationer. In working both with the IAP officers and with their caseloads, he has continued to put in place a supervisory model which recognizes the complementarity of officers' roles as both "helper" and "enforcer." During the early months of his redefined relationship with the IAP, Judge Reynolds began attempting to counteract the tendency to give up on IAP youths through filing bench warrants. In meetings and hearings with probation officers he emphasized the distinct mission of the IAP as one which was concerned with proactive intervention. He urged officers to follow through with their charges, even after the youths began to demonstrate signs of "relapsing." He encouraged officers to take creative steps with uncooperative youths. He attempted to mitigate against the officers'

preoccupation with the JCJC "quota" by emphasizing the importance of continuing their relationships with their charges until all avenues had been exhausted.

With the youths themselves, Judge Reynolds apparently perceived that the IAP probationers were not sufficiently aware of the consequences of misbehavior. As he had stated during his original involvement with the program, he emphasized the importance of accountability of each probationer to his officer and to the court. He made it clear to youths whenever he had the opportunity that the consequence of failing to conform to the IAP program would be removal from the community to a residential placement. This reinforcement contingency was aversive--the outcome of returning to confinement was much "worse" than remaining under intensive probation. Judge Reynold's decision to emphasize this aspect of the program was a crucial one, because the earlier strategy of filing bench warrants for uncooperative youths resulted in very different reinforcement contingency. Youths for whom bench warrants were filed received what could be viewed as a desirable outcome for misbehavior--they were dropped from the program; they were no longer "bugged" by a persistent probation officer, and their chances of being apprehended by the officials who attempted to track down bench warrant cases were nil.

One mechanism which Judge Reynolds used to impress the importance of cooperation to the IAP probationers was a "mass sidebar" which was held soon after he returned to his high level of involvement with the IAP program. He arranged a meeting of as many probationers and officers as possible in his chambers and instructed them of the sincerity of his intentions to return all non-cooperative youths to placement. Following this warning, he did indeed return several

youths for noncompliance to the rules of probation, underscoring his credibility.

Tom Quinn also brought some new ideas to bear on the IAP officers. Overall, his message was to question some of the conventional assumptions about probation work. He recognized that even though the IAP officers had the dramatically reduced caseloads, they had assumed many of the perspectives of conventional officers. He encouraged the IAP officers to spend more time in the field, especially during unconventional hours. He stressed that the morning hours could be the most effective times for making contacts with their caseloads in the community. He recommended that rather than beginning their work day in the central office, as had been the custom, the IAP officers begin their days making visits to their charges and other relevant individuals in the community.

In addition, Mr. Quinn set to the task of rebuilding the cadre of IAP probation officers. During September new officers were hired to replace those who had left the program. Fortunately, this group of officers proved to have greater staying power than the original group; at the time of this writing there has been no officer turnover since the final replacement officers were hired in September 1989. In addition, Mr. Quinn has worked to increase the esprit de corps among the IAP probation officers. One specific mechanism which he has used to deal with this issue has been to obtain space in the central office for the program which is independent of other probation functions. In the Spring of 1990 the desks of the IAP officers were moved out of the CRIP unit and into a separate part of the Family Court building. Mr. Quinn and several of the IAP officers have commented to the investigators that this move has helped to further the sense of

identity of the IAP as separate and distinct from other probation units.

#### Staffing and Service Delivery

During the institutionalization phase, the staff of the IAP have apparently succeeded in building a program which is distinctive from "regular" probation supervision. With the help of Thomas Quinn's insistence that the IAP receive its own space, and through sharing information on one another's cases on a regular basis, a sense of camaraderie and collegiality appears to have been built up among the IAP officers. This sense of identity has certainly also been facilitated by the fact that all IAP officers have, at the time of this writing, been working in the unit for at least 12 months.

During this phase the IAP officers appear to have attempted to operationalize probation supervision in a manner which is more consistent with the spirit of the concept of intensive aftercare than might have been the case early on. They appear to be very conscious of the fact that with such a reduced caseload, they are in a position to perform casework which is proactive as well as reactive in nature. In addition, they appear to understand the potential value in the development and nurturing of correlative contacts with significant others in the lives of their probationers. The result of these emphases on new forms of casework appears to be that officers are in positions to intervene appropriately when IAP cases are beginning to show signs of having difficulties, and in some cases at least, the slide into "relapse" appears to have been averted.

A case in point is one involving a probationer who, after being relatively responsible to his officer for the early period of release,

started failing to keep appointments, moved from his official residence, and in all ways made it impossible for the IAP officer to maintain the mandated number of contacts. Instead of simply filing a bench warrant, as may have been the case in earlier phases, the officer continued to maintain contact with the youth's family members and ultimately was able to reestablish contact with the youth. In this case the probation officer was able to bring the youth back into a constructive relationship before the youth had penetrated too far into a criminal lifestyle.

In addition to subtle changes in the overall supervisory style of the IAP officers, a procedural change in the process of filing bench warrants has also been implemented. During this phase the decision was made to require one additional meeting between the youth and his supervisor prior to scheduling a hearing with the court which would lead to the filing of a bench warrant. This decision provides an additional opportunity for IAP officers to perform "relapse prevention" on youths prior to their being lost to the program.

#### Client Perceptions of the IAP

Unfortunately, we have no data from the youths participating in the IAP program to gauge changes in their perceptions of the program over time. However, we suspect that due to the measures taken by Judge Reynolds, Thomas Quinn and especially by the officers themselves, the youths perceive the program differently than they did during the IAP program's early months. There has been evidence that the officers and the court do "mean business" when it comes to non-cooperation. While large numbers of probationers have not been sent back to placement for probation violations, the fact that several have

been returned appears to have impressed upon the youths the importance of their being responsive to their officers. Complementing this emphasis on accountability is the increased emphasis on relationship development among the officers. It is probably safe to assume that the IAP youths recognize this programmatic focus.

#### Summary and Conclusions

After approximately one and one half years of operation, it appears that the IAP has developed its own sense of mission, its own philosophy, and its own methods for providing probation supervision which distinguish the program from "regular" probation. It endured some difficult times, great transition stresses, and a certain degree of lack of direction during its early months.

The IAP program officers have begun to develop supervision styles and methods which capitalize upon the benefit of such small caseloads. Consequently, they have become skilled in performing the complementary functions of service delivery and surveillance/monitoring. Problems with the extensive use of bench warrants, which had reduced the IAP program's efficiency and effectiveness, apparently have been solved. Assuming that no major upheavals in leadership or funding occur, it appears that the program will be poised to continue building strength and expertise in the supervision of a challenging clientele.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE EVALUATION STUDY: BACKGROUND, RESEARCH DESIGN AND STUDY SAMPLE

Prior to 1988 the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission was administering aftercare and/or intensive probation programs in 39 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties.<sup>1</sup> These programs were being monitored by a JCJC staff member, who compiled annual statistics on the rates of readjudication of youths receiving intensive or aftercare probation services. Data for these statistics were obtained from the participating counties and yielded what appeared to be impressive findings regarding the programs. For example, for the 1986 calendar year, it was reported that youths receiving aftercare services had an overall recidivism rate of 9.6 percent based on reconviction.

These findings are useful to policy makers, who require information in order to make decisions. However, from the standpoint of social science, the techniques and assumptions used in the preparation of these statistical reports may leave some questions unanswered regarding the true effectiveness of these specialized probation programs. Ideally, evaluation studies of programs should involve the random assignment of cases to two groups, only one of which receives the "treatment," in this case intensive aftercare services, with the other serving as a "control group." This method of ensuring group equivalence through random assignment provides researchers with the opportunity to make strong comparisons between the two groups, uncontaminated by extraneous factors which are not the result of the treatment. Random assignment assures that each treatment and control group is composed of equivalent mixes of delinquents with "good" and "poor" recidivism potential.

True experimental designs are rarely used in the evaluation of correctional treatments. They demand the cooperation of many agents, and moral and ethical questions concerning the withholding of treatment to some participants must be addressed. The Intensive Aftercare Probation pilot program provides an ideal opportunity to employ an experimental design with sensitivity to these concerns. The primary concern is that of withholding treatment from the control group. In this project, the control group receives the same aftercare services as "regular" probationers released from placement and supervised by the Community Related Institutional Probation (CRIP) unit normally receive. More importantly, the caseload capacity of the IAP is only sixty juveniles, while at least twice that number met the revised program guidelines. Therefore, many eligible juveniles would not have received the experimental treatment, no matter how cases had been assigned.

Quality evaluation studies must often also obtain information which sheds light on the reasons that may account for the results found. Finally, most social interventions have multiple impacts on individuals, although one impact may be viewed as most important to policy makers, researchers, and the public. Quality evaluation studies attempt to assess and measure these multiple impacts.

The funding of a major intensive aftercare initiative in two major metropolitan areas provided the timely opportunity for the present investigators to launch a broad scale, rigorous and high quality evaluation study. The investigators were able to begin working with the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission and the county in which the study was conducted prior to the implementation of the pilot program. With the benefit of time to work on the planning of both the

pilot project and the evaluation prior to implementation of either, the investigators and the project managers were able to plan the implementation of the pilot program in a manner which would enable a strong evaluation research design without compromising service delivery. In addition, cooperation of probation officers and other actors in the juvenile justice system in Philadelphia could be assured.

While state funding for the Intensive Aftercare Program was obtained for both Philadelphia and Allegheny counties, a decision was made by the evaluation researchers to focus their attention on the Philadelphia County program. This decision was made because Philadelphia was to receive five additional probation officers while Pittsburgh was to receive only three. Given that available funding for the evaluation would allow the researchers to focus on only one county, the number of probation cases which could be studied was maximized by selecting Philadelphia County.

The decision was made also to focus attention on those juveniles placed at one residential facility, the Youth Development Center at Bensalem, Pennsylvania. This publicly run institution houses a significant proportion of the high risk, seriously violent juvenile offenders adjudicated in Philadelphia County. Clustering all program participants in one institution was expected to increase probation officers' ease of making contact with their caseloads and to facilitate understanding among the youths about the nature of the intensive aftercare program.

### Research Questions

The major research question addressed in the study is: does providing intensive aftercare probation services to high risk habitual juvenile offenders released from institutional placement reduce their tendencies to become reinvolved in criminal activity? The study aims to determine whether juveniles on intensive aftercare probation experience fewer arrests, adjudications, and placements than their equivalent counterparts who have not been exposed to these services. In addition, the study aims to assess the quality of probationers' post release adjustment by focusing on their activities after release, their interactions with others, the types of problems they experience and their level of cooperation with the probation officer and their conditions of probation. It is assumed the IAP services may facilitate more positive adjustment to community life, more productive relationships with family, school and work personnel, and others. Finally, the study aims to determine whether recidivism is reduced by increasing the number of contacts made between the probation officer and the juvenile or by lengthening the period of service delivery.

### Research Design and Sample Selection

The evaluation study involves a "classic" experimental research design. A target goal of 60 experimental and 60 control cases was set. Initially, the design called for three groups of experimental and three groups of control cases (20 in each group) which would received differential lengths of pre-release intensive probation supervision. Early on, it was determined that it would not be possible to process cases so that distinct groups of experimental

cases with discrete lengths of institutional supervision could be insured. This element of the study was dropped. However, data concerning the number of probation officer contacts made during placement were retained, enabling analyses of the impact of differing numbers of in-placement contacts on recidivism.

Service delivery for the IAP was scheduled to begin in January, 1989; case selection began in November, 1988. Initially, the original criteria written by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission were applied to the population of residents at the Bensalem facility. When it became obvious that only a handful of Bensalem residents met the original criteria, the investigators and the person who had been appointed supervisor of the new IAP recommended that the criteria be amended. These changes were approved by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission in November, 1988.

Using the amended criteria, the investigators selected one hundred and six youths for inclusion in the study, 53 to be assigned to intensive aftercare services, 53 to receive regular probation services through the CRIP unit. Additional cases were to be included in the following months. An additional 52 cases were considered for inclusion in the program and study over the months of February through May, 1989.<sup>2</sup> These additional cases were considered as replacements for cases from the original group which were necessarily dropped and to increase the sample size in each group to the 60-person target. Each month, researchers determined how many cases were needed by probation officers to complete their caseload quotas. Researchers identified eligible cases from the roster of residents at the Youth Development Center. Youths who had recently been admitted were screened to determine whether their charges made them eligible for

inclusion in the IAP. As they were selected, those who satisfied the revised criteria were randomly assigned to the experimental or control groups. Names of experimental cases were given to the program supervisor, who then assigned a probation officer to the case.

A number of cases were dropped from the study for two major reasons. One major cause of case attrition was absconsion, either from the institution or failure to return to the institution after a furlough. Nineteen (10 original and 9 replacement) youths absconded after they had been selected to participate in the study. All cases who went AWOL from the youth development center, regardless of whether they had been assigned to the experimental and control groups, were dropped from the study.

The second major cause was early release. Twenty of the originally selected youths who had been assigned to the experimental condition were dropped from the study because they were released from the placement in November or December, 1988, one to two months before the evaluation project was set to begin and before they had been assigned a probation officer. There was no way of knowing which juveniles would be released early. Juvenile sentences are indeterminate, and therefore releases cannot be accurately predicted. Since release dates were not known, the researchers decided to include all eligible juveniles in the sample pool, even though some releases during November and December 1988 were inevitable. It was necessary to drop these early release cases assigned to the experimental group for two reasons. First, they had not received the necessary pre-release probation services while in placement. Second, since they were released between one and two months prior to the start-up date for the program, they would be unable to receive intensive aftercare services

in their community for substantial periods. To maintain comparability between experimental and control cases with respect to follow-up periods, youths released early who had been assigned to the control group were also dropped. The one exception to this was the retention of several experimental and control cases released in very late December, 1988. By this time the program supervisor was on-line and was in a position to offer services to these individuals himself and assign caseworkers in early January.

In addition, ten youths (3 original and 7 replacement) were dropped from the study because they had not been released from the youth development center by January 31, 1990. This date was set by the researchers as the deadline for release from placement, to ensure at least three months of follow-up prior to the data analysis for the study report.

Finally, four youths who had been assigned to the experimental condition were mistakenly discharged without restraint (DWOR) when they came before their judges prior to their release. These youths essentially were not given the experimental treatment and thus were dropped from the study. Five control cases who were discharged without restraint were retained for the study. This decision was made because our analyses of the treatment of control cases indicated that a significant minority of these youths received virtually no post-release supervision, nor did probation officers of control cases routinely provide researchers with post release data. Hence, functionally, the control DWOR cases were equivalent to many of the regular control cases. Five additional experimental youths were dropped from the study for idiosyncratic reasons: (1) one youth was transferred to another probation program upon his release from

placement; (2) one youth was dropped with an offense committed before his placement but after his eighteenth birthday; consequently he was sent directly from the youth development center to an adult prison; and (3) three cases were mistakenly discharged to another probation unit in Philadelphia Family Court.

It is generally argued that when there are randomization errors in experimental designs, the safest strategy is to carry cases in the groups to which they were assigned, regardless of whether they received the prescribed treatment or not. In this study we have elected to drop certain cases from the analyses because they did not receive the intervention intended for them (i.e., subjects assigned to the experimental group did not in fact receive IAP services). Moreover, their failure to receive the experimental treatment resulted in our inability to obtain complete data on these cases, specifically information concerning their post-release adjustment.

To examine whether aspects of the sample selection had inadvertently biased the groups, analyses of recidivism data were completed on groups as they had been originally constituted, before cases had been dropped or replacement cases added (considered here the "original sample"). The findings of these analyses will be presented in detail in the results sections of the report. However, it is noteworthy that the original experimental and control groups' recidivism patterns mirrored closely the experimental and control groups of the "final sample," reflecting both dropped and replacement cases. Similar analyses of other types of outcome measures were not possible to perform, as no data were available for the "dropped" cases on variables relating to post-release adjustment.

Considering all cases which were discarded from analyses, this report is based upon the results of 44 experimental cases and 46 control cases. All cases included in the study were released from the youth development center between December 1988 and January, 1990. All cases were followed until May, 1990, resulting in follow-up periods of between three and sixteen months.

#### Research Instruments

Four separate data collection instruments were developed for the present study. In this section we will review each instrument, its means of administration, and the specific data elements used in the following chapters of the report. We relied upon three sources for the development of many of the items used in the instruments. Peter Greenwood and Elizabeth Piper Deschenes supplied examples of instruments they are using in a similar aftercare evaluation (Greenwood and Piper Deschenes, 1988), other items were adopted from Delbert Elliot's National Youth Survey (Elliot et al., 1983), and data for sections of the present study were obtained using instruments similar to those used in an earlier study by the investigators (Goodstein and Sontheimer, 1987). In addition, data concerning recidivism of study youths were obtained from a variety of sources and will be discussed in Chapter 5.

#### Youth Interview

This instrument was administered to all youths assigned to either experimental or control groups while they were still incarcerated at the Bensalem facility. The instrument was administered using an interview format, with interviews lasting approximately one hour. The

following constructs were measured: (1) pro-social goals; (2) self-efficacy; (3) moral values; (4) self-esteem; (5) depression; (6) perception of friends' antisocial behavior; (6) self-reported involvement with drugs and alcohol; (7) self-reported delinquency and (8) gang involvement (see Appendix A for copies of instruments).

There were some difficulties in obtaining interviews with all study youths, particularly with those who were assigned to the study during the early months. Some were released from the institution too early to schedule interviews. In the case of both experimental and control cases, attempts were made to schedule interviews in the community, generally at the probation office. For experimental cases, this proved possible, as all seven of the experimental cases for which institution interviews had not been conducted were interviewed after their release. For control cases, this strategy proved more difficult, as these individuals had very little contact with their supervising probation officer and little incentive to appear at the probation office for an interview. Only seven of fifteen control subjects who were scheduled for interviews in the community actually appeared.

#### Background Information

Institutional case files were consulted for each youth in the study to obtain information concerning his criminal, educational, social, and institutional background. Information was obtained on the arrest leading to the current placement, up to 15 additional prior arrests and up to eight prior institutional placements. In addition, data were obtained on the following "social history" variables: adjustment and achievement in school prior to placement, evidence of emotional difficulties, evidence of substance abuse, and the quality

of the youth's family life prior to placement. Data were also obtained on the youth's adjustment to his current placement. The data on social history and adjustment to placement are reported by means of indexes constructed by the researchers. These indexes are briefly described in the following sections.

#### Social History Variables

The indexes described in this section were developed in conjunction with prior research on populations of institutionalized delinquents in Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> Although the reliability of some of the indexes for the current population (as measured by Cronbach's Alpha) is weak, they are reported here because the prior work demonstrated acceptable reliability. Complete descriptions and summary statistics on all the indexes are contained in Appendix B. For all of the indexes described, higher scores indicate more problems, unless otherwise noted.

#### School Problem Index

This score reflects information concerning subjects' conduct and achievement in school. It is comprised of six dichotomized items measuring: attendance problems, disciplinary action (suspensions, etc.), aggressiveness or disruptiveness, poor achievement, involvement in alternative education, and failing. Cases were classified into three categories: (1) no or minor problems (no more than one problem area listed); (2) moderate problems (2-3 problems); and (3) serious problems (4-6 problems). The index has a mean of 8.93 and a coefficient alpha of .36.

## Drug and Alcohol Problem Index

This index is based on three items measuring the juvenile's involvement with drugs or alcohol (excluding experimentation) and prior professional treatment for such involvement. The drug and alcohol use items were each coded as: (1) no use or experimentation only, (2) occasional use, and (3) regular use.<sup>4</sup> The prior treatment item was coded as (1) for no prior treatment and (3) for history of prior treatment (inpatient or outpatient).

Cases were categorized into three groups on this index: (1) no or minor problems (occasional use of no more than one substance); (2) moderate problems (use of both drugs and alcohol, or use plus history of treatment); and (3) major problems (regular use of both drugs and alcohol, or regular use of at least one plus a history of treatment). This index has a mean of 5.19 and a coefficient alpha of .64.

## Family Instability Index

This index comprises eight three point items measuring evidence of: neglect, ineffective parental control, punitive/abusive behavior toward juvenile, sexual abuse of juvenile, history of runaways, parental drug/alcohol dependency and parental criminality. Cases were classified into three groups: (1) none or minor instability (no more than one minor problem area); (2) moderate instability (at least one major or two minor problem areas); and (3) major instability (at least two major problem areas or major and minor problems in at least three areas). The Family Instability Index has a mean of 11.51 and a coefficient alpha of .64.

### Institutional Adjustment

Subjects' institutional files were reviewed to discern whether they had experienced problems adjusting to Bensalem. An "institutional problem index" was created by summing scores on three variables reflecting juveniles' involvement in: rule infractions, AWOL's and failure to participate in available programming. Subjects were then categorized as either: successfully adjusted (no more than one minor problem area), moderate problems (no more than one major problem area), or serious problems (combination of major and minor problems). The resultant index has a mean of 4.38 and a coefficient alpha of .31.

### Pre-Release Instrument

The remaining two instruments were designed for completion by the youth's probation officer following his release from institutional placement. The Pre-Release Instrument was sent to the probation officer assigned to each study youth either shortly before or shortly after his release into the community. This instrument was designed to assess the types of services which had been delivered by the probation officer during the youth's placement, the officer's perceptions of the youth's potential for success upon release, and specific pre-release plans. The variables measured in the Pre-Release Instrument included: (1) total numbers of face-to-face and telephone contacts made by the officer to the youth and his family during placement; (2) officer's evaluation of youth's performance in placement; (3) officer's prediction of youth's success on release; (4) youth's living arrangements, school and work plans after release; and (5) activities youth is

expected to be involved in after release, including school, employment, and counseling.

Problems arose in the administration of this instrument, caused by the fact that the investigators had inadequate information concerning the youths' official discharge dates. In several instances nearly two months had elapsed from the time of a youth's release to the time the evaluator was notified of that release. As a result, a decision was made to send a list of all youths in the study and blank Pre-Release Instruments to the supervisors of the two units which were responsible for the post-release supervision of study youths, the Intensive Aftercare Unit and CRIP. These persons were requested to distribute the appropriate forms to the relevant probation officers. This was also problematic; the supervisors, with all of their other duties, did not give this task a high priority, and distribution of the Pre-Release instruments continued to be delayed. Clearly, this problem may have significant bearing on the reliability and validity of the information obtained from the Pre-Release Instrument; and the results must be interpreted in this cautionary light.

#### Bi-Monthly Progress Report

The final instrument developed for the present study assessed the progress of the youths in the community at the second, fourth, and six month marks after their release from the institution. This instrument was designed to obtain information about the details of the youth's life in the community: his relations with his family and friends, his involvement in pro-social activities, problem areas, evidence of drug and alcohol use, the officer's perception of the youth's emotional state, his level of cooperation with the conditions of probation, and

the quality of his relationship with his probation officer. In addition, each instrument required that the responding probation officer provide detailed information concerning the frequency and types of contacts made with the youth and others related to the youth during the two-month period being reported upon.

As with the Pre-Release Instrument, problems arose in obtaining completed Bi-Monthly Progress Reports from some probation officers in a timely fashion. There were several reasons for these problems. As above, the researchers were not always immediately informed of the discharge dates of study youths. In addition, probation officer turnover, particularly among officers in the early stages of the Intensive Aftercare Program, resulted in the misdirection of forms to the wrong officers on a number of occasions. Also, the forms requested fairly specific information which some officers, particularly those from the CRIP unit, may not have felt they possessed. It appeared that the monotony of completing successive forms requesting the same information also may have begun to take its toll over time. It appears that by the second or third round of forms for the same youth, some officers simply chose not to complete what they may have viewed as tedious and repetitive work. Finally, it was not possible to obtain three completed forms for all study youths, as the delay in discharge dates and the reincarceration of some youths resulted in follow-up periods of less than six months in some instances.

As data returned to the evaluators slowed considerably, in November 1989 a list of all missing data instruments was compiled and sent to the intensive aftercare supervisor, along with new instruments, for his dispersal among the appropriate probation officers. By this time, it was acknowledged by the research team that it was unrealistic to

expect to obtain much cooperation from the CRIP officers, due to their large caseloads, relative unfamiliarity with their probationers and the relative detail which was included in the instrument.

The tardiness in the return of data instruments has led to the possibility that some of the data received are subject to bias. Take, for example, a probation officer completing an instrument on a youth several months after the time period specified by the instrument. Several problems may occur. First, the probation officer may have a lack of knowledge of the subject, especially if he or she has recently assumed the case. As a result, she or he would fail to complete much of the instrument, as was indeed the case and the source of much missing data. The second, and more critical, problem is the bias which may be caused by the officer's failure to remember when critical incidents occurred. Since many of the questions request an assessment of the nature of the probationer's adjustment during a particular time period (e.g. 0-2 months, 2-4 months, etc.), a delay in the completion of the instrument may leave the respondent with a less clear memory than he or she would have had if the instrument had been completed in a timely fashion.

The investigators felt strongly that despite the problems with response rates on this instrument, the information which was available was sufficiently important that every effort should be made to salvage what was possible. Therefore, a system was devised to evaluate the available Bi-Monthly Progress Reports for each case and to summarize the entries into one data set. This data set obviously does not enable inferences concerning the timing of post-release adjustment experiences; however, it does provide the best picture of post-release adjustment of study youths.

Due to the importance of having valid and reliable data concerning probation officer contacts, additional effort to supplement the missing data in this area was made. Investigators consulted the Intensive Aftercare Program records to supplement the information provided by the probation officers concerning contacts and have generated a complete data file of the frequency and types of contacts made with IAP youths during their supervision periods.

The most significant data provided by this instrument (and supplemented by records checks by investigators) concerned the number and types of face-to-face and telephone contacts made by the probation officer to the youth and to significant others (e.g. family, school, employer). In addition, three indexes were constructed from several items each of which described aspects of the quality of the probationers' adjustment to community life.

The Prosocial Index measures the extent and quality of respondents' involvement in prosocial activities. It reflects such activities as the youth's involvement in athletics, hobbies, and church and assesses the youth's interactions with prosocial friends. With three-point items, the seven item index has a mean of 14.9 and a coefficient alpha of .79. Higher scores reflect more positive activities.

The Aftercare Index reflects the probationer's success in meeting conditions of probation and his progress. It includes items measuring "progress youth made in achieving goals," "follow through on court or probation imposed restrictions," and "the youth's chances of successfully completing probation." This six item index, based upon three point items, has an index mean of 12.04 and a coefficient alpha of .89. Higher scores reflect more positive behaviors.

The Problem Index reflects evidence of problems the youth has experienced in various areas of post-release adjustment. These include problems with parents, siblings, peers, police, and school. This nine item index, based upon a dichotomous (yes/no) response format, has an index mean of 13.00 and a coefficient alpha of .80. For this index, higher scores indicate more problems.

#### Description of the Sample

This section will describe the final sample of 90 subjects on a variety of quantitative and qualitative measures derived from Family Court files, the face-to-face interviews with subjects at Bensalem and the background information coded from each subject's file at the institution. The researchers compared the experimental and control groups on each of the more than 200 variables constructed from these sources. With only a few exceptions, no differences were found between the two groups. Given that subjects were randomly assigned to the two groups, this similarity was interpreted as evidence that the randomization process worked as planned. To simplify the presentation of the data in this section, only the results for the full sample are presented. In the few instances where the experimental and control groups differ significantly, these differences are elaborated. Although some variation between groups is inevitable even with random assignment, care must be taken to consider how these chance differences might impact on each group's relative risk of recidivism. Findings discussed in this section are illustrated in table 3.1. The order of presentation in the table is the same as that in the sections which follow.

Table 3.1  
Profile of Sample (N=90)

	%	(n)
Demographic Variables		
Race:		
White	7.8	( 7)
Black	81.1	(73)
Other	11.1	(10)
Criminal History Variables		
Age at First Arrest:		
Under 13	33.3	(30)
13	23.3	(21)
14	18.9	(17)
15+	24.4	(22)
Number of Prior Arrests:		
0-1	6.7	( 6)
2-4	45.6	(41)
5-7	30.0	(27)
8+	17.8	(16)
Number of Prior Convictions:		
0	11.1	(10)
1	21.1	(19)
2	22.2	(20)
3	20.0	(18)
4+	25.6	(23)
Number of Prior Placements:		
0	27.8	(25)
1	38.9	(35)
2	23.3	(21)
3	10.0	( 9)
Most Serious Alleged Prior Offense:		
Rape/IDSI	7.8	( 7)
Robbery	61.1	(55)
Burglary	13.3	(12)
Agg. Assault	6.7	( 6)
Drugs (felony)	3.3	( 3)
Theft	5.6	( 5)
None	2.2	( 2)

Note: percents may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 3.1 (continued)

	%	(n)
<b>Social History Variables</b>		
School Problem Index:		
None or Minor Problems	12.2	(11)
Moderate Problems	56.7	(51)
Serious Problems	31.1	(28)
Drug & Alcohol Problem Index:		
None or Minor Problems	40.0	(36)
Moderate Problems	34.4	(31)
Serious Problems	25.6	(23)
Family Instability Index:		
None or Minor Problems	25.6	(23)
Moderate Problems	33.3	(30)
Serious Problems	41.1	(37)
<b>Sample Placement Related Variables</b>		
Age at Sample Placement:		
Under 16	16.7	(15)
16	24.4	(22)
17	40.0	(36)
18+	18.9	(17)
Length of Sample Placement (in Months):		
Under 9	28.9	(26)
9	24.4	(22)
10-11	27.8	(25)
12+	18.9	(17)
Age at Release from Placement:		
Under 17	18.9	(17)
17	27.8	(25)
18	38.9	(35)
19+	14.4	(13)
Institutional Problem Index:		
Few or No Problems	61.1	(55)
Moderate Problems	22.2	(20)
Serious Problems	16.6	(15)

Note: percents may not add to 100 due to rounding.

### Demographic Variables

The majority of sample subjects (81.1%) were Black; only 7.8 percent were White. The remaining 11.1 percent were other races, primarily Hispanic. The racial distribution was substantially the same for both the experimental and control groups.

### Criminal History Variables

The measures discussed in this section refer to subjects' prior contact with the juvenile justice system; the arrest and conviction leading to the sample placement at Bensalem are not included. On average, sample subjects had 5.1 arrests, 2.7 convictions and 1.2 placements prior to their arrival at Bensalem. Only 2 subjects had no prior arrests, 10 had no prior convictions and 25 had no prior placements. The majority of subjects (56.6%) were aged 13 or younger at the time of their first officially recorded arrest. The average age at first arrest was 13.8 years. Over 90 percent of the subjects had at least one prior arrest for a felony.

### Social History Variables

#### School Problem Index

Experimental subjects scored higher on the school problem index, indicating more problems in this area. The range of scores for the sample was from 6 to 12, with 12 indicating problems in all six areas. The average scores for the experimental and control groups were 9.2 and 8.6, respectively. This difference is statistically significant.<sup>5</sup>

### Drug and Alcohol Problem Index

The scores on this index ranged from 3 to 9. The experimental group averaged 5.5 on the index compared to 4.9 for the control group, however, the difference was not significant. The greater involvement of the experimental group with drugs and alcohol is consistent with self-report information volunteered by subjects during the interviews at Bensalem, in which experimental subjects reported slightly higher average levels of use.

### Family Instability Index

The two groups had identical averages of 11.5 on this index. Scores in this range are indicative of moderate problems in the areas of family functioning.

### Sample Placement Related Variables

The information presented in this section was gathered from subjects' institutional files at Bensalem. Information on subjects' adjustment to institutional life was well documented in the files. The other variables discussed here (age at placement and release; length of stay) were computed from readily available dates.

### Committing Offense

The most serious alleged offense contained in the petition leading to the sample placement at Bensalem is listed in table 3.2. Although it is not practical to quantitatively compare the two groups on committing offense, inspection of table 3.2 reveals that they are fairly equivalent on this item. Control subjects were somewhat more likely to have been committed for Robbery and Theft, while

experimental subjects were more likely to have been committed for "Other" offenses. The latter category includes the crimes of Escape, Simple Assault and Probation Violation, among others.

Table 3.2  
Offense Leading to Sample Placement

Offense	Experimental	Control
Homicide	0 0.0%	1 2.2%
Rape/IDSI	3 6.8%	2 4.3%
Robbery	6 13.6%	10 21.7%
Burglary	4 9.1%	3 6.5%
Agg. Assault	4 9.1%	4 8.7%
Drugs (felony)	9 20.5%	9 19.6%
Theft	5 11.4%	8 17.4%
Other	13 29.5%	9 19.6%
Total	44	46

Age at Placement

The modal age of subjects at the time of their placement was 17 years (40% of the sample). About one fourth of the sample was aged 16 when committed. Relatively few subjects were under age 16 (16.7%) or had reached their 18th birthday before being placed at Bensalem (18.9%). The average age at placement was 17.1 years.

### Length of Stay

Length of stay at Bensalem varied widely, ranging from 2 to 27 months. Stays shorter than 6 months were rare (6 cases), although 28.9 percent of the sample stayed less than 9 months. Stays between 9 and 11 months were the most typical (over half of the sample). The average length of incarceration was 10.8 months, however a few very long periods of incarceration skewed the distribution. For this reason, the median length of stay (9.8 months) more accurately represents the typical placement duration.

It was hypothesized that experimental subjects would have shorter stays than control subjects. Observations of other Pennsylvania counties which have implemented aftercare probation programs reveal that the counties generally experience about a ten percent average reduction in placement length. Presumably, more efficient aftercare planning (school and/or work plans in place) allows for a more timely release. In the current study, however, experimental subjects stayed about three weeks longer than control subjects, on average.<sup>6</sup>

### Age at Release

The majority of subjects (53.3%) were aged 18 or older at the time of their release from Bensalem (mean age was 18.0). Any new arrests incurred by these subjects would necessarily fall under the jurisdiction of the adult (criminal) court system. Many of the other subjects who were under 18 at the time of release nonetheless turned 18 before the end of the study. It is therefore not surprising that most of the observed recidivism was based on new arrests handled by the criminal, rather than the juvenile justice system.

Institutional Adjustment

Based on this index, the majority of subjects (61.1%) made a successful adjustment to placement. About one fifth of the sample experienced moderate problems and the remainder (16.6%) encountered serious problems.

## ENDNOTES

(1) Intensive probation is considered an alternative to residential placement. Intensive, as opposed to "generic" juvenile probations, is intended to be used only for youths who would otherwise be placed, in order to avoid "net-widening." The target population in most counties is youths with no prior placements who come before the court for a variety of crimes. Generally speaking, their offenses are serious enough to warrant placement, but not so serious as to preclude community-based intervention.

Aftercare probation is an enhanced level of service delivery for youths in residential placement. An aftercare probation officer is assigned at the time of placement, and is responsible for monitoring the placement, pre-release planning, and post-release probation supervision. The guidelines for post-release supervision are similar to those for intensive probation in that a minimum number of weekly contacts with clients and their families is required.

(2) Some portion of cases designated as "replacement" were necessarily dropped at later stages of the study for the same reasons causing original cases to be dropped.

(3) See *A Study of the Impact of Ten Pennsylvania Residential Placements on Juvenile Recidivism*, by Lynne Goodstein and Henry Sontheimer, 1987.

(4) For the individual item dealing with drug use, any use of "hard" drugs was coded as (3), or equivalent to regular drug use.

(5)  $t = 2.29$ ,  $df = 87$ ,  $p < .05$ , two-tailed.

(6) Another explanation for the reductions in length of stay experienced by counties implementing aftercare probation programs is that facilities can be "held accountable" for their services by aftercare probation officers making regular institutional visits. In particular, the officers try to prevent their clients from languishing in placement beyond the point when treatment gains are likely to be made. The problem of unnecessarily long placements is more acute with private than with public facilities. The latter are habitually overcrowded, so there is natural pressure to move clients out to free up beds for juveniles on the perpetual waiting list. In addition, private facilities stand to lose money when beds are empty, and so have a motive to retain current residents during times when new referrals are not forthcoming. Public facilities like Bensalem have no profit motive because the state charges counties a percentage of actual costs. For all of these reasons, it may be more difficult to reduce typical lengths of stay at public facilities through the implementation of aftercare probation programs.



## CHAPTER 4

### MEASURES OF PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

#### Introduction

An important question regarding any program evaluation is whether the program was implemented as designed. One cannot simply assume that because certain services were mandated they were also delivered. Rather, program implementation must be measured. Most of this chapter is devoted to quantitative analysis of data concerning actual contacts between probation officers and their clients. Differences between the level of service delivered to the experimental and control groups are explored. Efforts are made to determine if the levels of service mandated by the IAP standards were achieved. The balance of this chapter considers the nature of the probation officer/client relationship and the social adjustment of clients.

The data analyzed in this chapter were provided by probation officers who completed questionnaires furnished by the researchers. Unfortunately, response rates were lower than expected, resulting in considerable missing data. Problems with missing data may have led to underestimates of the actual number of contacts delivered, since missing data were coded as "no contacts" for the months in question. However, the researchers did attempt to obtain the missing data directly from the Philadelphia Family Court files, when possible. More importantly, the differences in the number of contacts delivered by IAP probation officers compared to their CRIP counterparts are so great that they overshadow any problems with incomplete data.

Missing data problems are more serious for the qualitative measures of officer/client interaction and client adjustment. Response

rates were rarely higher than 60 percent for most items. While measures of contacts are based on empirical data which are also documented in Family Court files, the qualitative measures are based on subjective questions which could only be answered by the probation officer of record. This fact, and the need to have timely information (e.g. how was the client's adjustment during the first two months after release), precluded obtaining these missing data.

### Contacts

The IAP standards mandate a minimum number of weekly contacts between probation officers and: their clients, clients' families, and significant others (e.g. school officials and employers, when appropriate). The mandated level of IAP contacts is higher than the frequency of contact typically delivered by conventional probation officers. This increased interaction between probation officer and juvenile is assumed to be an important part of the intensive aftercare model. Whether due to accountability (e.g., increased surveillance, curfew checks) or to rehabilitation (e.g., increased counseling sessions, job hunting), requiring the probation officer to spend more time with his or her clients is expected to help reduce recidivism.

### Institutional Contacts

The IAP guidelines require that each client be seen at least once a month while incarcerated. These meetings are intended to accomplish several objectives: monitor the juvenile's progress, coordinate treatment goals with institutional staff, and demonstrate to the juvenile that the court has not forgotten about him. In addition, the IAP guidelines require that the probation officer make

one face-to-face contact per month with each client's parents/guardians during the period of incarceration.

Generally, institutional contacts are more easily made than community contacts during the aftercare period because an officer can see several clients during one trip. This is especially true in the current study since all subjects were incarcerated at the same institution. The control group clients were all supervised out of the Philadelphia Family Court's Aftercare (CRIP) Unit. Traditionally, CRIP probation officers have each been assigned clients from a limited number of institutions to facilitate efficient use of time and travel. Thus, even though CRIP probation officers carried many more clients than IAP probation officers, it was expected that the comparative level of institutional contacts would be closer than the level of community (aftercare) contacts. The results are consistent with this expectation.

On average, IAP probation officers made 10.1 face-to-face institutional contacts per youth compared to 5.1 contacts per youth in the control group. The level of telephone contacts between probation officer and youth was also twice as high for the experimental group compared to the control group (1.3 and 0.6 contacts, respectively). Concerning family contacts, IAP probation officers averaged 2.6 face-to-face family contacts during the youth's period of incarceration compared to only 0.7 contacts for the control group. Telephone contacts with clients' families were more comparable, at 1.1 for the experimental and 0.8 for the control group. Data on institutional contacts are summarized in table 4.1.

Table 4.1  
Average Number of Reported Institutional Contacts by Group

Type of Contact	Experimental (N=44)	Control (N=46)	Difference <sup>a</sup>
Face-to-face with youth	10.1	5.1	**
Phone with youth	1.3	0.6	ns
Face-to-face with family	2.6	0.7	**
Phone with family	1.0	0.8	ns

a. \*\* = significant at  $p < .01$ ; ns = not significant at  $p < .05$ .

Compliance With IAP Standards on Institutional Contacts

Several factors must be considered when interpreting the above results. Because cases were assigned to either the treatment or control group between December 1988 and April 1989, some subjects were nearing the end of their institutional stays at program assignment while others had only recently been placed. However, only the total number of institutional contacts (rather than the number per month) was recorded. Consequently, the number of institutional contacts cannot be interpreted as a monthly rate, nor can it be determined whether the minimum number of contacts was made. Several facts suggest that IAP cases were seen at least once per month on average, however. Given that the average length of stay for experimental cases was about 11 months, the figure of 10 total institutional contacts suggests that the one contact per month minimum was met. Secondly, when only the experimental cases who were released at least seven months into the IAP program are considered, the average number of

institutional contacts is 16. These subjects were more likely to have been on an IAP caseload for most or all of their period of incarceration. This analysis is described in more detail later in this chapter.

The mandated number of family visits during a juvenile's incarceration was also one per month. Since the average number of face-to-face family contacts for the IAP group was 2.6, it appears that the minimum standards in this area were not met. If telephone contacts with family are also counted, the average goes up to 3.6. The average number of family contacts (face-to-face plus telephone) was 5.6 for the IAP clients released at least seven months after program start-up. This figure is still below the level of contacts expected under the IAP standards. (Since these subjects were on IAP caseloads for at least seven months, at least seven family contacts are expected.)

#### Aftercare Contacts

The period immediately after placement release is assumed to be a crucial one for parolees. The transition from a tightly structured environment to a community where drug use, crime and lack of adult supervision are common can be difficult. Increased levels of contact between probation officer and parolee during this period may have a rehabilitative effect by helping foster a commitment to non-delinquent values. Youths often need help enrolling in school or finding employment. Frequent contacts may also remind the youth that he is being held accountable for following the rules of probation (observing curfew, remaining drug-free, etc.).

Logistically, aftercare contacts are more difficult for the probation officer than institutional contacts. Clients may live in different parts of the county, and may not be home when the probation officer comes to visit. Even with the small caseloads (maximum of 12 clients) of IAP probation officers, the initial minimum of three face-to-face contacts per client per week can be a daunting requirement. For control group (CRIP) probation officers, who carry caseloads of 60 to 100 clients, even one face-to-face contact per month is a formidable goal.

The data indicate that IAP probation officers made far more aftercare contacts than did CRIP officers--about ten times as many contacts. For example, we totaled all face-to-face contacts with each client during the first six months after release. The experimental (IAP) group averaged 16.7 face-to-face contacts during this period compared to only 1.3 contacts in the control (CRIP) group. These same data may be broken out for each of the first six months after release. This information is presented in table 4.2 and figure 4.1.

In the IAP group, face-to-face contacts were highest during the first post-release month (4.8 contacts) and then declined steadily through month six, when probation officers made an average of 0.9 contacts. In the CRIP group, contacts remained fairly stable at a level of about 0.2 contacts per month. "Months after release" does not refer to calendar months but rather to each subject's individual "timeline." For each youth, month one begins at release from incarceration and continues for the next 30 days. Data on each subject's contacts with his probation officer were coded in 30 day increments beginning with his release date and continuing for up to 180 days

Figure 4.1  
Face-to-Face Contacts Between Probation Officers and  
Their Clients During the First Six Months After Release

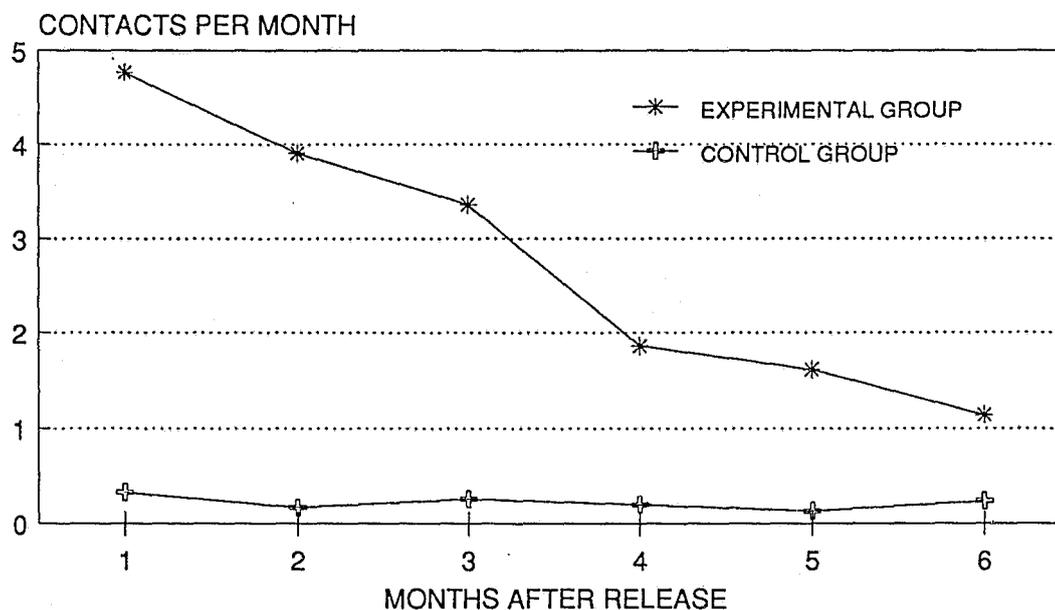


Table 4.2  
Average Number of Reported Aftercare Contacts During  
First Six Post-Release Months, by Group

Type of Contact	Experimental (N=44)	Control (N=46)	Difference <sup>a</sup>
Face-to-face contacts with youth (total)	16.7	1.3	**
Month 1	4.8	0.3	**
Month 2	3.9	0.2	**
Month 3	3.4	0.3	**
Month 4	1.9	0.2	**
Month 5	1.6	0.1	**
Month 6	0.9	0.2	**
Phone contacts with youth	3.5	0.7	**
All contacts with family	4.5	0.5	**
All contacts with others	3.5	0.4	**

a. \*\* = significant at  $p < .01$ .

(nominally, six months). Since not all cases were supervised for six months, some subjects lack data for several post-release months. This accounts for some of the decline in monthly contacts seen in figure 4.1, especially during months four through six. Contacts with subjects' families and with other individuals and phone contacts with youths were coded in similar fashion, but only the aggregate six month totals are shown in table 4.2.

Telephone contacts between probation officers and their clients followed the same pattern as face-to-face sessions. IAP probation officers made about one phone contact per month on average during months one and two, after which the level declined to about 0.2 contacts during month six. In the CRIP group, contacts were stable at about 0.1 per month throughout the first six post-release months. Table 4.2 also summarizes information on aftercare contacts with clients' families and with other significant individuals (school personnel, employers, social service providers, etc.). For families and others, face-to-face and phone contacts are combined. Once again, the IAP officers made about ten times as many contacts as the CRIP officers.

#### Compliance with IAP Standards on Aftercare Contacts

Previous analyses in this chapter suggested that IAP probation officers were able to make the minimum number of institutional contacts with clients, though not with their families. It is equally important to know whether the targeted number of contacts was achieved during the aftercare period. This section examines compliance with the IAP standards for aftercare contacts with clients, families and other significant individuals.

The IAP standards mandated at least one family contact per week and one contact with other significant individuals every two weeks throughout the aftercare period. The level of reported contacts with each of these groups was about one per month during the first three post-release months for IAP clients. This represents about 25 percent of the mandated minimum level of contacts with families and about 50 percent of the minimum level with others. Although the targeted IAP minimums apparently were not met, the families and significant others of most CRIP subjects received almost no contacts. Clearly, IAP probation officers delivered a measurable level of service to their clients in these areas which was significantly greater than that received by control group subjects.

Concerning face-to-face contacts with clients, it appears that the targeted level of service was not achieved in all cases. For example, all IAP clients were mandated to receive at least three face-to-face contacts per week during the first six weeks of post-release supervision. This is equivalent to at least 12 contacts during the first post-release month. According to the data furnished by IAP officers, only 4.8 face-to-face contacts (on average) were made during the first month. Surprisingly, 20 out of the 44 IAP subjects reportedly received no contacts during month one, while only six subjects received at least 12 contacts.

It is more difficult to determine whether the mandated number of face-to-face contacts was made in subsequent months, because the IAP guidelines permitted officers to reduce the level of contacts to two per week after six weeks of satisfactory probation supervision, and to again reduce the level to one contact per week after 12 weeks of satisfactory adjustment. No data were collected to indicate if this

option was invoked for specific subjects. However, the current IAP supervisor indicates the option was used frequently. If it is assumed that this procedure was exercised in all cases, then the following are the minimum number of required contacts for months one through three: 12 contacts during month one; 10 contacts during month two; and 8 contacts during month three.<sup>1</sup>

As shown in figure 4.1 and table 4.2, the reported level of IAP contacts fell short of these minimums (less than half of the required contacts made). However, several factors must be considered before concluding that the IAP program was not successfully implemented in regard to aftercare contacts. First, data were collected only on successful contacts. In many cases, probation officers attempted to make scheduled or unannounced visits to clients in their homes or at work or school, but did not succeed. Errors of measurement may also have contributed to underestimates of the actual contacts delivered. Despite repeated follow-up correspondence and phone calls, some IAP probation officers did not submit the data collection calendars used to document contacts. In such cases, missing data were interpreted as indicating zero contacts for the months in question. (The same procedure was applied to control group data, where the problems of missing data were generally worse). Lastly, a compliance audit by the Juvenile Court Judges' Commission in mid-1989 reported substantial compliance with the standards on client contacts, when both successful and unsuccessful contacts were counted.

It is also important to note that many IAP clients actively resisted the program and failed to cooperate with their probation officers. This behavior often resulted in a technical violation of probation and/or the issuance of a bench warrant. Unfortunately, such

action on the part of the court often drove clients "underground" (i.e., the juvenile failed to appear for appointments and court hearings). After one or two months on this status, cases were dropped from the IAP program (but not from the study). A review of the cases with few or no aftercare contacts confirmed that many of them were subjects who had bench warrants issued against them.

Another factor which may account for the relatively low number of reported contacts relates to the personnel instability experienced in the IAP program over the duration of this study. Overall, the IAP unit experienced 100 percent turnover during the course of this study. The following section examines the possible impact of this phenomenon in more detail.

#### Contacts by Calendar Period

As discussed in Chapter 3, the operation of the IAP program during the course of this study went through three phases: (1) start-up, (2) transition and (3) institutionalization. To quantitatively analyze possible differences among these three phases, the 44 IAP cases were divided into three groups which approximately mirror the stages previously described. Cases were classified into these groups on the basis of their release date from Bensalem. For this analysis, cases released prior to June 1, 1989 are classified as start-up cases; those released during June and July 1989 are transition cases; and those released on or after August 1, 1989 are institutionalization cases. In Chapter 3, the transition phase was designated as the months of July and August 1989. Here, subjects released during June and July 1989 are considered transition cases because their first full month in the community fell within the months of the transition

period. Subjects released during August 1989 are classified as institutionalization phase cases because their first full month in the community overlapped into September, 1989, which is part of the institutionalization period.

The transition from institutional care to community supervision is a crucial period. If a juvenile has little or no contact with his probation officer during the first days or weeks after release, the stringent norms of the IAP program will not be established. It is for this reason that the current analysis employs a one month "lag" to classify cases into one of the three program periods. While this classification is somewhat arbitrary, it is considered a reasonable operationalization of the program phases. This division also conveniently results in three groups of roughly equal size.

The data on community contacts were analyzed across the three groups; the results are shown in table 4.3. Subjects released during the transition period had the lowest rate of face-to-face contacts in each of the first three post-release months. Subjects released during the institutionalization period had the highest rate of contacts during the first month after release. Groups 1 and 3 showed equal numbers of contacts during the second month after release. For post-release months three through six, Group 1 showed the highest number of contacts. Comparisons beyond month three may be biased by the fact that subjects released late in the institutionalization phase were not observed during months four through six. For this reason only contacts during the first three post-release months are shown in table 4.3.

Table 4.3  
 Face-to-face Contacts Between Probation Officer and Client  
 by Months After Release and Program Phase for  
 Experimental Subjects (N=44)

Months After Release	Mandated Contacts	Average for Entire IAP Group (N=44)	Average by Program Phase <sup>a</sup>		
			1. Start-up (N=13)	2. Trans. (N=15)	3. Inst. (N=16)
1	12	4.8	4.5	2.7	6.9
2	10	3.9	5.4	1.2	5.3
3	8	3.4	5.8	1.4	3.3

a. Subjects are classified into the three groups based on their release dates from Bensalem according to the following scheme:  
 Start-up: 12/1/88 to 5/31/89; Transition: 6/1/89 to 7/31/89;  
 Institutionalization: 8/1/89 to 1/31/90.

Rather than looking simply at the average monthly contacts shown in table 4.3, a more complete picture is provided by a cross-tabular analysis. Table 4.4 contains a breakdown of the contacts delivered during the first three post-release months, by program phase. The most striking feature of the table is the high proportion of clients released during the transition phase who reportedly received no face-to-face contacts during one more of the first three months after release (Although not shown here, seven "transitional" subjects received no contacts during any of these months.) The interpretation of the start-up and institutionalization phases is more complex. During both periods, approximately one third of the newly released clients reportedly received no contacts during Month 1. However, an equal or greater proportion of the subjects received at least seven contacts during Month 1. In fact, all eight subjects from the institutionalization phase who appear in the "7 to 14" contact cell actually received at least 10 contacts.

Table 4.4  
 Face-to-face Contacts Between Probation Officer and Client  
 During First Three Post-Release Months by Program Phase  
 For Experimental Subjects (N=44)

	Reported Contacts Made	Program Phase		
		1. Start-up (N=13)	2. Trans. (N=15)	3. Inst. (N=16)
Month 1	none	38.5	66.7	31.3
	1 to 6	23.1	6.7	18.8
	7 to 14	38.5	26.7	50.0
-----				
Month 2	none	15.4	73.3	12.5
	1 to 6	38.5	20.0	37.5
	7 to 13	46.2	6.7	50.0
-----				
Month 3	none	15.4	73.3	56.3
	1 to 6	30.1	20.0	12.5
	7 to 11	53.8	6.7	31.3

Note: Figures shown are column percentages. Percents may not add to 100 due to rounding.

During Month 2 of both the start-up and institutionalization phases, only two clients in each phase received no contacts, and about half received seven or more contacts. During Month 3 of the start-up phase most clients received seven or more face-to-face contacts, or close to the mandated minimum level. Although the data indicate that nine clients received no contacts during Month 3 for the institutionalization period, this may be an artifact of the data collection process. That is, if probation officers failed to submit data for subjects released late during this phase, the researchers were only able to make limited follow-up efforts to obtain the missing data.

The analysis by time periods also sheds light on the data concerning institutional contacts. Subjects in Group 3 (those released latest) were more likely to have spent most or all of their incarceration on an IAP caseload. Although the average number of institutional contacts for the entire IAP sample was 10, juveniles in Group 3 averaged 16 such contacts compared to 7 and 6 contacts for Groups 1 and 2, respectively. Since the average stay at Bensalem was only 11 months and the average number of institutional contacts for Group 3 was 16, it appears that the minimum standard of one contact per month was easily satisfied for subjects exposed to the IAP program for most or all of their incarceration. Total face-to-face contacts with clients' families during the incarceration period were also much more numerous for juveniles in Group 3 (4.4 contacts) compared to those in Groups 1 and 2 (2.3 and 0.9 contacts, respectively). These are important observations because the preferred way to implement the intensive aftercare model is to assign clients to the program at the time of institutional commitment.

#### Summary of Data on Program Phases

The analysis by program phases suggests that the IAP unit was able to deliver higher quality services during periods of relative personnel stability. It may be inferred from this observation that the unit will increase its chances of achieving the mandated level of services if this stability can be maintained.

Interestingly, it appears that the IAP probation officers adapted to the staff shortages during the transition period as best they could. For example, telephone contacts with youths were higher during this period than during the other two phases. This may indicate that

officers tried to maintain contact via telephone to compensate for their inability to make face-to-face contacts during the transition period. The following section notes that weekend contacts, which were regularly made throughout most of the study period, virtually ceased during the transition phase when officers were struggling to gain control of their new and/or large caseloads. These observations, along with those which follow concerning the services delivered by control group probation officers, reinforce the reality that the court will only achieve a level of services commensurate with the resources which it commits.

#### Weekend Contacts

The IAP standards direct that 30 percent of all aftercare contacts with juveniles be delivered during non-traditional hours, defined as weekends and evenings. Data were collected on face-to-face contacts with clients which occurred on weekends. For each of the first six post-release months, approximately 10 percent of the contacts delivered by IAP probation officers occurred on weekends. In the control group, the level of weekend contacts was essentially zero. Since data were not collected on evening contacts, the level of compliance with the IAP standards on non-traditional hours cannot be quantitatively assessed. However, the substantial and consistent delivery of contacts during weekends is a good indication that the IAP unit took this requirement seriously.

#### Interpretation of Control Group Contacts

It is obvious from the data in tables 4.1 and 4.2 that the level of contacts delivered by probation officers in the control group was

very low. In fact, 24 of the 46 control cases reportedly received no face-to-face contacts during the first six post-release months. Only 2 of the 46 cases received more than four face-to-face contacts during this entire six month period. The level of telephone contacts with youths and of family contacts was close to zero (less than 0.1 contact per month).

None of the above should be construed as an indictment of the aftercare services provided by the CRIP unit. To begin with, caseloads of probation officers in this unit are about ten times larger than IAP caseloads--and in fact IAP probation officers reported about ten times as many contacts. Secondly, eight control group cases who were "discharged without restraint" (DWOR), i.e., released from Bensalem without any probation supervision, were retained in the control group sample. Obviously, no contacts were expected or delivered to these subjects. In addition, problems concerning missing data were more common for control group cases, which may have caused proportionately more underreporting of actual contacts made. Perhaps the clearest interpretation of these data is that probation officers saddled with large caseloads cannot provide the intensity of aftercare service appropriate for the most serious juvenile offenders in the system.

#### Questionnaire Measures of Program Implementation

The data discussed in this section were collected by means of two instruments completed by probation officers in both the IAP and CRIP units. The "Pre-release and Aftercare Plan" instrument solicited information on planned activities and aftercare plan components. The "Bi-monthly Progress Report Summary" covered actual activities and solicited subjective information from the probation officers concern-

ing their clients' adjustment in the community.<sup>2</sup> Response rates on both instruments were low (less than 60 percent), making interpretation of these data difficult.

In general, the differences between the experimental and control groups on these items were not significant. However, in almost every comparison the IAP subjects were rated as more cooperative, more involved in positive activities and as having fewer problems than CRIP subjects. Indexes were created by averaging items dealing with similar subjects. The two groups are compared on these indexes, and on some individual items, in the following sections.

#### Pre-Release Variables: Work and School

One of the traditional goals of aftercare planning is to coordinate school and/or work plans for the youth upon his return to the community. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 present the responses from two items dealing with these areas. Note that the sample sizes are less than 90 due to missing data.

Regarding school plans, fewer IAP subjects have no plans, and more are expected to attend vocational school or college. The same pattern is seen in the comparison of work plans: fewer IAP youths have no plans in place and more are expected to be discharged from Bensalem with full time employment. While the differences between groups on school plans are not significant, the differences on work plans are more pronounced.

Table 4.5  
School Plans for Youth After Placement

	Experimental (N=34)	Control (N=27)
None or Not Applicable	6 17.6%	10 37.0%
Secondary School	6 17.6%	4 14.8%
Vocational Training or College	22 64.7%	13 48.1%

Chi-square = 2.9, df = 2, ns

Table 4.6  
Work Plans for Youth After Placement

	Experimental (N=30)	Control (N=23)
None or Not Applicable	3 10.0%	8 34.8%
Part Time Work	14 46.7%	10 43.5%
Full Time Work	13 43.3%	5 21.7%

Chi-square = 5.7, df = 2, p < .06

#### Bi-Monthly Summary Variables

Several questions asked probation officers to assess the degree to which subjects cooperated and made progress in their aftercare program. On all of these items, the average response indicated that IAP subjects were more cooperative than CRIP subjects. The summated Aftercare Index score (described in Chapter 3) for IAP clients was significantly higher than for CRIP clients, with higher scores-

indicating more cooperativeness.<sup>3</sup> (Complete descriptions of this and all other indexes described in this section may be found in Appendix B.) The response to the question "Did the youth keep contacts with his probation officer?" is particularly interesting: 65 percent of the CRIP subjects were rated as "poor" on this item compared to only 27 percent of the IAP subjects.

Another series of nine "yes or no" questions asked probation officers whether clients were experiencing problems in specific areas. On eight of these nine items, IAP clients were described as having fewer problems on average than CRIP clients, and in three cases (problems with parents, with school, and with sexual relationships) the differences were significant. This is encouraging because positive family relationships and success in school are two goals of the intensive aftercare model. However, the low response rates to these items (under 50 percent) preclude drawing stronger conclusions. Moreover, the average scores on the Problem Index created from these items do not differ significantly between groups.

The Prosocial Index was created by averaging scores on seven items concerning how often the youth participated in various activities such as: athletics, hobbies, church, and associating with non-delinquent friends. The experimental and control groups had almost identical scores on this scale, with the control group subjects actually showing a marginally higher average. Due to excessive missing values on these items, only 37 of the 90 subjects have a valid score on this index.

## Conclusions

The data reviewed in this chapter confirm that the level of services received by IAP clients was significantly greater than that received by CRIP clients. Juveniles in the experimental group were seen much more frequently by their probation officers and had more structured aftercare plans (as measured by work and school plans, for example) than did control juveniles. The data also show that experimentals were more cooperative and experienced fewer problems than controls, based on information provided by their probation officers.

Based on the large and statistically significant differences in the number of face-to-face contacts delivered, the IAP program achieved its goal of delivering a relatively intensive level of probation services both during and after release from placement. IAP clients and their families were seen on a regular basis, including weekends. Almost half of the control clients received no face-to-face contacts, by comparison.

The data on aftercare planning and community reintegration also show consistent, but not statistically significant differences between groups. Based on the individual items and the indexes constructed by the researchers, the experimentals showed better adjustment than controls on almost all measures. However, low response rates from the probation officers submitting this information and the resultant small sample sizes preclude attributing these differences to the experimental treatment (assignment to IAP).

## ENDNOTES

(1) To calculate the minimum number of mandated contacts per month, each of the first three post-release months is assumed to contain exactly four weeks. Since the initial minimum of three contacts per week was to remain in effect for at least six weeks, the mandated standard for Month 1 is 12 contacts (3 per week times four weeks). The standard of three contacts per week remains in effect for the first two weeks of Month 2. During the last two weeks of Month 2, contacts could be reduced to two per week. Thus the minimum level for Month 2 is 10 contacts (3+3+2+2). For all of Month 3, the relaxed standard of two contacts per week is assumed to be in effect. Thus, the minimum for Month 3 is 8 contacts (2 per week times four weeks).

(2) The original data collection plan called for each probation officer to submit three bi-monthly progress reports for each subject under his or her supervision: one at the end of the client's second month in the community, one after four months and the final report after six months. This plan proved unworkable for two reasons. First, many clients were not supervised for a full six months. Second, many probation officers failed to submit all three reports even for clients supervised for six months. Therefore, all available data contained in the bi-monthly reports which were submitted for a subject were summarized on one instrument by the researchers.

(3) For this and all other comparisons, a one-tailed t-test was used to test the hypothesis that the experimental group had average scores indicating more positive adjustment during the aftercare period.

## CHAPTER 5

### RECIDIVISM

#### Defining Recidivism

An important goal of the IAP program was to reduce recidivism among program participants in comparison to the control group. This section examines recidivism from several perspectives: how subsequent involvement in the criminal justice system was detected and documented, which indicators of recidivism are most valid, possible biases affecting comparisons between the experimental and control groups, and policy implications. To begin with, the procedures used to document recidivism will be reviewed.

The researchers tracked subsequent involvement in both the juvenile and criminal justice systems. The average age of subjects at release was about 18. Therefore many subjects were exposed to arrests as both juveniles and (later) as adults, while others were only exposed to one type of rearrest (juvenile if they did not turn 18 during the study and adult if they were 18 or older at release). When coding recidivism, juvenile and adult rearrests were distinguished. In the analyses presented here, however, the two types of recidivism are aggregated and this distinction is ignored. A complete breakdown of juvenile and adult recidivism is provided in Appendix C.<sup>1</sup>

#### Juvenile Recidivism

Two sources were used to detect rearrests in the juvenile court system. The JCJC 1989 Statistical Card data base was searched to learn whether any study subjects had appeared in juvenile court during 1989. This data base contains information from all Pennsylvania

counties, and thus would reveal recidivism which occurred in counties other than Philadelphia. The second source was the Philadelphia Family Court computerized record system. This data base contains information on all court hearings in Family Court (new arrests, probation violations and dispositional reviews).

Each of these sources has strengths and weaknesses. The JCJC data base contains complete dispositional information on all cases. The obvious limitation of this source is that it only covers calendar 1989, while the follow-up period during which subjects were "tracked" ran until May 1990. The Philadelphia Family Court data base, on the other hand, is very current. Names of all study subjects were checked on the Family Court computer during May 1990. The drawback to this source is a frequent lack of dispositional information. Because cases typically require several months to proceed from referral to disposition in Philadelphia, arrests during early 1990 often had not been disposed of by the court. Comparing the two sources of juvenile recidivism, about half of the known recidivists were detected from the search of the JCJC data base and half from the Family Court computer.

#### Adult Recidivism

Two sources were also consulted to detect rearrests in the adult (criminal) court system. To check on possible rearrests throughout Pennsylvania, names of all subjects were checked against the Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) Automated Master Name Index data base. This source contains arrest information received from all police jurisdictions statewide. The limitations of this source are a lack of dispositional information in most cases, and questions regarding the currency and completeness of the data. (It is not known how often and

how faithfully jurisdictions report arrest data.) In fact, only about one third of all subjects known to have been rearrested as adults appeared in the PSP data base. The other two thirds were detected by the other source used to check adult recidivism.

The second source was the Philadelphia Municipal Court computerized record system. This data base contains information on all disposed and active adult arrests in Philadelphia County. While it is very current, dispositional information is obviously lacking on active cases. Adult system cases require even longer to proceed from arrest to disposition than do juvenile cases. While dispositional information was often lacking, this source contained a detailed listing of alleged offenses and arrest dates. The main drawback to this system is the lack of information on jurisdictions outside Philadelphia County.

Recidivism has been variously defined as rearrest, reconviction, or reincarceration. From a policy standpoint, these distinctions are important. Some arrests eventually result in dismissals or acquittals, which may indicate that the subject did not in fact commit a crime. However, dismissals sometimes result from administrative decisions (as part of a plea bargain involving other arrests, for example), so that lack of culpability cannot be reliably inferred. It could also be argued that reincarcerations are a more valid indicator of program "failure" because in this study the subjects are serious delinquents who were all previously incarcerated, and some "relapse" into the delinquent lifestyle (as measured by arrests) is almost inevitable. In addition, reincarcerations impose a high financial cost on the juvenile and criminal justice systems. Finally, using reconvictions may be attractive for comparisons with previous

Intensive and Aftercare programs implemented in juvenile courts in Pennsylvania, because reconviction was the measure traditionally recorded in evaluations of these programs.

In a practical sense, only rearrest data give an unbiased picture of recidivism because dispositional information is missing for a large proportion of known rearrests. The preponderance of missing dispositional data is partly a result of the relatively short follow-up periods in this study (about eleven months on average). Also, convictions and incarcerations reflect court processing decisions as well as factors which relate to actual culpability.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, rearrests are the primary indicator of recidivism reported here.

#### Follow-Up Time

The level of recidivism observed in any group of released offenders is partly a function of the follow-up period during which subjects are tracked. All things being equal, those observed longer will have more "opportunity" to reoffend. In this study, the observation period is defined as the time from each subject's release date until the end of the data collection period in May 1990. Since subjects were released between December 1988 and January 1990, this period varies from a low of about 3 months to a maximum of about 17 months. Although the observation period is an important factor in the interpretation of the study results, it is equally important to control for "street time."

Street time is the amount of time a subject was actually at large in the community. This period may be less than the overall or "calendar" observation period if the subject was reincarcerated or if he left the state and therefore could not be tracked. The following decision rules were used to calculate each subject's follow-up period,

controlling for street time. In the absence of any evidence indicating time "off the street," the follow-up period or "time at risk" is defined as the time from release (from Bensalem) until May 4, 1990 (the end of the data collection period). For subjects who were permitted to relocate out-of-state after a period of probation supervision, the follow-up period ends on the reported date of relocation. For subjects reincarcerated, the period ends on the reported date of incarceration.<sup>3</sup> In some cases, subjects were reincarcerated but then released before May 4, 1990. This generally occurred when IAP subjects were sent back to Bensalem for a technical violation of probation; such stays averaged about 90 days. For these subjects, the follow-up period is defined as the length of time from the original Bensalem release until May 4, 1990, minus the length of the subsequent incarceration.

#### Interpretation of Recidivism Measures

A major strength of this study is the experimental design. Given that the two groups differed only in terms of the type of probation supervision received, any differences in "outcomes" may reliably be attributed to the differences in supervision. In the parlance of experimental research, recidivism is the dependent variable or the outcome observed by the experimenter, while the type of probation supervision is the independent variable, subject to the experimenter's control. While this model is true in the abstract, it may not hold for every possible operationalization of recidivism. To examine this issue we begin by defining recidivism in the simplest terms, whereby each subject is classified as a "success" or "failure."

Using this criterion, a subject is a success if no rearrests occurred and a failure if one or more rearrests were observed. This is a relatively insensitive measure since it does not distinguish between single time and multiple offenders, nor does it differentiate between those arrested for minor versus serious offenses. However, this "binary" definition of recidivism is ideal for measuring the effect of the independent variable, which in this case is the type of probation supervision. This simple measure should capture the effect of the type of supervision (referred to as the "aftercare effect") and should be immune from "system response effects." The logic of this statement is as follows.

Since the two groups were randomly selected from a pool of incarcerated offenders, each group of subjects is assumed to be equal in terms of their risk of recidivism. (The description of the sample in Chapter 3 confirmed that the two groups were essentially equal on almost all measures.) Overall follow-up periods were also equal between groups (street time is not relevant when only a single rearrest defines recidivism). Because arrest (rather than conviction or incarceration) is the recidivism criterion, there is no reason to expect any bias in the way subjects from each group are treated by police. In other words, when the police observe or investigate an alleged crime, their decision to arrest or not arrest does not depend in any way on whether the suspect is assigned to conventional aftercare supervision (the control group) or intensive aftercare supervision (the experimental group). The criterion of "any subsequent arrest" should therefore be an unbiased indicator of the independent variable or aftercare affect.

Bias becomes a potential problem when recidivism is defined as the "number of subsequent arrests." This criterion differentiates between single and multiple offenders, and may therefore be seen as a better indicator of the "propensity to reoffend." However, the fact that some subjects reoffend only once while others do so numerous times may reflect system processing effects as well as the propensity to reoffend. For example, if offenders from the experimental group are "taken off the street" quickly in response to an initial rearrest while offenders from the control group are allowed to remain in the community, the most criminalistic experimental subjects will be incapacitated while their criminalistic counterparts in the control group will be free to reoffend again. In fact, this very pattern appears to have been operating in the current study. Before examining this pattern in detail, it is instructive to examine the results using both types of recidivism measures discussed thus far.

#### Original and Final Samples

The sample selection process was described earlier in Chapter 1. Sources of sample attrition and procedures for randomly replacing "lost" subjects were reviewed. Ideally, all analyses would involve only the "original" sample to minimize the possibility of compromising the experimental design. The original sample was stratified by housing units (cottages) at Bensalem to help ensure equality between the groups, for example. However, the type of sample attrition experienced does create problems of interpretation if the original sample is maintained. For example, many experimental subjects did not in fact receive IAP services because they escaped, were discharged before the program began, or because the court mistakenly discharged them to

another probation unit or without probation supervision altogether. Some control subjects also escaped or were discharged before data collection mechanisms were in place. In other words, the researchers were not able to maintain complete control over the independent variable (type of probation supervision) in the original sample. Therefore, inappropriate cases were dropped from both the experimental and control groups, and were replaced by randomly assigning cases from a replacement pool of eligible offenders at Bensalem.

As explained in Chapter 1, the final sample of 90 juveniles contains fairly complete data for all subjects. All of these subjects had planned discharges from Bensalem (rather than escapes) and were followed for a minimum of three months post-release. All of the experimental subjects were definitely assigned to an IAP probation officer. Care was taken to maintain the randomization process when replacing cases. The number of cases lost from each group was fairly even, and the number lost for each reason (escapes, early discharges, etc.) was also comparable between groups. Nonetheless, the equivalence of the experimental and control groups in the final sample cannot be assumed, because differential attrition from the original experimental and control groups (which are assumed to have been equivalent) may have compromised the randomization process.

Fortunately, our initial analyses yielded comparable results for both the original and final samples: the IAP group was involved in much less recidivism. To strengthen the confidence of our conclusions, we first present the basic recidivism data for the original sample. More detailed analysis of the original sample is difficult, however, due to missing data (e.g. lack of interviews with subjects who escaped or were discharged early) and problems of interpretation

(e.g., whether escapees fled the county and thus rendered themselves immune from tracking). Subsequent analyses will therefore concentrate on the final sample.

#### Original Sample of 106 Subjects

As explained earlier, the two groups of 53 subjects each were drawn from the population of juveniles incarcerated at Bensalem during October 1988 who met the assignment criteria for the IAP program. The sample pool was stratified by housing units at Bensalem and cases were then randomly assigned to the experimental or control group. A number of juveniles in this sample were released between November 1988 and early December 1988, before the IAP program was operational, and therefore never received the experimental treatment.<sup>4</sup> This fact should be considered when interpreting the recidivism results which follow.

The researchers were not able to interview many juveniles in the final sample because they were released early or escaped. Also, no data on these subjects were requested from or furnished by probation officers. However, recidivism data were available on all subjects in the original sample from the sources listed at the beginning of this chapter. The two sections which follow briefly compare the recidivism of the the two groups in the original sample.

#### Proportion of Subjects Rearrested

This is the simple binary recidivism criterion discussed earlier. Subjects with no observed rearrests are classified as successes and those with any known rearrests as failures. No distinction is made between juvenile and adult system rearrests--either type of arrest

defines a subject as a failure, regardless of the disposition or sentence received. The average overall follow-up periods of the experimental and control groups are equivalent at just over one year.<sup>5</sup> The results are presented in table 5.1. Based on the criterion of "no subsequent arrests," 27 experimental subjects (50.9%) were successes compared to only 20 (37.7%) control subjects. However, the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 5.1  
Proportion of Subjects With at Least One Rearrest  
Over Entire Observation Period in Original Sample (N=106)

	Experimental	Control	Total
Successes (no rearrests)	27 (50.9%)	20 (37.7%)	47 (44.3%)
Failures (1+ rearrests)	26 (49.1%)	33 (62.3%)	59 (55.7%)
Total	53	53	106

(Chi-square = 1.9, df = 1, ns)

#### Number of Rearrests

When the total number of rearrests committed by each group is compared, the results favor the experimental group by a much more dramatic margin. The controls were responsible for twice as many new arrests as the experimentals, a statistically significant difference. The results are presented in table 5.2. The types of offenses for which subjects were rearrested are roughly comparable across the two groups. In some ways, recidivism among the experimental subjects appears to be less serious.<sup>6</sup> Offense seriousness will be examined more closely in a later section.

Table 5.2  
Average Number of Rearrests Per Subject Over  
Entire Observation Period in Original Sample (N=106)

Experimental (N=53)	Control (N=53)	Total (N=106)
0.91	1.94	1.43
(t = -2.82, df = 104, p < .01, two-tailed)		

Final Sample of 90 Subjects

This sample was also described in earlier chapters. All subjects had planned releases from Bensalem, and all of the experimental subjects were definitely assigned to an IAP probation officer. Of course there is considerable overlap between the original and final samples.

Proportion of Subjects Rearrested

Once again, successes are defined as cases with no subsequent rearrests, while one or more rearrests classify a subject as a failure. The results for the final sample are presented in table 5.3.

Table 5.3  
Proportion of Subjects With at Least One Rearrest  
Over Entire Observation Period in Final Sample (N=90)

	Experimental	Control	Total
Successes (no rearrests)	22 (50.0%)	12 (26.1%)	34 (37.8%)
Failures (1+ rearrests)	22 (50.0%)	34 (73.9%)	56 (62.2%)
Total	44	46	90

(Chi-square = 4.5, df = 1, p < .03)

The results favor the experimental group by a wider margin, and the difference is statistically significant. While a fifty percent failure proportion among the IAP subjects may not seem to indicate program success in the absolute sense, this figure is within the range often reported for serious delinquents<sup>7</sup>. A higher proportion of control subjects is classified as failures than in the original sample (73.9% compared to 62.3%). However, the interpretation of these results for the final sample is complicated by the fact that observation times were not equivalent between the experimental and control groups. The experimental group averaged 0.83 years of follow-up compared to 0.97 years for the control group. The difference is significant<sup>8</sup>. Because of the unequal follow-up times, the significant difference in favor of the experimental group apparent in table 5.3 cannot be unambiguously interpreted as evidence that the Intensive Aftercare program is "working."<sup>9</sup>

One way to control for differing follow-up times is to designate a shorter observation period for which data are available on all cases. For example, all 90 cases in the final sample were tracked for at least three (3) months. This period therefore provides an unbiased comparison of the proportion of subjects rearrested. When follow-up periods longer than three months are employed, one method of controlling for unequal observation periods is to drop cases not followed for the entire period. While this is not a perfect solution, it can help clarify the results. Tables 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 compare the experimental and control groups from the final sample on the recidivism criterion "proportion of subjects rearrested" over three different time periods.

The results in table 5.4 are based on a three month observation period. Only subjects arrested within three months of their release are counted as failures. As mentioned earlier, all 90 cases were tracked for at least three months. The experimental group again shows a higher proportion of successes, although the difference does not reach statistical significance.

Table 5.4  
Proportion of Subjects With at Least One Rearrest  
During First Three Post-Release Months in Final Sample (N=90)

	Experimental	Control	Total
Successes (no rearrests)	35 (79.5%)	30 (65.2%)	65 (72.2%)
Failures (1+ rearrests)	9 (20.5%)	16 (34.8%)	25 (27.8%)
Total	44	46	90

(Chi-square = 1.6, df = 1, ns)

Table 5.5 presents the results of a similar analysis based on a six month observation period. Cases lacking at least six months follow-up were dropped from this analysis; the attrition was about the same for both groups. Here, the experimental group again manifests less recidivism, although the two groups are more similar after six months than they were after only three. Together, tables 5.4 and 5.5 indicate that experimental failures tended to experience their first rearrest between four and six months after release, while control failures generally experienced their first rearrest more quickly (by the third post-release month).

Table 5.5  
 Proportion of Subjects With at Least One Rearrest  
 During First Six Post-Release Months in Final Sample (N=75)

	Experimental	Control	Total
Successes (no rearrests)	21 (58.3%)	19 (48.7%)	40 (53.3%)
Failures (1+ rearrests)	15 (41.7%)	20 (51.3%)	35 (46.7%)
Total	36	39	75

(Chi-square = 0.4, df = 1, ns)

To complete the picture, table 5.6 shows the results based on a maximum of nine months after release. Case attrition is more of a problem here, since only 61 of 90 cases were followed for at least nine months. Moreover, attrition from the experimental group is greater, reflecting the shorter average observation times for that group. With that caveat, it is again apparent that the experimental group shows slightly, but not significantly better outcomes.

To summarize the results depicted in tables 5.3 through 5.6, experimental subjects manifested less recidivism than control subjects at each point surveyed. Based on a criterion of at least one juvenile or adult rearrest, the proportion of failures in the control group was from 10 to 24 percent higher than in the experimental group. The results do not reach statistical significance except in table 5.3 where the entire observation period is considered. However, that comparison is biased by the longer follow-up periods in the control group. Since the results which control for differing observation periods (tables 5.4 through 5.6) do not reach statistical significance, the superior performance of the experimental group can only be considered suggestive of an "aftercare effect" rather than conclusive proof of one.

Table 5.6  
 Proportion of Subjects With at Least One Rearrest  
 During First Nine Post-Release Months in Final Sample (N=61)

	Experimental	Control	Total
Successes (no rearrests)	14 (50.0%)	12 (36.4%)	26 (42.6%)
Failures (1+ rearrests)	14 (50.0%)	21 (63.6%)	35 (57.4%)
Total	28	33	61

(Chi-square = 0.4, df = 1, ns)

#### Seriousness of New Offenses

The types of offenses for which subjects were rearrested are shown in table 5.7. For each recidivist, the most serious alleged offense across all his rearrests is tabulated. Generally, recidivists from the experimental and control groups tended to be arrested for similar crimes, although experimentals were more likely to be arrested for misdemeanor drug charges and controls were more likely to be arrested for Theft.

Since this is a sample of serious offenders, it may be instructive to re-define recidivism as a new arrest for a felony offense. For this analysis, offenses coded as Theft, Drugs (misdemeanor) and Other in table 5.7 are dropped from the analysis. Using this operationalization of recidivism, 25 percent of the experimental subjects were failures compared to 41 percent of the controls. This is similar to the pattern when all rearrests were considered, and once again the difference between groups is not statistically significant.<sup>10</sup>

Table 5.7  
Most Serious Alleged Offense for Which Recidivists Were Rearrested

Offense	Experimental	Control
Murder	1 4.5%	2 5.9%
Rape/IDSI	0 0.0%	1 2.9%
Robbery	6 27.3%	10 29.4%
Burglary	1 4.5%	4 11.8%
Agg. Assault	1 4.5%	1 2.9%
Drugs (felony)	2 9.1%	1 2.9%
Theft	3 13.6%	9 26.5%
Drugs (misdem.)	7 31.8%	4 11.8%
Other	1 4.5%	2 5.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>34</b>

Note: Percents refer to the proportion of recidivists in each group.

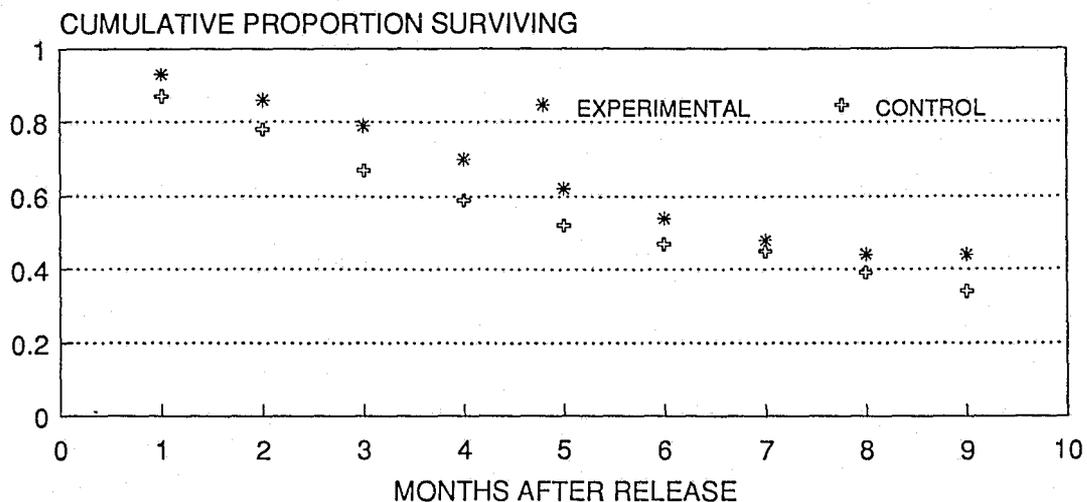
### Survival Analysis

In this analysis, the recidivism criterion is the "time to first rearrest," measured in months. Only the first rearrest is considered. A subject is considered to "survive" as long as he remains arrest-free. Subjects with no new arrests are considered to survive until the end of their individual observation period; for these cases (the successes), observations are said to be "censored." Survival analysis is well suited to data sets in which follow-up times vary between groups. In this study, the survival criterion is another means of

probing for a possible aftercare effect. Although such an effect could not be statistically demonstrated using the criterion "proportion of subjects rearrested," the survival criterion also takes the timing of recidivism into account.

The graph of the survival function is shown in figure 5.1. The horizontal axis shows "months after release."<sup>11</sup> The vertical axis represents the "cumulative proportion surviving." Comparing the plots for the experimental and control groups, the cumulative proportion surviving is greater for the experimental group at every monthly interval. The flatness of the experimental plot beyond the eighth month is notable. None of the 12 experimental subjects who survived into the ninth month were rearrested. In the control group, 15 subjects survived at least until the ninth month; 7 of these subjects experienced their first rearrest during or beyond the ninth month. Despite the patterns just described, the survival experiences of the two groups were not significantly different based on this analysis.<sup>12</sup>

Figure 5.1  
Survival Experience of Final Sample (Time to First Arrest)  
During the First Nine Months After Release



### Number of Rearrests

In this section the volume or prevalence of reoffending is the recidivism criterion. For each group, the total number of recorded rearrests is divided by the number of subjects in the group to arrive at the average number of rearrests per subject. When the prevalence of offending (average number of rearrests), rather than the incidence of recidivism (proportion of subjects rearrested) is the criterion for comparing groups, follow-up periods must control for street time. The rationale for this was alluded to earlier. If an early arrest results in subsequent incarceration, the subject will be "off the street" and probably incapacitated from reoffending, regardless of whether or not he is still being "followed." To distinguish between the overall follow-up and the part of that period during which the subject is presumed to be in the community, the former is referred to as the "observation period" while the latter period (which controls for street time) is referred to as the "time at risk."

The decision rules for calculating time at risk were discussed earlier in this chapter and will not be repeated here. By definition, average time at risk is less than the average observation period. For the final sample the average time at risk is 0.77 years for the experimental group and 0.86 years for the control group, a small and statistically insignificant difference.<sup>13</sup> Comparisons based on total time at risk should therefore be unbiased, and we begin this stage of the analysis by comparing the frequency or incidence of recidivism between groups based on all known rearrests. For each group, the total number of rearrests observed is divided by the number of subjects in the group. The results are presented in table 5.8.

Table 5.8  
Average Number of Rearrests Per Subject Over  
Entire Observation Period in Final Sample (N=90)

Experimental (N=44)	Control (N=46)	Total (N=90)
1.02	2.07	1.56
(t = -2.64, df = 88, p < .01, two-tailed)		

Looking at table 5.8, the control group accrued more than twice as many arrests as the experimental group, and the difference is statistically significant. Note that these figures are very close to those for the original sample of 106 subjects presented earlier in table 5.2. This consistent and significant difference in both the original and final samples is evidence of what we term the "system response effect." Before discussing this effect, the final sample groups will be compared on the average number of rearrests per subject based on follow-up times of three, six and nine months.

Table 5.9 contains the results based on a maximum time at risk of three months. Subjects whose time at risk is less than three months are dropped from the analysis. Sample attrition is minimal for this comparison (3 cases).

Table 5.9  
Average Number of Rearrests Per Subject Over  
First Three Post-Release Months in Final Sample (N=87)

Experimental (N=41)	Control (N=46)	Total (N=87)
0.32	0.52	0.43
(t = -1.15, df = 85, ns)		

As seen in table 5.9, the experimental group was responsible for about 40 percent fewer arrests than the control group. The difference is not statistically significant. Not surprisingly, the volume of arrests is relatively low since most subjects were not rearrested within three months after release (see table 5.4), and those who were rearrested generally did not have time to commit multiple offenses.

Table 5.10 contains the results for cases who were at risk for at least 6 months. As was the case after three months, the experimental group accounted for about 40 percent fewer arrests than the control group, and the difference is not significant.

Table 5.10  
Average Number of Rearrests Per Subject Over  
First Six Post-Release Months in Final Sample (N=69)

Experimental (N=32)	Control (N=37)	Total (N=69)
0.56	0.92	0.75
(t = -1.40, df = 67, ns)		

Finally, the results based on cases at risk for at least nine months are presented in table 5.11. As before when all arrests were considered regardless of time at risk (see table 5.8), the control group accounted for twice as many rearrests on average. The lower volume of arrests here compared to table 5.8 is probably due to systematic sample attrition.<sup>14</sup> This attrition and the small sample sizes limit the conclusions which can be drawn from this comparison. Yet, the results are consistent with the rest of the analysis and the difference between groups approaches conventional levels of significance.

Table 5.11  
Average Number of Rearrests Per Subject Over  
First Nine Post-Release Months in Final Sample (N=49)

Experimental (N=23)	Control (N=26)	Total (N=49)
0.65	1.31	1.00
(t = -1.98, df = 47, p < .06, two-tailed)		

#### Seriousness of Offenses

In this part of the analysis, only rearrests for felony offenses were counted. The control group again showed almost twice the volume of recidivism over the entire observation period. Experimentals averaged 0.41 felony arrests compared to 0.76 felony arrests for controls.<sup>15</sup>

#### The System Response Effect

The difference in the volume of rearrests between the experimental and control groups is striking. As seen in the previous section, the control subjects were responsible for twice as many arrests, using the most global time frames. The differences are also notable when individual cases are considered. For example, in the original sample eight (8) control subjects had five or more arrests compared to only one (1) experimental subject. Since the two groups were more similar on the "proportion of subjects rearrested" criterion, we suspected that the larger difference in the total volume of rearrests was due in part to differential responses to initial rearrests. Specifically, it was reasonable to believe that IAP clients who were rearrested would face swift and meaningful sanctions while control group recidivists

might not. This section examines that hypothesis. All subsequent references are to the final sample of 90 subjects.

Table 5.12 illustrates that five experimental cases were returned to Bensalem as probation violators even though no new crimes had been committed; no control cases were recommitted in the absence of a new arrest. This tendency of the IAP officers to use the probation violation to remove youths from the community rather than to wait for court sentencing was also evident in their responses to their cases who were arrested as adults. IAP officers violated six IAP youths following their arrests as adults. Control officers apparently preferred to let the courts respond to arrests of youths on their caseloads, as probation violation procedures following their clients being arrested as adults were never initiated.

The consequence of these differential decisions can be seen in columns 3 and 4 of table 5.12, describing youths incarcerated following juvenile and adult arrest. Eight of the 12 control subjects arrested only as juveniles were sentenced following arrest, while only 3 of the 6 experimentals arrested only as juveniles were sentenced as a result of the arrest. The same pattern holds for adult arrests. Six of the 15 control subjects arrested only as adults were incarcerated following sentencing for these offenses, while none of the 10 experimental cases were incarcerated following sentencing.

These figures suggest that IAP probation officers may have intervened earlier than control officers following signs that their charges were having difficulty remaining crime-free. By using the mechanism of the probation violation, IAP officers may have been attempting to effectively remove the youths from the community before they had the

Table 5.12  
System Responses to Probation Violations and Rearrests

	<u>Reincarcerated</u>				Not rein- carcerated after rearrest (J, A, J&A)	Total rearrested  (J, A, J&A)*
	Probation Violation; no rearrests	Probation Violation for adult rearrest	Sentenced on juvenile rearrest	Sentenced on adult rearrest		
Experimental (N=44)						
%	11.4	13.6	6.8	0	29.5	50.0
(N)	(5)	(6)	(3)	(0)	(13)	(22)
					(2, 10, 1)	(6, 10, 4)
Control (N=46)						
%	0	0	17.4	13.0	43.5	73.9
(N)	(0)	(0)	(8)	(6)	(20)	(34)
					(6, 10, 4)	(12, 15, 7)

\* J = Juvenile arrests only  
 A = Adult arrests only  
 J&A = Both juvenile and adult arrests

opportunity to engage in larger numbers, and perhaps more serious, incidents of crime.

Among those youths who were recommitted following arrest, considerable disparities exist between experimentals and controls in the average time in months from first arrest to recommitment. Table 5.13 shows that among the experimentals who were arrested when they were still juveniles, the average amount of time experimental youths spent on the street before recommitment was 1.5 months. This is a full four months, on average, less than the lag time experienced by comparable control subjects. The average time in months between the first arrest as a juvenile and recommitment for control youths was 5.5 months. This pattern is repeated among youths whose first arrest following release occurred after they had turned 18 years of age. For experimentals arrested as adults, the average number of months from the first arrest to recommitment was 2.4 months; for controls it was 6.6 months, again a 4 months differential. Considering the fact that control youths received minimal levels of probation supervision in the community, these additional four months on the street may have provided added opportunities for control youths to engage in criminal behavior.

Table 5.13  
Average Time from First Rearrest to Recommitment (in Months)

	Experimental	Control
For Juvenile Rearrests	1.5	5.5
For Adult Rearrests	2.4	6.6

Note: The 3 experimentals and 8 controls recommitted for juvenile rearrests were reincarcerated after conviction in juvenile court. The 6 experimentals recommitted for an adult rearrest were returned as juvenile probation violators, while the 6 controls recommitted for an adult rearrest were reincarcerated after conviction in criminal court.

Indeed, it appears that this is what occurred among control youths. Table 5.14 presents the mean number of new arrests committed after the first arrest but before recommitment. Again, there are differences between experimentals and controls.<sup>16</sup> Among experimental youths arrested as juveniles following release to intensive aftercare, the mean number of rearrests is 0; none were rearrested prior to being removed from the community. For control youths, the mean for rearrests is 0.88, implying that on average, each youth experienced one additional rearrest prior to recommitment. Some control youths accumulated substantial rearrest records during this period, including one control case with 8 rearrests prior to his reincarceration.

Table 5.14  
Average Number of New Arrests Committed  
Between First Rearrest and Recommitment

	Experimental	Control
For Juvenile Rearrests	0	0.88
For Adult Rearrests	0.88	2.00

The same pattern can be observed among experimentals and controls first rearrested as adults. Table 5.14 shows that on average control subjects were rearrested more frequently than experimentals, at a margin of over two to one. Specifically, experimentals averaged about one additional arrest between the first arrest and recommitment while on average control subjects were arrested twice. The larger number of adult rearrests for both experimentals and controls compared to juvenile levels is probably due to the slower case processing time of the

adult court, coupled with the fact that juvenile probation officers do not tend to be involved in adult cases.

These figures provide clues to help us explicate the recidivism results reported earlier. At the first signs that juveniles under their charge are experiencing difficulties, it appears that IAP officers respond by taking actions which will remove the youths from the community. Apparently this sometimes occurs during the "relapse phase," prior to the youth's actually committing new offenses (or at least getting caught for them), through the process of probation violation. New juvenile or adult arrests, of course, were a clear indication that some relapse had occurred, and it appears that IAP officers were proactive in getting these cases off the streets as well. Revoking the juvenile probation of a client arrested as an adult for a serious offense was seen as a legitimate means of removing the juvenile from the community quickly before any further arrests occurred. This strategy was sometimes used when clients arrested as adults were released on bail and thus were expected to remain at large for several months awaiting trial.

This quick response of IAP officers to cases which were manifesting difficulties appeared to reduce the frequency of their reoffending. Moreover, it may have ultimately resulted in the youths receiving less severe sentences when they were eventually seen before the court. As the tables illustrate, proportionately fewer IAP youths who were reviewed for either juvenile or adult arrests were sentenced to confinement. This may be the result of more immediate intervention by the IAP officers which kept the extent of reoffending, and perhaps even its severity, among IAP youths to a minimum.

In contrast, the figures present a different picture of the post-release supervision process for control youths. With large caseloads, control probation officers were not able to monitor for relapse potential the behavior of youths on their caseloads. Apparently they did not have adequate information about the post-release adjustment of their charges to know whether any were experiencing relapse problems. And even if they were aware that youths on their caseloads were experiencing difficulties, the additional resources required to process paperwork for probation violations would have probably precluded their taking this tack. Even after their charges were formally arrested for criminal behavior, control probation officers apparently waited for the cases to take their courses through the judicial system. Again, it was not customary for CRIP probation officers to take action to remove probationers from the community even after they had been arrested for new offenses. The result of the "laissez faire" responses on the part of control probation officers, understandable given the magnitude of their caseloads, was to provide youths with additional time in the community in which to get into trouble. Ultimately, this strategy may have led to more severe sentences and longer confinements for control subjects. This issue is briefly examined in the following section.

#### Recidivism Based on Conviction and Incarceration

As explained at the outset of this chapter, arrest-based recidivism criteria are most useful for exploring a possible "aftercare effect." Recidivism measures based on convictions or incarcerations, on the other hand, are by definition related to "system response effects." Whether a given arrest results in a conviction or

incarceration depends on many discretionary factors, and not simply on the offender's culpability. It is for this reason that we have defined recidivism only in terms of rearrests up to this point. The fact remains, however, that the two groups differed widely on new convictions and incarcerations--differences several times the magnitude of the inter-group differences on new arrests. The differences were so great that we suspected some type of system processing effects accounted for them, although not necessarily the same effects described earlier. This section explores these differences and their possible causes.

The data on convictions and incarcerations are presented in table 5.15. It is important to note that these numbers refer to subjects who were known to be convicted and/or sentenced to incarceration during the study follow-up period. Undoubtedly, many subjects for whom dispositional data were lacking were eventually convicted and/or incarcerated. This raises the possibility that artifacts of the data collection process account for the differences between groups. For example, control subjects had longer follow-up times, on average, and it is well established that convictions and incarcerations are sensitive to the length of the tracking period. However, the differences are so large that the relatively small difference in observation time could hardly account for them. In addition (although not shown in table 5.15), the differences hold even for the earliest recorded arrests, which would be least affected by short follow-ups. We also do not suspect that differences in offense seriousness accounted for the lower conviction/incarceration rates, as there was little variation on offense seriousness between the two groups.

Table 5.15  
 Recidivism Defined as New Convictions and Incarcerations  
 During Entire Observation Period for Final Sample (N=90)

	Experimental (N=44)	Control (N=46)
I. Juvenile Court Jurisdiction:		
Mean # of arrests	0.18	0.87
Mean # of convictions	0.07	0.50
Mean # of incarcerations	0.07	0.46
Percent of arrests leading to conviction	38.89	57.47
II. Criminal Court Jurisdiction:		
Mean # of arrests	0.84	1.20
Mean # of convictions	0.07	0.33
Mean # of incarcerations	0.05	0.26
Percent of arrests leading to conviction	8.33	27.50
III. Total, both types of recidivism:		
Mean # of arrests	1.02	2.07
Mean # of convictions	0.14	0.83
Mean # of incarcerations	0.11	0.72
Percent of arrests leading to conviction	13.73	40.09

We begin by examining part III of table 5.15, which contains information on all recidivism (combined juvenile and adult). While controls incurred about twice as many arrests as experimentals, they incurred about six times as many convictions and incarcerations. Put

another way, controls were about three times as likely to be convicted for a given arrest as were experimentals. Examining juvenile and adult rearrests separately sheds additional light on this phenomenon. As seen in part I of table 5.15, there was relatively little difference in the processing of juvenile recidivists: given a new arrest, experimentals were only slightly less likely to be convicted (38.9 percent chance) than were controls (57.5 percent chance). However, the patterns for criminal court recidivism (part II) reveal greater disparity: controls were about three times more likely than experimentals to be convicted as adults, given an adult arrest.

We theorized earlier that IAP clients committed only about half as many total arrests as CRIP clients because IAP juveniles were closely monitored and were often recommitted at the first sign of relapse. However, this policy would predict relatively more convictions and incarcerations for IAP clients, rather than fewer, as were actually recorded. Some other type of process must therefore account for the differences. For example, we have already pointed out that rearrested experimentals were often recommitted as probation violators, while rearrested controls were only recommitted as a result of a new conviction. When interpreting the data in table 5.15, it is important to remember that many clients were rearrested as both juveniles and adults. Furthermore, by the time they were eventually sentenced, there might have been several charges lodged against them. Indeed, we suspect that the much higher "conviction rates" of control subjects reflect the fact that controls were frequently multiple reoffenders, while experimentals typically committed only one new offense (in part because they were often recommitted after that offense).

The tendency for controls to incur multiple rearrests might have led to higher overall conviction rates for several reasons. An examination of the juvenile and adult rearrest histories revealed that "earlier" arrests were often not resolved until "later" arrests had been recorded. This was especially true in criminal court. Subjects with multiple rearrests therefore, were often sentenced on several offenses at the same hearing. These multiple reoffenders (mostly controls) might have been reconvicted more frequently than single reoffenders (mostly experimentals) because prosecutors and judges saw them as a greater danger to the community or because the juveniles pled guilty as part of a plea bargain. Since prior record increases one's exposure to incarceration under Pennsylvania's sentencing guidelines, juveniles with multiple offenses may have pled guilty in return for a sentence of probation or a relatively short period of incarceration.

The patterns for new incarcerations as depicted in table 5.15 generally mirror the patterns for convictions and will not be discussed here. In terms of the overall benefits of the IAP program, the far lower conviction and incarceration rates of the experimental group are very impressive. These differences in favor of the experimental group represent considerable savings to the county, the state and the community. (A more detailed version of table 5.15, including tests of statistical significance, is contained in Appendix C.)

## ENDNOTES

(1) Analyses of only juvenile or only adult arrests were complicated by the fact that the two groups differed on average age at release from Bensalem. Low cell counts were also a problem. The decision to aggregate the two types of recidivism is reasonable, given that arrests are the prime indicator reported. Police making an arrest in this age group are probably unaware of the subject's legal status at the time, as most released subjects were between 17 and 19 years old.

(2) For example, arrests committed by a juvenile close to age 18 may not be prosecuted if the individual also has adult arrests pending. In the case of multiple arrests in the juvenile or criminal justice system, some arrests may be dismissed as part of a plea bargain in which the individual pleads guilty to other charges.

(3) Juvenile incarcerations were assumed to begin on the date of disposition as recorded on the JCJC Statistical Card or the Philadelphia Family Court computer. Unless a subsequent release was indicated, juvenile incarcerations were assumed to have lasted throughout the remainder or the follow-up period. Adult incarcerations were assumed to begin on the date of sentencing. Virtually all documented sentences of adult incarceration were at least one year in length. Therefore, these periods of incarceration were also assumed to have lasted for the duration of the observation period. It is possible, however, that some subjects were on the street for part of their presumed incarceration because of bail release or an early release from a county jail

sentence to parole. Finally, the few subjects arrested as adults for Murder were assumed to have been incarcerated on the date of arrest, since bail was not a possibility.

(4) Juvenile sentences are indeterminate, and therefore releases cannot be accurately predicted. Otherwise, the original sample would not have included juveniles "known" to be close to release. Since release dates were not known, the researchers decided to include all eligible juveniles in the sample pool, even though some releases during November and early December 1988 were inevitable.

(5) Experimental mean = 12.48 years, control mean = 12.99 years,  $t = -.56$ , ns.

(6) Two observations concerning offense seriousness are of interest. Three (3) of the control subjects were arrested for Murder, while none of the experimental subjects was charged with that offense. Also, 6 of the 26 rearrested experimental subjects were charged with drug offenses only; 2 of the 33 rearrested control subjects were charged with drug offenses only. This observation is not meant to minimize the seriousness of drug law violations, but is offered in light of the current drug-related environment in Philadelphia. Activities related to drug use and sales are almost routine in many neighborhoods. Our interviews with subjects at Bensalem confirmed that three fourths of them use marijuana on a regular basis and many are involved in sales-related networks which are organized along the lines of street gangs. Given this environment and the related peer pressure, subjects whose only "relapse" into a delinquent lifestyle

involves drug-related crimes may in fact be consciously refraining from committing person or property offenses.

(7) See, for example: Goodstein and Sontheimer (1987); National Council on Crime and Delinquency (1987); Fagan (1990).

(8)  $t = -2.06$ ,  $df = 88$ ,  $p < .05$ , two-tailed.

(9) Average follow-up times were shorter for the final sample because the most common reason for dropping a subject was an early release (i.e. before the IAC program was operational). A total of 20 cases out of the original sample of 106 were dropped for this reason.

The longer average follow-up periods for the control group in the final sample could result from a combination of random and systematic factors. For example, IAC subjects stayed longer at Bensalem than control cases, on average: 11.16 months compared to 10.40 months. Although this difference is small and not statistically significant, it represents about half of the average difference in follow-up time. All other factors being equal, juveniles retained longer in the institution will have shorter observation periods.

(10) Chi-square = 2.0,  $df = 1$ , ns.

(11) Each subject's observation period is coded in 30 day periods starting with his release date. For convenience, these 30 day intervals are referred to as months.

(12) The value of the Lee-Desu statistic for the survival data is 1.44,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = 0.23$ .

(13)  $t = -1.16$ ,  $df = 88$ , ns.

(14) Recall that a subject's time at risk was considered to end on the date of any subsequent incarceration. Subjects with multiple rearrests were more likely to be reincarcerated. Therefore when the sample is limited to only those subjects who were at risk for at least nine months, many of the multiple recidivists will not be included. The remaining subjects will contain proportionately more subjects with no or only one rearrest, so that the volume of reoffending for this group will be lower than in the entire sample over a comparable period.

(15)  $t = -1.64$ ,  $df = 88$ ,  $p < .10$

(16) These tables reflect relatively few cases per cell and are intended to illuminate study results presented earlier, rather than to test hypotheses. Hence, no tests of significance have been run on these figures.



## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Intensive Aftercare Program implemented by the Philadelphia Juvenile Probation Department has been shown to be effective in reducing the frequency, although not the incidence, of criminal behavior among a group of high-risk, serious juvenile offenders. Juveniles who were supervised by an IAP officer committed fewer offenses, on average, after release from institutional placement than a control group which was supervised under the model of "regular" aftercare probation, involving large caseloads and minimal intervention.

On the other hand, the results of the study prevent the researchers from concluding that intensive aftercare reduces the likelihood that supervised youths will engage in their first instance of criminal behavior. While consistent patterns were found showing proportionately lower rates of recidivism among experimental, in comparison to control, subjects, these patterns were not found to be statistically significant. Thus, we are unable to conclude that intensive aftercare as it was operationalized in the Philadelphia program serves to turn youths away from their propensity to crime. Rather, it appears that the program succeeds in providing IAP officers with the resources, guidelines, administrative backing, and motivation to intervene rapidly when appropriate to prevent youths who are failing to make successful adjustments to community life from multiple incidents of reoffending.

## Theoretical Foundations of the System Response and Aftercare Effects

In this report, we have distinguished between two possible impacts of the intensive probation model on juvenile recidivism and have named them the aftercare effect and the system response effect. The aftercare effect is viewed as reflective of an authentic change in the predilections to crime among participating youths. It operates as a result of one of two correctional models, specific deterrence or rehabilitation. The aftercare effect could operate to cause IAP juveniles to desist from participating in criminal behavior, at least temporarily, due to the intensive surveillance and monitoring performed by the probation officer, especially during the first three months following release. In this sense, the increased salience of the presence of the probation officer in the life of the juvenile may serve as a deterrent to crime. The youth's awareness that his probation officer is monitoring his behavior and is willing to take action to thwart illegal acts may serve to reduce their incidence.

The aftercare effect could also reflect a genuine set of behavior changes within the supervised juvenile, brought on through lifestyle changes mandated through the intensive aftercare program. Theoretically, through enforcing juveniles' participation in school and/or work, counseling or other prosocial group activities, and fostering more positive relations between the probationer and his immediate family, the IAP program could serve to strengthen youths' bonds with the prosocial community. This model, essentially drawing upon Hirschi's control theory (1969), presumes that strengthening bonds with prosocial individuals and institutions will lead to changes in

offenders' value systems and behaviors which will reduce the likelihood of reinvolvement in criminal behavior patterns.

Given the data available, it is not possible to identify which of the above models, specific deterrence or rehabilitation, would be the driving force behind an aftercare effect. What is important to stress, however, is that either of the above models would reflect an actual change in the probationer's propensity to criminality, a desistence from crime that would be at least temporary. This model is to be distinguished from what we are calling the system response effect, in which there is presumed to be no change in offenders' propensity to criminality.

Like the hypothesized aftercare effect, the system response effect is presumed to be effective in reducing recidivism. The mechanism through which the system response effect is presumed to operate is selective incapacitation through early intervention. When the first signs appear that juveniles are returning to criminal lifestyle patterns, the probation officer acts to remove the youth from the community through the probation violation process. This quick response serves to reduce the number of offenses a given juvenile would have the opportunity of committing. This model does not assume a reduction in the propensity of any given juvenile to commit criminal offenses if he had the opportunity to remain in the community.

#### Relationship of the IAP to the Aftercare and System Response Effects

The Intensive Aftercare Program was intended to create both aftercare and system response effects. The aftercare effects would theoretically encompass both rehabilitation and special deterrence.

With drastically reduced caseloads, IAP probation officers were expected to have the time to work with the juveniles, their families, and representatives of employment, counseling, treatment, and educational organizations to ensure that the youth was participating successfully in prosocial experiences. In interviews with the researchers, IAP officers stated that their reduced caseloads allowed them to serve as advocates for their youths much as parents of more economically advantaged families might when their children encounter difficulties. Officers expressed pleasure that they had the time to "shop" for appropriate agencies for each youth and to follow through with agencies providing services to their youths, finding out how the youth was performing, confirming the appropriateness of the program, making changes in the services if they were not working out. They reported success in many cases in establishing a relationship with the juvenile which enabled them to help him with difficulties. Given that these youths have histories of severe social dysfunction, including high incidence of drug and alcohol use and family disorganization, it was not reasonable to expect that IAP juveniles would not encounter serious adjustment problems upon reentry to the community. The rehabilitative value of the IAP program comes from the additional attention officers are able to give to youths when difficulties arise and the potential to avert more serious difficulties when first signs of "relapse" occur.

Both general and specific deterrence were also expected to occur as a result of the new norms established within the IAP program. One constant goal of the program was to hold IAP clients accountable. Initial responses to technical violations of probation--meeting with the IAP supervisor or sidebar conferences with the judge--did not

remove the juvenile from the community. Yet the fact that this more drastic step (removal) was invoked with the most recalcitrant clients was supposed to send a message to other IAP youths that the program "meant business" because it was willing to recommit juveniles for technical violations of intensive aftercare probation. In addition, IAP officers also were shown to step in quickly to initiate probation revocation proceedings soon after a first rearrest for a new offense, regardless of whether the probationer was arrested as a juvenile or adult. The willingness of the Family Court to commit resources to sanction arrests which fell under criminal court jurisdiction should have sent a clear message to clients that their responsibilities to the court did not end with their eighteenth birthday.

Word may have spread "on the street" about the recommitments, and certainly IAP clients still at Bensalem when youths on intensive aftercare were returned would have learned that they were sent back on revocations. It is logical that revoking relapsing juveniles or probationers who had been rearrested either as juveniles or adults would operate as a general deterrent for other IAP juveniles, who may work harder to avoid relapse because they were aware of these certain and serious consequences.

In addition, the experience of being returned to placement as a probation violator may have had some specific deterrent impact as well. Youths whose probations were revoked were generally sent to residential facilities for periods of between thirty and ninety days and then returned to the community. After they were released they may have been more reluctant to engage in criminal behavior under the assumption that if the IAP officers did it once (revoke probation), they would do it again.

The willingness of the IAP program and the Juvenile Court to remove youths from the community for probation violations, either before a new arrest was made or immediately after the first juvenile or adult rearrest was a major challenge to the standard manner of Philadelphia Juvenile Probation in handling recidivistic behavior. As discussed above, we suspect that this new approach has the potential to effect both general deterrence on those IAP youths whose probations have not yet been revoked as well as specific deterrence on youths who have personally experienced the swift and sure sanction of probation violation.

Yet it is important to note that cynicism runs deep among probationers about the seriousness of the IAP program to follow through on its promises (or threats). The laissez-faire model of regular probation, which obviously works to the advantage of misbehaving youths, may be a difficult one for them to cognitively abandon. As an illustration, Supervisor Tom Quinn recently remarked that relapsing IAP youths, who had already been warned by their officers and IAP supervisor that the next official response would be revocation, were voluntarily appearing at revocation hearings. Moreover, they expressed surprise and outrage that they were to be reincarcerated without having committed new crimes. This suggests that some IAP youths, almost 24 months after the institution of the program, do not perceive the general deterrent value of the IAP program. Of course, after serving their 30 to 90 days, the specific deterrent value for these youths may be considerably higher.

## Study Findings Concerning the Aftercare Effect

Ideally, an Intensive Probation Program would create measurable, noticeable behavioral change among participating probationers. Moreover, improvements in the quality of the probationer's adjustment to the community and reductions in his propensity to return to criminal behavior are the types of impacts which would be expected and desired from such a program. The study found indications of an aftercare effect in a few measures and consistent, although statistically non-significant changes in others. Overall, from the data available to us about post-release adjustment (which was admittedly scant), it appears that the IAP program was successful in improving the quality of juveniles' interactions with their parents and with school. In addition, IAP probationers cooperated significantly better with their probation officers and with the conditions of their probations than did controls. However, the fact that experimental and control groups were not significantly different on either the Problem Index or the Prosocial Index suggests that there were still areas of the juvenile's life after release that the IAP program did not affect.

In our estimation, the more important indicator of an aftercare effect would be a reduction in the proportion of IAP youths rearrested. While consistent patterns reflecting higher rates of recidivism among control cases over time emerged, the differentials between experimental and control groups remained small, not approaching statistical significance. Moreover, it is likely that the differentials would have been even smaller if the IAP officers had not stepped in to execute probation revocation proceedings for several experimental juveniles showing signs of relapse. In this sense, the proportion of

youths rearrested is perhaps primarily indicative of the aftercare effect but reflects system response as well. As mentioned earlier, these findings do not allow us to conclude that the IAP program reduced participating youths' proclivities to commit crime after release from placement. The fact that there were no differences in the severity of the first offenses after release committed by experimental and control subjects also supports this viewpoint.

Finally, one other comparison also suggests that the IAP program was not successful in reducing crime proneness among study youths. The reader may recall that a few analyses of recidivism were performed on the "original sample," cases randomly assigned to experimental and control groups before subjects were dropped from the study and replacement cases added. The "original" experimental group contains a substantial minority of cases who we know never received the IAP treatment. Nevertheless, the proportions of experimental and control youths rearrested were virtually identical to those found in the analyses of the final sample: 49 percent experimental, 62 percent control. The fact that the original experimental group, which could be viewed as receiving a "watered down" treatment, exhibited the same rate of recidivism as the final experimental group suggests that intensive aftercare supervision did not substantially affect crime proneness.

How can these results be interpreted, given the strong theoretical arguments in favor of an aftercare effect, coupled with anecdotal evidence from IAP officers that the program "changes youths' lives?" We have two hunches.

First, the timing of the study may have been premature. We have documented the difficulties encountered in getting the IAP running

during its first nine months. Youths involved in the program during the start-up and transition periods did not receive a treatment equivalent to the treatment IAP youths are now receiving, almost 24 months following the hiring of the first IAP officers. Many of the early experimentals were close to release when the first contact was made with the IAP officer; hence they did not receive as much attention to aftercare planning as later participants. The transition period came at an inopportune time, as many of the experimentals were being released from placement. Considering the acknowledged importance of the first several weeks after release from placement in shaping the post-release adjustment period, many of these IAP youths were short-changed because of understaffing and a supervision vacuum. Finally, time was needed for the IAP officers and the court to disseminate the message that the IAP program was different, that it would help youths in ways conventional probation could not but that it also carried stiff consequences for misbehavior. As discussed in Chapter 2, this required changes in the cultures of both the IAP probation officers and the youths, and these cultural changes took time.

In retrospect, it probably would have been more cost effective to have conducted a qualitative study of the IAP program for the first year so that information concerning program implementation was available before the actual study samples were drawn. Fortunately, 16 of the experimental cases were not released to the community until September 1989 or later, providing a sub-sample which may be argued to have received a "cleaner" treatment. We plan to gather additional recidivism data on these cases and to make comparisons between this sub-sample and controls. If the above argument holds, the differences in rates of arrest between this group and controls may be greater.

Our second hunch is more cynical, or some might say more realistic. It is that the IAP treatment of three contacts per week for 12 to 24 weeks, plus some collateral contacts, is simply not powerful enough to effect significant changes in youths' crime proclivities. The failure to demonstrate significant differences on arrest rates between experimentals and controls is certainly consistent with the majority of studies of other interventions targeted at the habitual or serious delinquent (Fagan, 1990).

#### Study Findings Concerning the System Response Effect

The findings of the present study are significant in that they were able to demonstrate the effectiveness of an innovative probation program in significantly reducing the frequency of recidivism among arguably the most difficult group of juveniles to treat: serious, habitual, violent youths. The study results indicate that participants in the Intensive Aftercare Program committed about half the number of offenses of comparable youths receiving regular aftercare services. This effect appears to be the result of the willingness of IAP officers to take a proactive stance in dealing with juveniles who demonstrated signs of failure to conform to conditions of probation. The norms of the IAP demanded that youths manifesting signs of adjustment difficulties be threatened with, and then ultimately faced with, return to institutional placement. This policy was evident in the violations of probation of six IAP youths who had not committed new offenses as well as the probation violations which soon followed youth's first rearrests, either as juveniles or as adults.

These probation violations functioned to remove these youths from the community and prevent them from repeating their patterns of

criminality during what, for the control group, were sometimes extended periods between arrests and adjudications. Clearly, the strategy worked; no experimental youth who experienced probation revocation during the follow-up period committed more than one offense. In contrast, control youths, not subject to probation violation, committed more offenses per capita: an average of two for juvenile recidivists and three for control youths arrested as adults. This is unequivocally a benefit from a public safety perspective.

In addition, from a fiscal perspective, it can be argued that the IAP resulted in lower governmental costs for reincarceration. Experimentals who experienced arrest were reconvicted and reincarcerated at far lower levels than control subjects. As discussed in the previous chapter, this difference is most likely due to the difference in the total number of arrests for which each offender was adjudicated at the time of the disposition hearing. With multiple arrests to be adjudicated, control subjects were more likely to be convicted than experimentals, who had been arrested far fewer times. Control subjects were also more likely to be incarcerated, resulting in an increased financial burden on the court and county.

Considering the number of experimental and control subjects who were returned to placement, either as a result of reconviction or probation violation, the proportion was approximately the same for experimentals (31.0 percent) and controls (30.4 percent). Yet the majority of experimentals who were reincarcerated (11 out of 14 reconfined) did so as probation violators and not as a result of new sentences. In contrast, all control subjects who were reconfined (14) received this sanction due to new sentences, in most cases for multiple offenses.

Thus, control subjects were likely to be confined for significantly longer time periods than experimental subjects, on average. Experimental subjects' incarcerations for probation violations tended to be rather brief, from one to three months. Control subjects, on the other hand, tended to amass multiple offenses before being adjudicated and ultimately removed from the community through the formal sentencing process. As a result, controls were likely to receive more severe sentences than they would have received had they been swiftly treated by the justice system following the first recidivistic arrest.

#### Implications of the Study

One possible inference one could draw from the study's results is that the Philadelphia Juvenile Probation Department should institute a policy of revoking probations of all serious, chronic juveniles immediately following the first arrest after release. After all, if the success of the program appears to be due to the swift response of IAP officers to offenders' recidivism, perhaps the most cost-effective intervention might be to do away with the extensive service delivery component of the IAP, maintain probation officers' caseloads of 75 to 100, and direct the funds saved on the IAP program to cover increased incarceration costs incurred by higher levels of probation revocations.

We do not support this interpretation of the study's findings. We suspect that the effectiveness of the IAP program in reducing the number of offenses committed by the experimental group reflects two factors specific to the Intensive Aftercare Program: (1) the increased knowledge of each case afforded to IAP officers; and (2) the ability of the IAP officers to devote considerable attention to each

case, especially the more problematic ones. Let us briefly discuss each of these factors.

As envisioned by Judge Reynolds and others, the IAP officers were able to devote the time to get to know their charges well. The officers interviewed indicated that this knowledge gave them the ability to assess youths who were manifesting signs of misbehavior and differentiate between those who required reconfinement and those who did not. They were able, given the intimate knowledge they had of the youths and their families, to judge that some youths who were experiencing adjustment difficulties could, with adequate supervision, remain on the street. Even after experimental youths were rearrested, the officers claimed that they were able to determine that, for some youths, the rearrest was not an indication of a gross recidivistic pattern and that these youths could be maintained in the community. In other cases, IAP officers were in a position to determine that, even absent a new arrest, adequate signs of probation violation behavior were evident to justify removal of youths from the community.

The study's findings underscore the fact that IAP officers were selective in their decisions to revoke probation. Of the 22 experimental cases arrested, only 6, or 27 percent, were subject to probation violation. Combining this figure with the five who were violated presumably before their first arrest and the three sentenced as juveniles, a total of 14 experimentals experienced reconfinement during the follow-up period.

Assuming that the five experimental subjects who experienced "preemptive" violations would have eventually been arrested, we speculate that a total of 27 of the 44 experimental cases would have been subject to an automatic revocation policy, had one been in effect.

However, the study results indicate that only 14 of these 27 experimental cases were actually reconfined. Hence, about half of the experimentals who would have been removed from the community if a mandatory revocation policy had been in effect were able to remain in the community under the IAP supervisory strategy. The IAP officers were obviously making discretionary decisions about which youths who manifested adjustment difficulties would have to be returned to institutions and which could remain on the street. These decisions could not have been made without extensive knowledge about individual cases.

The second factor which contributed to the success of the IAP and would be inconsistent with a generalized mandatory revocation policy is ability of the IAP officers to devote considerable attention to each case. When faced with uncooperative clients, IAP officers devoted considerable time to maintaining contact with the youths. Even in cases where youths failed to appear for scheduled contacts, the IAP officers would locate the youths and would insure that they could be taken into custody if necessary for probation revocation. The process of tracking uncooperative youths who may perceive that they could elude revocation if they simply laid low is often time and energy consuming. The success of IAP officers to successfully remove some experimental youths from the community depended upon their ability to devote considerable time to tracking each case. Officers with significantly larger caseloads would find it unavoidable that some cases in which probations should be revoked would "slip through the cracks".

The success of the IAP in reducing the number of offenses committed by their clients can be attributed to their ability to decide which youths required removal from the community and their swiftness and effectiveness in the removal process.

Many practices of the IAP officers could not be emulated by officers in conventional aftercare situations with significantly larger caseloads. However, it is clear from the results of this study that public safety could be enhanced and incarceration costs reduced with quicker responses to repeated criminal behavior among this high-risk group of juvenile offenders. We will close our discussion of these issues with a case in point, a control juvenile who was eventually reincarcerated after a total of nine arrests. He was arrested within two months of his release from Bensalem. After the filing of a bench warrant, the arrest was withdrawn. He then experienced a second arrest, resulting in a continuation of his probation. The youth then rapidly amassed a total of seven additional arrests before he was sentenced to serve time in a juvenile institution.

Had this youth been part of the IAP program, it is inconceivable that he would have been allowed to remain in the community long enough to commit the number of offenses he did. In hindsight, this youth should have been removed from the community following the first, but definitely the second, arrest. Procedures for swifter and more consistent follow-up with these offenders should be implemented for all youths at high risk of recidivism. The Intensive Aftercare Program has demonstrated itself to be effective in this regard.



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APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS



EVALUATION OF INTENSIVE AFTERCARE PROGRAMS

IN PHILADELPHIA FAMILY COURT

PRE-ASSIGNMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I am working for Shippensburg University. We are conducting a study of aftercare services for youths after they get out of placements such as this one. Our study will give us information on what happens to youths after they get out. We are not lawyers, police, court officials, or correctional officials.

We would like you to help us today by answering a questionnaire. It takes about an hour. You are free to choose whether or not you want to answer the questionnaire. We will be asking you questions about you and your friends; your goals and expectations for when you get out; and your behavior before you got here. We are also getting information from your court files to better understand who you are and what your needs may be when you get out. We promise that all information about you will be kept confidential. Your name will not appear anywhere on the completed forms. Only research staff at Shippensburg University will be able to match your name with the information you tell us today. None of your answers will be given to other persons, agencies, or to the staff here at this placement. No one can get access to your answers -- not even through the courts.

There are no direct benefits to you from participation in this research. The potential benefits from this research will be to future young people. We hope to know more about which aftercare services and support agencies work best for certain types of youths and which ones help prevent future criminal involvement.

I will be happy to answer any questions you have about taking part in this study. We will give you a copy of this form. If you have any questions later on, you may call:

Henry Sontheimer  
Center for Juvenile Justice Training and Research  
Shippensburg University  
Shippensburg, Pennsylvania 17257  
(717) 532-1187

01/24/89

ID: \_\_\_\_\_

CONSENT

I have read and understand the description of the project and the participation requirements and confidentiality assurances. I understand that participation is voluntary and I can choose not to answer the questions. I also understand that if I participate, I can refuse to answer any question that I find too personal, and that I can stop participating any time.

Juvenile's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Juvenile's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

FUTURE CONTACT SHEET

ID# \_\_\_\_\_

Before we begin the interview, I need to get some information. At some point after you have left Bensalem, we might want to talk with you again about some of the things we will ask you today. Again, the information we will ask you will be kept confidential.

Will you be willing to talk with us at some later time. (If respondent says "yes," have him sign the statement below.)

I give my permission for Shippensburg University to talk with me after my release from placement.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

It may be hard to locate you. Would you give us your name and address and the name and address of YOUR PARENTS, A RELATIVE (not living with you) and a CLOSE FRIEND so that we may contact you?

RESPONSE:            Yes    No    (Circle One)

YOUR Last Name: \_\_\_\_\_ First Name: \_\_\_\_\_ MI: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone Number: (    ) \_\_\_\_\_

FATHER OR STEPFATHER

Last Name: \_\_\_\_\_ First Name: \_\_\_\_\_ MI: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone Number: (    ) \_\_\_\_\_

MOTHER OR STEPMOTHER

Last Name: \_\_\_\_\_ First Name: \_\_\_\_\_ MI: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone Number: (    ) \_\_\_\_\_

RELATIVE

Last Name: \_\_\_\_\_ First Name: \_\_\_\_\_ MI: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone Number: (    ) \_\_\_\_\_

CLOSE FRIEND

Last Name: \_\_\_\_\_ First Name: \_\_\_\_\_ MI: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone Number: (    ) \_\_\_\_\_

ID# \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEWER: Before you ask any questions, please fill out the attached calendar for the past year prior to placement in this program, because:

A. Many of the questions refer to the youth's behavior "the year before commitment." We need to pinpoint what happened during this time so we can verify his version with official records and be able to give him a reference point upon which to focus.

B. We want to determine the prior placement history and street time for the juvenile. Start with the current month and ask the following:

1) When did you come to this placement?

2) Where were you before that time? When did you go there and when did you leave? (Make sure you write down location and in and out dates).

KEEP ASKING QUESTIONS UNTIL YOU FILL IN WHERE THE JUVENILE HAS BEEN FOR THE YEAR PRIOR TO THIS PLACEMENT. TRY ALSO TO RECORD ANY AWOLS OR RUNAWAYS ON THE CALENDAR.

1989

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

1988

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

NOTES:

1987

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

1986

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

NOTES:

CARD NO: 01 1-2/

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| 3-5/

CODER ID: |\_\_| 6/

INTERVIEW DATE: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| 7-12/  
| MM | DD | YY |

\*\*\*\*\*  
TO THE INTERVIEWER: SHOW THE JUVENILE THE RESPONSE CARD LABELED #1.  
EXPLAIN THE RESPONSE CATEGORIES TO HIM AND SAY THAT HE WILL BE USING  
THESE CATEGORIES TO ANSWER THE FIRST SET OF QUESTIONS.  
\*\*\*\*\*

I. PERSONAL GOALS

The following is a list of personal goals. Tell me how important each of these goals is to you right now:

	Very	Pretty	Somewhat	Not Very	Not		
	Important	Important	Important	Important	At All	DK	
1. Holding down a job?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  13
2. Doing well in school?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  14
3. Getting a high school diploma?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  15
4. Getting along well with others?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  16
5. Succeeding at whatever you set out to do?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  17
6. Being confident in certain situations?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  18
7. Developing Strong Friendships?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  19
8. Making a good life for yourself?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  20

PERSONAL GOALS (CONT'D)

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
 CARD: 01

The following is a list of personal goals. Tell me how important each of these goals is to you right now:

	Very Important	Pretty Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	DK	
9. Keeping your life under control?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  21
10. Being respected by others?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  22
11. Making enough money to get by without having to work hard?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  23
12. Staying out of jail?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  24
13. Having self respect?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  25
14. Getting a lot of money?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  26
15. Developing a meaningful way of life?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  27
16. Having sexual relationships?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  28
17. Getting married?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  29
18. Having children of your own?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  30
19. Being involved in exciting experiences?	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  31

II. SELF EFFICACY AND MOTIVATION

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
 CARD: 01

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: THE FOLLOWING SET OF QUESTIONS REFERS TO THE JUVENILE'S  
 FEELING ABOUT HIS LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCEEDING IN THE COMMUNITY.  
 SHOW JUVENILE CARD #2 AND EXPLAIN RESPONSE CATEGORIES TO HIM.  
 \*\*\*\*\*

When you get out, what do you feel your chances are at being successful  
 in the following areas:

Interviewer: Preceed each item with the word "successfully":

	Very Good	Good	Average	Poor	Very Poor	DK	
20. Successfully living with parents or guardians	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  32
21. Holding down a job	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  33
22. Staying out of trouble with the law	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  34
23. Staying away from committing new crimes	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  35
24. Staying out of jail	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  36
25. Attending school regularly	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  37
26. Getting involved in sports	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  38
27. Controlling your temper	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  39
28. Avoiding some of your old (delinquent) friends	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  40
29. Attending AA or NA meetings	1	2	3	4	5	9	__  41

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: THE FOLLOWING SET OF QUESTIONS REFERS TO THE YOUTH'S MORAL  
 VALUES. SHOW THE YOUTH CARD #3 AND EXPLAIN THE RESPONSE CATEGORIES TO HIM.  
 \*\*\*\*\*

How wrong do you think it is to :

	Very Wrong	Wrong	A little bit wrong	Not wrong at all	
30. Steal something worth \$100?..... 1		2	3	4	__  42
31. Use hard drugs such as crack, heroin, cocaine, LSD or acid?... 1		2	3	4	__  43
32. Use marijuana, reefer or pot?... 1		2	3	4	__  44
33. Drink alcohol?..... 1		2	3	4	__  45
34. Use a weapon or force to get money or things from people?.... 1		2	3	4	__  46
35. Attack someone with a weapon or with the idea of seriously hurting them?..... 1		2	3	4	__  47
36. Hit someone with the idea of hurting them?..... 1		2	3	4	__  48
37. Take a car or motorcycle for a ride without the owner's permission?..... 1		2	3	4	__  49
38. Steal something worth \$50?..... 1		2	3	4	__  50
39. Damage or destroy someone elses property on purpose?..... 1		2	3	4	__  51
40. Skip classes without an excuse?. 1		2	3	4	__  52

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: THESE QUESTIONS CONCERN THE YOUTHS FEELINGS OF SELF ESTEEM.  
 SHOW THE YOUTH RESPONSE CARD #4 AND EXPLAIN THE RESPONSE CATEGORIES TO THE  
 YOUTH.  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Now I would like to ask you whether you agree or disagree with some  
 statements about yourself.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
41. In general, you are satisfied with yourself. Do you.....	1	2	3	4	__  53
42. At times you think you are no good at all.....	1	2	3	4	__  54
43. You feel that you have a number of good qualities.....	1	2	3	4	__  55
44. You can do things as well as most other people.....	1	2	3	4	__  56
45. You feel you do not have much to be proud of.....	1	2	3	4	__  57
46. You feel useless at times.....	1	2	3	4	__  58
47. You feel that you are at least as good as other people.	1	2	3	4	__  59
48. You wish that you could have more respect for yourself.....	1	2	3	4	__  60
49. Sometimes you think of yourself a as a bad kid.....	1	2	3	4	__  61

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: THIS SET OF QUESTIONS IS IN REGARD TO THE YOUTH'S FEELINGS OF DEPRESSION. SHOW THE YOUTH RESPONSE CARD #5 AND EXPLAIN THE RESPONSE CATEGORIES TO HIM.  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Now, think back over your last several months in placement. How often did you.....

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	
50. Feel you had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing?....	1	2	3	4	__  62
51. Feel depressed or very sad?.....	1	2	3	4	__  63
52. Feel hopeful about the future?.....	1	2	3	4	__  64
53. Feel bothered by things that don't usually bother you?.....	1	2	3	4	__  65
54. Not feel like eating because you felt upset about something?.....	1	2	3	4	__  66
55. Feel that everything you did was an effort?..	1	2	3	4	__  67
56. Think seriously about suicide?.....	1	2	3	4	__  68
57. Feel scared or afraid?..	1	2	3	4	__  69
58. Toss and turn when you sleep?.....	1	2	3	4	__  70

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: THE TIME FRAME SHIFTS TO THE LAST TIME THE YOUTH WAS HOME  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Now I am going to ask you some questions about things during the last time/year you were home, which was between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: TAKE OUT CARD #6 FOR THE NEXT SET OF QUESTIONS  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Now let's talk about what your friends did during the last year you lived at home. I'd like you to tell me how many of your close friends have done each thing I will read to you.

	None of them	Very few of them	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	
59. Cheat on school tests?	1	2	3	4	5	__  6
60. Attend school regularly?	1	2	3	4	5	__  7
61. Involved in team sports?	1	2	3	4	5	__  8
62. Have steady jobs?	1	2	3	4	5	__  9
63. Tried to get you to do something that was against the law?	1	2	3	4	5	__  10
64. Steal something worth less than \$5?	1	2	3	4	5	__
65. Steal something worth more than \$50?	1	2	3	4	5	__  12
66. Damage or destroy on purpose property that does not belong to them?	1	2	3	4	5	__  13
67. Break into a car or building to steal something?	1	2	3	4	5	__  14
68. Took a car or motorcycle for a ride or drive without the owner's permission?	1	2	3	4	5	__  15

FRIENDS' BEHAVIOR (CONT'D)

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
 CARD: 02

How many of your close friends....

	None of them	Very few of them	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	
69. Hit or threaten to hit someone for no reason?	1	2	3	4	5	__  16
70. Used a weapon or force to get money or things from people?	1	2	3	4	5	__  17
71. Attacked someone with a weapon or with the idea of seriously hurting them?	1	2	3	4	5	__  18
72. Drink alcohol?	1	2	3	4	5	__  19
73. Used marijuana, reefer or pot?	1	2	3	4	5	__  20
74. Used hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, LSD and acid?	1	2	3	4	5	__  21
75. Used crack?	1	2	3	4	5	__  22
76. Sell hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, and LSD?	1	2	3	4	5	__  23
77. Share their thoughts and feelings with you?	1	2	3	4	5	__  24

Now I would like to ask you what you would do if your friends did certain things. You may answer by saying "Yes" or "No."

	Yes ---	No ---	
78. Would you hang out with your friends even if they were getting you into trouble?	1	2	__  25
79. If your friends were getting into trouble, would you try and stop them?	1	2	__  26
80. If your friends got into trouble with the police, would you lie to protect them?	1	2	__  27

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: NOW TAKE OUT CARD #7 AND EXPLAIN THE RESPONSE CARD ANSWERS  
 TO THE YOUTH. (SELF EFFICACY (CONT'D) -- SOCIAL SITUATIONS)  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Now I am going to describe to you some situations you might face. Please tell me, using the card, how you would act in these situations.

	Just leave the situation	Try to talk to him/her/them	Raise my voice and yell at him/her/them	React physically by hitting, punching	Don't Know	
	1	2	3	4	9	
81. If you and your girlfriend got in a fight and she went out with another guy:	1	2	3	4	9	__  28
82. If you and your parents disagree about behavior, for example, curfew:	1	2	3	4	9	__  29
83. If you and your brothers and sister are fighting:	1	2	3	4	9	__  30
84. If your parent is physically abusing you:	1	2	3	4	9	__  31
85. If your parent is physically abusing your brother or sister or other parent:	1	2	3	4	9	__  31
86. Someone calls you an "asshole" for stepping on his shoe while you are waiting with your girl in a movie line:	1	2	3	4	9	__  32
87. Your boss accuses you of something you didn't do and tells you you are fired:	1	2	3	4	9	__  33
88. A teacher flunks you on a test you really studied for:	1	2	3	4	9	__  34

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: THERE IS NO RESPONSE CARD FOR THIS SECTION. FOR EACH DRUG LISTED, ASK FIRST HOW OLD SUBJECT WAS WHEN HE FIRST TRIED THE DRUG. IF HE HAS NEVER USED IT, CODE 99. THEN ASK IF HE WAS EVER DEPENDENT ON THE DRUG, AND IF HE WAS EVER TREATED FOR HIS DEPENDENCY. THEN GO TO THE NEXT DRUG.  
 \*\*\*\*\*

In order to figure out what kinds of drug programs are needed in the community, we have to find out about the kinds of drugs people are taking.

Please try to answer these questions honestly. I want to remind you again that everything you say will be held in strict confidence.

How old were you when  
 you first tried:

	Age First Tried	Ever Dependent?	Ever in Treatment?
	99 = Never	1 = Yes 2 = No	1 = Yes 2 = No
89. Beer or Wine	_ _  6-7	_ _  8	_ _  9
90. Hard Liquor	_ _  10-11	_ _  12	_ _  13
91. Marijuana, reefer, pot or hash	_ _  14-15	_ _  16	_ _  17
92. Inhale things, other than cigarettes to get high	_ _  18-19	_ _  20	_ _  21
93. Tranquilizers	_ _  22-23	_ _  24	_ _  25
94. Downers or Barbituates	_ _  26-27	_ _  28	_ _  29

DRUG USE (CONT'D)

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
 CARD: 03

	Age First Tried	Ever Dependent?	Ever in Treatment?
		1 = Yes 2 = No	1 = Yes 2 = No
95. Uppers, Speed or Amphetamines	__ __  30-31	__ __  32	__ __  33
96. Acid, LSD, psyche- delics/hallucinogens	__ __  34-35	__ __  36	__ __  37
97. Cocaine or Coke	__ __  38-39	__ __  40	__ __  41
98. Crack	__ __  42-43	__ __  44	__ __  45
99. Heroin	__ __  46-47	__ __  48	__ __  49
100. Angel Dust or PCP	__ __  50-51	__ __  52	__ __  53
101. Have you ever used a needle to take illegal drugs?			__ __  54
(1 = Yes, 2 = No)			
102. How many times have you used a needle to take illegal drugs?			__ __  55-56
103. Have you ever shared the same needle with another person when you were taking drugs?			__ __  57
(1 = Yes, 2 = No)			

## SECTION IV: DRUG USE (cont'd)

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
CARD: 03

\*\*\*\*\*  
 INTERVIEWER: THE NEXT SET OF QUESTIONS USE CARD LABELED #8. GO OVER THE  
 SCALE VALUES AND MAKE SURE JUVENILE UNDERSTANDS THEM.  
 \*\*\*\*\*

I want to ask you about your drug use during the year before you got  
 arrested for the crime for which you were committed. Can you remember  
 what month you were arrested? So, you need to think about events that took  
 place between \_\_\_\_\_ 19\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ 19\_\_\_\_.

How often would you say you usually used.....?

	Never	1-3 Times a Month	Once a Week	Everyday or Almost Everyday	More Than Once a Day	
104. Beer or Wine	1	2	3	4	5	__  58
105. Hard Liquor	1	2	3	4	5	__  59
106. Marijuana, reefer, pot or hash	1	2	3	4	5	__  60
107. Inhale things, other than cigarettes to get high	1	2	3	4	5	__  61
108. Tranquilizers	1	2	3	4	5	__  62
109. Downers or Barbituates	1	2	3	4	5	__  63
110. Uppers, Speed or Amphetamines	1	2	3	4	5	__  64
111. Acid, LSD, psyc- delics/hallucinogens	1	2	3	4	5	__  65
112. Cocaine or Coke	1	2	3	4	5	__  66
113. Crack	1	2	3	4	5	__  67
114. Heroin	1	2	3	4	5	__  68
115. Angel Dust or PCP	1	2	3	4	5	__  69

CARD NO: 04 1-2/

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| 3-5/

SELF REPORT DELINQUENCY CHECKLIST

\*\*\*\*\*  
INTERVIEWER: THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE YOUTH'S SELF REPORT OF  
DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR. SHOW THE JUVENILE THE REPOSE CARD LABELED #9.  
AND EXPLAIN THE RESPONSE CATEGORIES TO HIM.  
\*\*\*\*\*

This section deals with your own behavior. I would like to remind you that all your answers are confidential. I will read a series of behaviors to you. Please give me your best guess of the number of times you have done each of these things during the last year you were home, which was between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

Please look at the responses for CARD #9 and select the category that best describes how often you were involved in this behavior.

During the LAST YEAR YOU WERE HOME, how many times did you:

	Never	Less than once a week	Once a week	More than once a week	Once a day	
116. Run away from home?	1	2	3	4	5	__  6
117. Skipped classes without an excuse?	1	2	3	4	5	__  7
118. Steal or try to steal something from school?	1	2	3	4	5	__  8
119. Been suspended from school?	1	2	3	4	5	__  9
120. Lie about your age to get into someplace or buy something (for example, to get into a movie, club or buy alcohol?	1	2	3	4	5	__  10
121. Hitchhike a ride with a stranger?	1	2	3	4	5	__  11

	Never	Less than once a week	Once a week	More than once a week	Once a day	
122. Carry a hidden weapon?	1	2	3	4	5	__  12
123. Be loud or rowdy in a public place where somebody complained and you got in trouble?	1	2	3	4	5	__  13
124. Beg for money or things from strangers?	1	2	3	4	5	__  14
125. Make obscene phone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things?	1	2	3	4	5	__  15
126. Buy or provide liquor for another person?	1	2	3	4	5	__  16
127. Be drunk in a public place?	1	2	3	4	5	__  17
128. Damage, destroy or mark up somebody else's property on purpose?	1	2	3	4	5	__  18
129. Set fire on purpose or try to set fire to a house, building, or car?	1	2	3	4	5	__  19
130. Avoid paying for things, like a movie, taking bus rides, using a computer, or anything else?	1	2	3	4	5	__  20

	Never	Less than once a week	Once a week	More than once a week	Once a day	
131. Go into or try to go into a building to steal or damage something?	1	2	3	4	5	__  21
132. Try to steal or actually stole money or things worth \$5 or less?	1	2	3	4	5	__  22
133. How about between \$5 and \$50?	1	2	3	4	5	__  23
134. How about between \$50 and \$100?	1	2	3	4	5	__  24
135. How about over \$100?	1	2	3	4	5	__  25
136. Shoplift or take something from a store on purpose (including anything you already told me about)?	1	2	3	4	5	__  26
137. Steal someone's purse or wallet or picked someone's pocket?	1	2	3	4	5	__  27
138. Break or try to break into a building to steal something or look around?	1	2	3	4	5	__  28
139. Steal something from a car?	1	2	3	4	5	__  29

ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
 CARD: 04

	Never	Less than once a week	Once a week	More than once a week	Once a day	
140. Try to buy or sell things that were stolen?	1	2	3	4	5	__  30
141. Take a car or motorcycle for a ride without the owner's permission?	1	2	3	4	5	__  31
142. Steal or try to steal a car or other motor vehicle?	1	2	3	4	5	__  32
143. Forge a check or make fake money to pay for something?	1	2	3	4	5	__  33
144. Use or try to use a credit card, bank card, or automated teller card without permission?	1	2	3	4	5	__  34
145. Try to cheat someone by selling them something that was not what you said it was or was worthless?	1	2	3	4	5	__  35

Some kids get involved in fights or hitting other people. The next questions are about that. Did you.....

	Never	Less than once a week	Once a week	More than once a week	Once a day	
146. Attack someone with a weapon or with the idea of seriously hurting or killing them?	1	2	3	4	5	__  36
147. Hit someone with the idea of hurting them (other than what you already mentioned)?	1	2	3	4	5	__  37
148. Use force or strong arm methods to get money or things from other people?	1	2	3	4	5	__  38
149. Be involved in gang or posse fights?	1	2	3	4	5	__  39
150. Throw objects such as rocks and bottles at people?	1	2	3	4	5	__  40
151. Get paid for having sexual relations with someone?	1	2	3	4	5	__  41
152. Physically hurt or threatened to hurt someone to get them to have sex with you?	1	2	3	4	5	__  42
153. Have or tried to have sexual relations with someone against their will?	1	2	3	4	5	__  43
154. Sell marijuana, reefer or pot?	1	2	3	4	5	__  44
155. Sell hard drugs such as crack, heroin, cocaine, LSD or acid?	1	2	3	4	5	__  45

GANG INVOLVEMENT

In wrapping things up, I am going to ask you some questions about any gangs you may have belonged to.

- |   | Yes   | No              |                 |
|---|-------|-----------------|-----------------|
|   |       | (skip to Q.161) |                 |
| 156. Are you a member of a street gang?               | 1     | 2               | __ <br>46       |
| 157. What is the name of the gang?                    |       |                 | __ __ <br>47-48 |
| _____   |       |                 |                 |
| 158. How many members are in the gang?                | _____ |                 | __ __ <br>49-50 |
| 159. Why did you join the (GANG NAME)?                |       |                 | __ <br>51       |
| _____   |       |                 |                 |
| _____   |       |                 |                 |
| _____   |       |                 |                 |
| 160. What is your position in the gang? Are you a ... |       |                 | __ <br>52       |
| Leader.....   | 1     |                 |                 |
| Not a leader, but one of the top people.....          | 2     |                 |                 |
| A member, or.....                                     | 3     |                 |                 |
| Something else?.....                                  | 4     |                 |                 |
| (SPECIFY) _____                                       |       |                 |                 |

161. Enter juvenile's full name

LAST NAME |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64

FIRST NAME |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74

ID: |\_|\_|\_|

DEBRIEFING PAGE

Would you like to explain any of your answers further? \_\_\_\_\_

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Were there any specific questions that made you feel particularly uncomfortable?

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Are there any other comments you would like to tell us? \_\_\_\_\_

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ID: |\_|\_|\_|

OBSERVATIONAL DATA SHEET  
FOR INTERVIEWER

This sheet is to give information that may be helpful for remembering the juvenile. Please write down comments below and add any additional information you think might be helpful.

JUVENILE APPEARANCE (e.g., homely, overweight, neat, unkempt, etc.)

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ANXIETY LEVEL (patient, relaxed)

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COMPREHENSION (e.g., did juvenile have a hard time with any of the questions, not understand English very well):

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ID |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|  
(1-3)

PRIOR ARREST SUMMARY  
(Includes all arrests preceding sample placement)

PAGE 2  
Card 2

CRIME RANK	CRIME CODE	ALLEGED OFFENSE (check all that apply)	PRIOR ARREST #				
			1	2	3	4	5
2	3121	RAPE	_	_	_	_	_
4	3123	INVOL. DEVIATE SEXUAL INTERC.	_	_	_	_	_
6	3701	ROBBERY	_	_	_	_	_
7	3502	BURGLARY	_	_	_	_	_
15	3301	ARSON	_	_	_	_	_
23	2702	AGG. ASSAULT	_	_	_	_	_
35	----	FELONY DRUG USE/ POSSESSION/SALE	_	_	_	_	_
75	3901	THEFT	_	_	_	_	_
77	3925	THEFT BY R.S.P.	_	_	_	_	_
79	3503	CRIM. TRESPASS	_	_	_	_	_
82	3921	THEFT BY UNL. TAKING	_	_	_	_	_
84	3304	CRIM. MISCHIEF	_	_	_	_	_
91	5121	ESCAPE	_	_	_	_	_
98	2706	TERR. THREATS	_	_	_	_	_
105	2701	SIMPLE ASSAULT	_	_	_	_	_
113	908	POSS. OFFENSIVE WEAPON (P.O.W.)	_	_	_	_	_
128	907	POSS. INSTRUMENTS OF CRIME (P.I.C.)	_	_	_	_	_
137	3929	RETAIL THEFT (EXCEPT SUMMARY)	_	_	_	_	_
148	3126	INDECENT ASSAULT	_	_	_	_	_
151	3127	INDECENT EXPOSURE	_	_	_	_	_
153	2705	RECKLESS ENDANGER.	_	_	_	_	_
160	3928	UNAUTHORIZED USE OF AUTOMOBILE	_	_	_	_	_
189	----	MISDEMEANOR DRUG	_	_	_	_	_
268	62	PROBATION VIOL.	_	_	_	_	_
269	63	FAILURE TO ADJUST	_	_	_	_	_

MOST SERIOUS OFFENSE FOR EACH ARREST (use 3 digit crime rank numbers) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (4-6) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (7-9) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (10-12) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (13-15) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (16-18)

DATE OF OFFENSE (MMDDYY) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (19-24) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (25-30) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (31-36) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (37-42) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (43-48)

DISPOSITION (use JCJC codes 1 THRU 14) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (49-50) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (51-52) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (53-54) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (55-56) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (57-58)

ORDERING CODE (use only if arrests are not in correct chronological order.) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|



ID | | | |  
(1-3)

PRIOR ARREST SUMMARY  
(Includes all arrests preceding sample placement)

PAGE 4  
Card 4

CRIME RANK	CRIME CODE	ALLEGED OFFENSE (check all that apply)	PRIOR ARREST #				
			11	12	13	14	15
2	3121	RAPE	_	_	_	_	_
4	3123	INVOL. DEVIATE SEXUAL INTERC.	_	_	_	_	_
6	3701	ROBBERY	_	_	_	_	_
7	3502	BURGLARY	_	_	_	_	_
15	3301	ARSON	_	_	_	_	_
23	2702	AGG. ASSAULT	_	_	_	_	_
35	----	FELONY DRUG USE/ POSSESSION/SALE	_	_	_	_	_
75	3901	THEFT	_	_	_	_	_
77	3925	THEFT BY R.S.P.	_	_	_	_	_
79	3503	CRIM. TRESPASS	_	_	_	_	_
82	3921	THEFT BY UNL. TAKING	_	_	_	_	_
84	3304	CRIM. MISCHIEF	_	_	_	_	_
91	5121	ESCAPE	_	_	_	_	_
98	2706	TERR. THREATS	_	_	_	_	_
105	2701	SIMPLE ASSAULT	_	_	_	_	_
113	908	POSS. OFFENSIVE WEAPON (P.O.W.)	_	_	_	_	_
128	907	POSS. INSTRUMENTS OF CRIME (P.I.C.)	_	_	_	_	_
137	3929	RETAIL THEFT (EXCEPT SUMMARY)	_	_	_	_	_
148	3126	INDECENT ASSAULT	_	_	_	_	_
151	3127	INDECENT EXPOSURE	_	_	_	_	_
153	2705	RECKLESS ENDANGER.	_	_	_	_	_
160	3928	UNAUTHORIZED USE OF AUTOMOBILE	_	_	_	_	_
189	----	MISDEMEANOR DRUG	_	_	_	_	_
268	62	PROBATION VIOL.	_	_	_	_	_
269	63	FAILURE TO ADJUST	_	_	_	_	_

MOST SERIOUS OFFENSE FOR EACH ARREST (use 3 digit crime rank numbers) |\_|\_| (4-6) |\_|\_| (7-9) |\_|\_| (10-12) |\_|\_| (13-15) |\_|\_| (16-18)

DATE OF OFFENSE (MMDDYY) |\_|\_|\_|\_| (19-24) |\_|\_|\_|\_| (25-30) |\_|\_|\_|\_| (31-36) |\_|\_|\_|\_| (37-42) |\_|\_|\_|\_| (43-48)

DISPOSITION (use JCJC codes 1 THRU 14) |\_|\_| (49-50) |\_|\_| (51-52) |\_|\_| (53-54) |\_|\_| (55-56) |\_|\_| (57-58)

ORDERING CODE (use only if arrests are not in correct chronological order.) |\_|\_| |\_|\_| |\_|\_| |\_|\_| |\_|\_|

59-70 Blank

| 0 | 4 |  
(71-72)

SUMMARY OF ALL PLACEMENTS BEFORE SAMPLE PLACEMENT

Code only court-ordered delinquent residential placements. Do NOT include dependent or voluntary placements. Do NOT include detention. Do NOT include diagnostic placements. Do NOT include the sample placement. Make sure placements are listed in CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

PLACEMENT # AND NAME	ARRIVAL DATE (MMYY)	RELEASE DATE (MMYY)
1. _____	_ _ _  (4-7)	_ _ _  (8-11)
2. _____	_ _ _  (12-15)	_ _ _  (16-19)
3. _____	_ _ _  (20-23)	_ _ _  (24-27)
4. _____	_ _ _  (28-31)	_ _ _  (32-35)
5. _____	_ _ _  (36-39)	_ _ _  (40-43)
6. _____	_ _ _  (44-47)	_ _ _  (48-51)
7. _____	_ _ _  (52-55)	_ _ _  (56-59)
8. _____	_ _ _  (60-63)	_ _ _  (64-67)
Total number of placements listed above.	_ _  (68-69)	
	70 blank	0 5  (71-72)

SAMPLE PLACEMENT OFFENSE (Arrest leading to sample placement)

RANK	CRIME CODE	ALLEGED OFFENSE (check all that apply)	RANK	CRIME CODE	ALLEGED OFFENSE (check all that apply)
			91	5121	ESCAPE
2	3121	RAPE	98	2706	TERR. THREATS
4	3123	INVOL. DEVIATE SEXUAL INTERC.	105	2701	SIMPLE ASSAULT
6	3701	ROBBERY	113	908	POSS. OFFENSIVE WEAPON (P.O.W.)
7	3502	BURGLARY	128	907	POSS. INSTRUMENTS OF CRIME (P.I.C.)
15	3301	ARSON	137	3929	RETAIL THEFT (EXCEPT SUMMARY)
23	2702	AGG. ASSAULT	148	3126	INDECENT ASSAULT
35	----	FELONY DRUG USE/ POSSESSION/SALE	151	3127	INDECENT EXPOSURE
75	3901	THEFT	153	2705	RECKLESS ENDANGER.
77	3925	THEFT BY R.S.P.	160	3928	UNAUTHORIZED USE OF AUTOMOBILE
79	3503	CRIM. TRESPASS	189	----	MISDEMEANOR DRUG
82	3921	THEFT BY UNL. TAKING	268	62	PROBATION VIOL.
84	3304	CRIM. MISCHIEF	269	63	FAILURE TO ADJUST

MOST SERIOUS OFFENSE FOR THIS ARREST (use 3 digit crime rank number) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (4-6)

DATE OF OFFENSE (MMDDYY) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (7-12)

DATE OF DISPOSITION (MMDDYY) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (13-18)

DATE OF ARRIVAL AT SAMPLE PLACEMENT (MMDDYY) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (19-24)

DATE OF RELEASE FROM SAMPLE PLACEMENT (MMDDYY) |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| (25-30)

SAMPLE PLACEMENT ADJUSTMENT INFORMATION

NON-EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM PARTICIPATION	RULE INFRACTIONS	# OF DAYS ON AWOL OR ESCAPE STATUS	EARNED GED AT BENSALEM
1 = Yes successfully	1 = No	1 = None	1 = No
2 = None	2 = Yes, minor	2 = 1 - 7	2 = Yes
3 = Removed/failed	3 = Yes, major	3 = 8 +	3 = N/A
__  (31)	__  (32)	__  (33)	__  (34)

STATUS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING PLACEMENT

1=Not on Probation 2=On Probation 3=Day Treatment 4=Placement 5=AWOL from Prob. 6=AWOL from Placement |\_\_| (35)

SCHOOL INFORMATION (Based on the most recent information PRIOR TO sample placement).

ATTENDANCE

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

HAS SUBJECT EXPERIENCED ANY OF THE FOLLOWING IN SCHOOL?

- 1 = NO PROBLEM
- 2 = SOME TRUANCY--fewer than 6 days/semester; or truancy, frequency unspecified
- 3 = MAJOR TRUANCY--7 or more days/semester
- 4 = DROPPED OUT

- 1 = NONE; OR IN-SCHOOL SUSPENSIONS
- 2 = 1 or 2 OUT OF SCHOOL suspensions; or suspension type/number unspecified
- 3 = 3 OR MORE OUT OF SCHOOL Suspensions
- 4 = EXPELLED

- Disruptive in class
- Multiple incidents of fight
- Multiple incidents of drug/alcohol use
- Assaults on peers
- Assaults on teachers/staff
- Verbal abuse

1 = No    2 = Yes

|\_|\_|  
(36)

|\_|\_|  
(37)

|\_|\_|  
(38)

IS SUBJECT'S ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL 2 OR MORE YEARS BEHIND GRADE LEVEL?

DID SUBJECT EVER PARTICIPATE IN AN ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM?

DID SUBJECT EVER FAIL A GRADE?

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes

|\_|\_|  
(39)

|\_|\_|  
(40)

|\_|\_|  
(41)

EMOTIONAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

EVIDENCE OF MH/MR REFERRAL

EVIDENCE OF EMOTIONAL DISORDER

EVIDENCE OF SUICIDAL TENDENCIES

FULL SCALE I.Q.

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes, not treated
- 3 = Yes, treated out-patient
- 4 = Yes, treated in-patient

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes

|\_|\_|  
(42)

|\_|\_|  
(43)

|\_|\_|  
(44)

|\_|\_|\_|\_|  
(45-47)

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

EVIDENCE THAT DRUG USE IS A PROBLEM

EVIDENCE THAT ALCOHOL USE IS A PROBLEM

SUBJECT IS OR HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN DRUG AND/OR ALCOHOL TREATMENT PROGRAM

SUBJECT HAS A HISTORY OF DRUG SALES OR DISTRIBUTION

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes, minor
- 3 = Yes, Major

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes, minor
- 3 = Yes

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes, minor
- 3 = Residential Program

- 1 = No
- 2 = Yes, Minor
- 3 = Yes, major

|\_|\_|  
(48)

|\_|\_|  
(49)

|\_|\_|  
(50)

|\_|\_|  
(51)

For Items above \*\*\*\*\*, CODE: 1 = No; 2 = Yes, minor; 3 = Yes, major

IS THERE EVIDENCE OF:

Neglect, or lack of parental supervision

|\_|  
(52)

Inconsistent or ineffective parental control

|\_|  
(53)

Extreme punitiveness or abuse to subject

|\_|  
(54)

Sexual abuse to subject

|\_|  
(55)

Subject ever physically or sexually abusing another family member

|\_|  
(56)

Subject having a history of runaways from home

|\_|  
(57)

Subject being involved in arson or firesetting

|\_|  
(58)

Parental alcohol abuse/dependence

|\_|  
(59)

Parental drug abuse/dependence

|\_|  
(60)

Parental or sibling criminality

|\_|  
(61)

\*\*\*\*\*

Describe subject's family constellation for majority of his life:

- 1 = Both natural parents
- 2 = One natural parent (alone or with step-parent)
- 3 = Other relatives, adoptive or surrogate parents (eg. foster family)

|\_|  
(62)

Describe stability of adult figures for majority of subject's life:

- 1 = Family constellation remained stable
- 2 = Some movement of adult figures (eg. divorce)
- 3 = Significant movement of adult figures (e.g. multiple marriages and/or relationships among significant adults)

|\_|  
(63)

64-70 Blank

|0 |6 |  
(71-72)

EVALUATION OF INTENSIVE AFTERCARE PROGRAMS  
IN PHILADELPHIA FAMILY COURT

PRE-RELEASE AND AFTERCARE PLAN

\*\*\*\*\*

This form is due for each juvenile as soon as possible after his release into the community.

This cover page is to be used for all identifying information about the case. Make sure no personal identifications appear on subsequent pages.

\*\*\*\*\*

1. PLACEMENT NAME: Bensalem Youth Development Center

2. JUVENILE'S NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

3. JUVENILE ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

4. PLACEMENT DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

5. RELEASE DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

6. D.O.B.: \_\_\_\_\_

7. SOC. SEC. \_\_\_\_\_

8. JUVENILE RELEASED TO:

9. AFTERCARE PROVIDER:  
(check one)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name & Relationship

CRIP \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Address

INTENSIVE AFTERCARE \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Phone

10. PROBATION OFFICER  
\_\_\_\_\_

EVALUATION OF INTENSIVE AFTERCARE PROGRAMS  
IN PHILADELPHIA FAMILY COURT

PRE-RELEASE AND AFTERCARE PLAN

CARD NO: 01 1-2

JUVENILE ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| 3-5

CODER ID: |\_\_| 6

DATE OF QUESTIONNAIRE: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| 7-12  
Mo Day Yr

\*\*\*\*\*  
This section is to be completed as soon as possible after the juvenile is released into the community.  
\*\*\*\*\*

1. PLACEMENT DATE: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| 13-18  
Mo Day Yr

2. RELEASE DATE: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| 19-24  
Mo Day Yr

PRERELEASE CONTACTS - Youth and Probation Officer

3. TOTAL FACE-TO-FACE CONTACTS (Enter Number) |\_\_|\_\_| 25-26

4. PHONE CONTACTS |\_\_|\_\_| 27-28

PRERELEASE CONTACTS - Youth's Family and Probation Officer

5. TOTAL FACE-TO-FACE CONTACTS (Enter Number) |\_\_|\_\_| 29-30

6. PHONE CONTACTS |\_\_|\_\_| 31-32

7. Overall, how well do you think the youth performed while in placement?  
(Circle one)

Excellent	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Poor	DK		
1	2	3	4	5	9	__	33

8. What do you feel the youth's chances are of successfully adjusting to the community? (Circle one)

Excellent	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Poor	DK		
1	2	3	4	5	9	__	34

PRERELEASE AND AFTERCARE PLAN

AFTERCARE PLANS

YOUTH ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

9. Youth's living arrangement plans upon release: (Circle one)

- With parent/parents (natural/step) 1
  - With a sibling (natural/half/step) 2
  - With grandparent(s) (If natural/step parent not also there) 3
  - With another relative (aunt, uncle...) 4
  - Living on own 5
  - In a foster home 6
  - In a group home/independent living prog. 7
  - Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 8
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 8
- |\_\_| 35

10. School plans for youth:

- No school or not applicable 1
  - Regular junior or senior high school 2
  - Vocational/trade school 3
  - College 4
  - Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 5
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 5
  - Unknown 9
- |\_\_| 36

11. Work plans for youth:

- None or not applicable 1
  - Part time work 2
  - Full time work 3
  - Unknown 9
- |\_\_| 37

AFTERCARE PLANS (cont'd)

12. Will the youth be required to attend counseling? Yes No DK  
 1 2 9 |\_\_|  
 38

If no or DK, go to question 21. If yes, what type of counseling and how many times per month is the youth required to attend?

1 = Yes  
 2 = No

Times per month

13. Individual/group counseling	__  39	14. _____	__  40
15. Family counseling	__  41	16. _____	__  42
17. Drug/alcohol counseling	__  43	18. _____	__  44
19. Other (specify) _____ _____	__  45	20. _____	__  46

21. Will the youth have specified recreational plans? Yes No DK  
 1 2 9 |\_\_|  
 47

If no, go to question 28. If yes, what are the plans?

	Yes	No	
22. Plans not yet determined	1	2	__  48
23. Participation in athletics	1	2	__  49
24. Participation in hobbies	1	2	__  50
25. Participation in church	1	2	__  51
26. Participation in youth groups	1	2	__  52
27. Other (specify) _____ _____	1	2	__  53

YOUTH ID: |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

AFTERCARE PLANS (cont'd)

	Yes	No	DK	
28. Will the youth's family have special requirements?	1	2	9	__  54

If no, skip to question 34. If yes, what requirements?

29. To be determined	1	2		__  55
----------------------	---	---	--	--------

30. Parent training skills	1	2		__  56
----------------------------	---	---	--	--------

31. Planned family meeting	1	2		__  57
----------------------------	---	---	--	--------

32. Support group participation (Parents Anonymous, Tough Love...)	1	2		__  58
---	---	---	--	--------

33. Other (specify) _____ _____	1	2		__  59
------------------------------------	---	---	--	--------

34. Post released conditions ordered by courts or probation office?	Yes 1	No 2	DK 9	__  60
--	----------	---------	---------	--------

If no, skip to question 50. If yes, what conditions?

35. Education program	1	2		__  61
-----------------------	---	---	--	--------

36. Seek/maintain employment	1	2		__  62
------------------------------	---	---	--	--------

37. Drug/alcohol counseling	1	2		__  63
-----------------------------	---	---	--	--------

38. AA/NA meetings	1	2		__  64
--------------------	---	---	--	--------

39. Submit to urine/breath/blood analysis	1	2		__  65
---	---	---	--	--------

40. Mental health counseling	1	2		__  66
------------------------------	---	---	--	--------

41. Refrain from contact w/specified people	1	2		__  67
---	---	---	--	--------

42. Stay away from specified areas	1	2		__  68
------------------------------------	---	---	--	--------

43. Have community sponsor (i.e., Youth Advocate)	1	2		__  69
---	---	---	--	--------

44. Community Service	1	2		__  70
-----------------------	---	---	--	--------

45. Resitution	1	2		__  71
----------------	---	---	--	--------

46. Submit to searches by P.O./police	1	2		__  72
---------------------------------------	---	---	--	--------

47. Abide by special curfews	1	2		__  73
------------------------------	---	---	--	--------

48. Other (specify) _____	1	2		__  74
---------------------------	---	---	--	--------

49. Unknown	9			__  75
-------------	---	--	--	--------

AFTERCARE PLANS (cont'd)

50. Are contacts planned with youth, parents, significant others (teachers, work supervisor)? Circle one

	Yes	No	
	1	2	__  76

If no, move to question 56.

If yes, what are the contacts planned?

	Yes	No	
51. Face-to-face with youth	1	2	__  77
52. Phone contact with youth	1	2	__  78
53. Contacts with family members	1	2	__  79
54. Contacts with significant others	1	2	__  80
55. Other (specify) _____	1	2	__  81

56. Length of planned intensive aftercare/CRIP supervision \_\_\_\_\_ |\_\_|\_\_|  
 (months) 82-83

\*\*\*\*\*

CASE SUMMARY

Use this space for any information you think is important, but could not find a place for.

\*\*\*\*\*

EVALUATION OF THE INTENSIVE AFTERCARE PROGRAM  
 IN PHILADELPHIA FAMILY COURT  
 SUMMARY - BI-MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORTS

- |                                 |       |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| 1. JUVENILE'S LAST NAME _____   | 1-10  |
| 2. JUVENILE'S I.D. _____        | 11-13 |
| 3. PROBATION OFFICER I.D. _____ | 14-15 |

POST RELEASE ADJUSTMENT

I. FAMILY AND FRIENDS

- |  |        |           |       |           |     |  |  |      |
|--|--------|-----------|-------|-----------|-----|--|--|------|
| 4. QUALITY OF FAMILY INTERACTIONS:                         |        |           |       |           |     |  |  |      |
| VERY POOR  | POOR   | AVERAGE   | GOOD  | VERY GOOD | N/A |  |  |      |
| 1  | 2      | 3         | 4     | 5         | 8   |  |  | _ 16 |
| 5. DID THE YOUTH HAVE A GIRLFRIEND OF SPOUSE?              |        |           |       |           |     |  |  |      |
|  |        | YES       | NO    |           |     |  |  |      |
|  |        | 1         | 2     |           |     |  |  | _ 17 |
| 6. IF YES, HOW WAS THE QUALITY OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP?      |        |           |       |           |     |  |  |      |
| VERY POOR  | POOR   | AVERAGE   | GOOD  | VERY GOOD | N/A |  |  |      |
| 1  | 2      | 3         | 4     | 5         | 8   |  |  | _ 18 |
| 7. HOW OFTEN YOUTH ASSOCIATED WITH DELINQUENT FRIENDS?     |        |           |       |           |     |  |  |      |
| NEVER  | SELDOM | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | N/A       |     |  |  |      |
| 1  | 2      | 3         | 4     | 8         |     |  |  | _ 19 |
| 8. HOW OFTEN YOUTH ASSOCIATED WITH NON-DELINQUENT FRIENDS? |        |           |       |           |     |  |  |      |
| NEVER  | SELDOM | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | N/A       |     |  |  |      |
| 1  | 2      | 3         | 4     | 8         |     |  |  | _ 20 |

II. RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES:

HOW OFTEN DID THE YOUTH PARTICIPATE IN:

- |                            | NEVER | SELDOM | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | N/A |      |
|----------------------------|-------|--------|-----------|-------|-----|------|
| 9. ATHLETICS               | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4     | 5   | _ 21 |
| 10. HOBBIES                | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4     | 5   | _ 22 |
| 11. CHURCH                 | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4     | 5   | _ 23 |
| 12. YOUTH GROUP ACTIVITIES | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4     | 5   | _ 24 |
| 13. INT. AFT. ACTIVITIES   | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4     | 5   | _ 25 |

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES (CON'T)

	NEVER	SELDOM	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	N/A	
14. SOCIAL EVENTS	1	2	3	4	5	_ 26

III. PROBLEM AREAS YOUTH EXPERIENCED:

	YES	NO	
15. PARENTS	1	2	_ 27
16. SIBLINGS	1	2	_ 28
17. FRIENDS/PEERS	1	2	_ 29
18. POLICE	1	2	_ 30
19. SCHOOL	1	2	_ 31
20. EMPLOYMENT	1	2	_ 32
21. DRUGS	1	2	_ 33
22. ALCOHOL	1	2	_ 34
23. SEXUAL	1	2	_ 35
24. EMOTIONAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL	1	2	_ 36

IV. DRUG AND ALCOHOL USE

25. TYPES OF ILLICIT SUBSTANCES USED BY YOUTH:

1. BEER/WINE \_\_\_\_\_
2. HARD LIQUOR \_\_\_\_\_
3. MARIJUANA/HASHISH \_\_\_\_\_
4. INHALANTS \_\_\_\_\_
5. TRANQUILIZERS \_\_\_\_\_
6. DOWNERS/BARBITURATES \_\_\_\_\_
7. UPPERS/SPEED/AMPHETAMINES \_\_\_\_\_
9. NO KNOWN USE \_\_\_\_\_

DRUG AND ALCOHOL USE (CONT'T)

10.	ACID/HALLUCINOGENS/ LSD/PSYCHEDELICS	_____	___ 37-38 ___ 39-40
11.	COCAINE	_____	___ 41-42
12.	CRACK	_____	___ 43-44
13.	HEROIN	_____	___ 45-46
14.	ANGEL DUST/PCP	_____	___ 47-48

26. DID THE YOUTH ATTEND REQUIRED AA OR NA MEETINGS?

REGULARLY      INFREQUENTLY      NOT AT ALL      NOT REQUIRED

1                      2                      3                      4      \_ 49

V. YOUTH'S EMOTIONAL STATE

YOUTH'S EMOTIONAL STATE THROUGHOUT TRACKING PERIOD

(CIRCLE ONE NUMBER CLOSEST TO YOUR CHOICE)

27.	PEACE MAKER	1	2	3	4	5	TROUBLEMAKER	_ 50
28.	LEADER	1	2	3	4	5	FOLLOWER	_ 51
29.	ACTIVE	1	2	3	4	5	LETHARGIC	_ 52
30.	HAS REALISTIC GOALS/PLANS	1	2	3	4	5	HAS UNREALISTIC GOALS/PLANS	_ 53
31.	PASSIVE	1	2	3	4	5	AGGRESSIVE	_ 54
32.	LIKEABLE	1	2	3	4	5	DISAGREEABLE	_ 55
33.	FRIENDLY	1	2	3	4	5	HOSTILE	_ 56
34.	OPEN	1	2	3	4	5	DEVIOUS	_ 57
35.	COOL HEADED	1	2	3	4	5	HOT HEADED	_ 58
36.	RELAXED	1	2	3	4	5	TENSE	_ 59
37.	HIGH SELF ESTEEM	1	2	3	4	5	LOW SELF ESTEEM	_ 60

IV. YOUTH'S EMOTIONAL STATE (CON'T)

38.	HIGH SELF CONTROL	1	2	3	4	5	LOW SELF CONTROL	_ 61
39.	INTELLIGENT	1	2	3	4	5	DULL/SLOW	_ 62
40.	INDEPENDENT	1	2	3	4	5	DEPENDENT	_ 63
41.	COMMUNICATES VERBALLY	1	2	3	4	5	COMMUNICATES NON-VERBALLY	_ 64
42.	NON-VIOLENT	1	2	3	4	5	VIOLENT	_ 65
43.	OPTIMISTIC	1	2	3	4	5	PESSIMISTIC	_ 66
44.	HAPPY	1	2	3	4	5	SAD	_ 67
45.	ELATED	1	2	3	4	5	DEPRESSED	_ 68
46.	ENTHUSIASTIC	1	2	3	4	5	BORED	_ 69

VI. YOUTH'S PROGRESS ON INTENSIVE AFTERCARE/CRIP

47. WAS THE YOUTH COOPERATIVE IN KEEPING CONTACTS WITH PROBATION OFFICER?

MAINTAINED GOOD CONTACT	AVERAGE CONTACT	POOR CONTACT	N/A	
1	2	3	8	_ 70

48. DID THE YOUTH KEEP CONTACTS WITH REQUIRED PROGRAMS (COUNSELING, ETC.)?

MAINTAINED GOOD CONTACT	AVERAGE CONTACT	POOR CONTACT	N/A	
1	2	3	8	_ 71

49. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH FOLLOW THROUGH ON COURT OR PROBATION IMPOSED RESTRICTIONS OR RULES?

ALL OF THE TIME	MOST OF THE TIME	SELDOM	NEVER	N/A	
1	2	3	4	8	_ 72

YOUTH'S PROGRESS (CON'T)

50. QUALITY OF INTERACTION BETWEEN YOUTH AND PROBATION OFFICER:

VERY GOOD	GOOD	AVERAGE	POOR	VERY POOR	N/A	
1	2	3	4	5	8	_73

51. PROBATION OFFICER'S SUPERVISORY STYLE:

CONTROL ORIENTATION				COUNSELING ORIENTATION	
1	2	3	4	5	_74

52. DID YOUTH COMMIT ANY NEW OFFENSES OR GET REARRESTED?

YES	NO	N/A	
1	2	8	_75

53. DID YOUTH COMMIT ANY TECHNICAL VIOLATIONS OF PROBATION?

YES	NO	N/A	
1	2	8	_76

54. IF YES:

TECHNICAL VIOLATION CODE NUMBER	DATE OF VIOLATION	DISPOSITION CODE NUMBER	
_____	_____	_____	77-85
_____	_____	_____	86-94
_____	_____	_____	95-103
_____	_____	_____	104-112

55. PROGRESS YOUTH MADE IN ACHIEVING GOALS OF PROBATION:

GREAT PROGRESS	SOME PROGRESS	AVERAGE	LITTLE PROGRESS	NO PROGRESS	N/A	
1	2	3	4	5	8	_113

56. YOUTH'S EXPERIENCE IN POST RELEASE SUPERVISION:

VERY GOOD	GOOD	AVERAGE	LITTLE PROGRESS	NO PROGRESS	N/A	
1	2	3	4	5	8	_114

YOUTH'S PROGRESS (CON'T)

57. YOUTH'S CHANCE OF SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETING PROBATION SUPERVISION:

VERY GOOD	GOOD	AVERAGE	POOR	VERY POOR	N/A	
1	2	3	4	5	8	115

VI. PROBATION OFFICER'S CONTACTS WITH YOUTH

TOTAL CONTACTS	MO1	MO2	MO3	MO4	MO5	MO6
58. FACE TO FACE-YOUTH	___	___	___	___	___	___
						116-127
59. PHONE CONTACT-YOUTH	___	___	___	___	___	___
						128-139
60. FAMILY MEMBER CONTACT	___	___	___	___	___	___
						140-151
61. OTHER CONTACT	___	___	___	___	___	___
						152-163
CONTACTS OCCURING ON WEEKEND						
62. FACE TO FACE-YOUTH	___	___	___	___	___	___
						164-175
63. PHONE CONTACT YOUTH	___	___	___	___	___	___
						176-187
64. FAMILY MEMBER CONTACT	___	___	___	___	___	___
						188-199
65. OTHER CONTACT	___	___	___	___	___	___
						200-211
66. DATE OF RELEASE FROM SUPERVISION:						
	_____					212-217

PROBATION OFFICER'S CONTACT (CON'T)

67. REASON FOR RELEASE FROM SUPERVISION:

DISCHARGED WITHOUT RESTRAINT	1	
SATISFACTORALLY COMPLETED PROBATION	2	
NEW CHARGES-CERTIFIED, PRISON, OR JUVENILE PLACEMENT	3	
TECHNICAL VIOLATION/BEACH WARRANT	4	
LIVING OUT OF STATE	5	
PLACED IN ANOTHER PROBATION PROGRAM	6	218



APPENDIX B

INDEXES USED IN THE STUDY

SCHOOL PROBLEM INDEX

ITEM	POSSIBLE RESPONSES
1. ATTENDANCE	1 = NO PROBLEM OR MINOR TRUANCY 2 = MAJOR TRUANCY OR DROPPED OUT
2. DISCIPLINARY ACTION	1 = NONE OR IN-SCHOOL SUSPENSIONS ONLY 2 = OUT-OF-SCHOOL SUSPENSIONS OR EXPULSION
3. HAS SUBJECT SHOWN AGGRESSIVE OR DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR	1 = NO 2 = YES
4. IS SUBJECT'S ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL 2 OR MORE YEARS BEHIND GRADE LEVEL	1 = NO 2 = YES
5. DID SUBJECT EVER PARTICIPATE IN AN ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM	1 = NO 2 = YES
6. DID SUBJECT EVER FAIL A GRADE	1 = NO 2 = YES

ITEM MEANS

1. 1.67  
2. 1.27  
3. 1.51  
4. 1.75  
5. 1.19  
6. 1.54

Cronbach's alpha: .36  
Average item mean: 1.49  
Scale range: 6 to 12  
Scale mean: 8.93

(N = 89 valid cases)

DRUG & ALCOHOL PROBLEM INDEX

ITEM	POSSIBLE RESPONSES
1. EVIDENCE THAT DRUG USE IS A PROBLEM	1 = NO 2 = YES, MINOR PROBLEM 3 = YES, MAJOR PROBLEM
2. EVIDENCE THAT ALCOHOL USE IS A PROBLEM	1 = NO 2 = YES, MINOR PROBLEM 3 = YES, MAJOR PROBLEM
3. SUBJECT IS OR HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN DRUG AND/OR ALCOHOL TREATMENT PROGRAM	1 = NO  3 = YES

ITEM MEANS

1. 2.16  
2. 1.61  
3. 1.42

Cronbach's alpha: .64  
Average item mean: 1.73  
Scale range: 3 to 9  
Scale mean: 5.19

(N = 90 valid cases)

FAMILY INSTABILITY INDEX

ITEM

POSSIBLE RESPONSES

IS THERE EVIDENCE OF:

1. NEGLECT, OR LACK OF PARENTAL SUPERVISION
2. INCONSISTENT OR INEFFECTIVE PARENTAL CONTROL
3. EXTREME PUNITIVENESS OR ABUSE TO SUBJECT
4. SEXUAL ABUSE TO SUBJECT
5. SUBJECT HAVING A HISTORY OF RUNAWAYS FROM HOME
6. PARENTAL ALCOHOL ABUSE/DEPENDENCE
7. PARENTAL DRUG ABUSE/DEPENDENCE
8. PARENTAL OR SIBLING CRIMINALITY

RESPONSES FOR ALL ITEMS:

- 1 = NO PROBLEM
- 2 = YES, MINOR PROBLEM
- 3 = YES, MAJOR PROBLEM

ITEM MEANS

1. 1.58
2. 2.34
3. 1.29
4. 1.09
5. 1.12
6. 1.33
7. 1.21
8. 1.54

Cronbach's alpha: .64  
Average item mean: 1.44  
Scale range: 8 to 20  
Scale mean: 11.51

(N = 90 valid cases)

INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM INDEX

ITEM

POSSIBLE RESPONSES

1. RULE INFRACTIONS

- 1 = NONE
- 2 = YES, MINOR INFRACTIONS
- 3 = YES, MAJOR INFRACTIONS

2. NUMBER OF DAYS ON AWOL  
OR ESCAPE STATUS

- 1 = NONE
- 2 = 1 to 7 DAYS
- 3 = 8+ DAYS

3. NON-EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM  
PARTICIPATION

- 1 = YES, SUCCESSFULLY PARTICIPATED
- 2 = NO PARTICIPATION
- 3 = REMOVED FROM OR FAILED TO  
COMPLETE PROGRAM

ITEM MEANS

- 1. 1.81
- 2. 1.12
- 3. 1.44

Cronbach's alpha: .31  
Average item mean: 1.46  
Scale range: 3 to 7  
Scale mean: 4.38

(N = 90 valid cases)

PROSOCIAL INDEX

ITEM

1. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH ASSOCIATE WITH DELINQUENT FRIENDS?
2. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH ASSOCIATE WITH NON-DELINQUENT FRIENDS?
3. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH PARTICIPATE IN ATHLETICS?
4. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH PARTICIPATE IN HOBBIES?
5. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH PARTICIPATE IN CHURCH?
6. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH PARTICIPATE IN YOUTH GROUP ACTIVITIES?
7. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH PARTICIPATE IN SOCIAL EVENTS?

POSSIBLE RESPONSES

- 1 = OFTEN
  - 2 = SOMETIMES
  - 3 = SELDOM/NEVER
- 
- 1 = NEVER
  - 2 = SELDOM/SOMETIMES
  - 3 = OFTEN
- 
- 1 = NEVER
  - 2 = SELDOM
  - 3 = SOMETIMES/OFTEN
- 
- 1 = NEVER
  - 2 = SELDOM
  - 3 = SOMETIMES/OFTEN
- 
- 1 = NEVER
  - 2 = SELDOM
  - 3 = SOMETIMES/OFTEN
- 
- 1 = NEVER
  - 2 = SELDOM
  - 3 = SOMETIMES/OFTEN

ITEM MEANS

1. 2.40
2. 2.25
3. 2.30
4. 2.30
5. 1.65
6. 2.00
7. 2.00

Cronbach's alpha: .79  
Average item mean: 2.13  
Scale range: 7 to 19  
Scale mean: 14.90

(N = 20 valid cases)

AFTERCARE INDEX

ITEM

1. PROGRESS YOUTH MADE IN ACHIEVING GOALS OF PROBATION
2. YOUTH'S EXPERIENCE IN POST-RELEASE SUPERVISION
3. YOUTH'S CHANCE OF SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETING PROBATION SUPERVISION
4. WAS THE YOUTH COOPERATIVE IN KEEPING CONTACTS WITH PROBATION OFFICER?
5. HOW OFTEN DID YOUTH FOLLOW THROUGH ON COURT OR PROBATION IMPOSED RESTRICTIONS OR RULES?
6. QUALITY OF INTERACTION BETWEEN YOUTH AND PROBATION OFFICER

POSSIBLE RESPONSES

- 1 = NO PROGRESS
  - 2 = LITTLE PROGRESS
  - 3 = AVERAGE OR BETTER PROGRESS
- 
- 1 = NO PROGRESS
  - 2 = LITTLE PROGRESS
  - 3 = AVERAGE OR BETTER PROGRESS
- 
- 1 = VERY POOR
  - 2 = POOR
  - 3 = AVERAGE OR BETTER
- 
- 1 = POOR
  - 2 = AVERAGE
  - 3 = GOOD
- 
- 1 = SELDOM/NEVER
  - 2 = MOST OF THE TIME
  - 3 = ALL OF THE TIME
- 
- 1 = POOR/VERY POOR
  - 2 = AVERAGE
  - 3 = GOOD/VERY GOOD

ITEM MEANS

1. 2.04
2. 2.17
3. 2.37
4. 1.81
5. 1.62
6. 2.04

Cronbach's alpha: .89  
Average item mean: 2.01  
Scale range: 6 to 27  
Scale mean: 12.04

(N = 52 valid cases)

PROBLEM INDEX

ITEM

POSSIBLE RESPONSES

DID YOUTH EXPERIENCE PROBLEMS  
IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

1. PARENTS	1 = NO 2 = YES
2. SIBLINGS	1 = NO 2 = YES
3. FRIENDS/PEERS	1 = NO 2 = YES
4. POLICE	1 = NO 2 = YES
5. SCHOOL	1 = NO 2 = YES
6. EMPLOYMENT	1 = NO 2 = YES
7. DRUGS	1 = NO 2 = YES
8. ALCOHOL	1 = NO 2 = YES
9. EMOTIONAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL	1 = NO 2 = YES

ITEM MEANS

1. 1.44  
2. 1.35  
3. 1.53  
4. 1.38  
5. 1.53  
6. 1.71  
7. 1.50  
8. 1.26  
9. 1.29

Cronbach's alpha: .80  
Average item mean: 1.44  
Scale range: 9 to 18  
Scale mean: 13.00

(N = 34 valid cases)



## APPENDIX C

COMPARISON OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUP RECIDIVISM ON  
JUVENILE AND CRIMINAL COURT ARRESTS, CONVICTIONS AND INCARCERATIONS

	Experimental (N=44)	Control (N=46)	Difference
Juvenile Court Jurisdiction:			
Mean # of arrests	0.18	0.87	*
% with 1+ arrests	18.2	39.1	*
Mean # of convictions	0.07	0.50	*
% with 1+ convictions	6.8	26.1	*
Mean # of incar'ns	0.07	0.46	*
% with 1+ incar'ns	6.8	23.9	ns
Criminal Court Jurisdiction:			
Mean # of arrests	0.84	1.20	ns
% with 1+ arrests	38.6	50.0	ns
Mean # of convictions	0.07	0.33	ns
% with 1+ convictions	4.5	13.0	ns
Mean # of incar'ns	0.05	0.26	ns
% with 1+ incar'ns	2.3	10.9	ns
Total, both types of recidivism:			
Mean # of arrests	1.02	2.07	*
% with 1+ arrests	50.0	73.9	*
Mean # of convictions	0.14	0.83	*
% with 1+ convictions	11.4	37.0	*
Mean # of incar'ns	0.11	0.72	*
% with 1+ incar'ns	9.1	32.6	*

Note: \* indicates difference between groups is significant at  $p < .05$ , based on two-tailed t-test with  $df = 88$  for mean comparisons, and chi-square with  $df = 1$  for percentage comparisons.