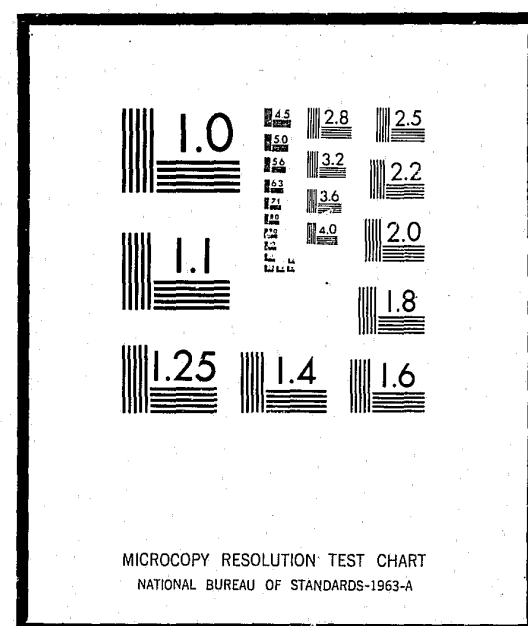


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Final Evaluation Report

DIVERSION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

at the
(CA)
Richmond Police Department - FINAL EVALUATION
Richmond, California REPORT
94804

Lourn Phelps

Chief of Police

January, 1974

Date filmed

6/30/75

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Contra Costa County Probation Department
Contra Costa County Human Resource Agency
Richmond Unified School District
Members of the Richmond Police Department
Richmond Youth Services Program
The Local Business Community
The Richmond City Council
The Citizens of Richmond

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Richmond Police Sworn Personnel

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Sergeant Walter Moore	Supervisor, Control and Diversion
Sergeant Arthur Johnson	Diversion Officer, Tutorial Coordinator
Officer Lucy Bartlett	Diversion Officer
Officer Robert Becker	Diversion Officer, Speakers Bureau Coordinator
Officer Dennis McCormac	Diversion Officer, Police in the Schools Coordinator
Officer James Rogers	Diversion Officer, Juvenile Drug Abuse
Officer Betty Williams	Diversion Officer, Juvenile Drug Abuse

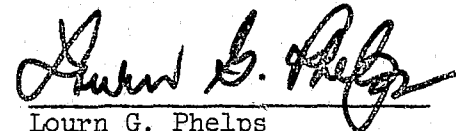
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Guide to the Evaluation Report

The introductory chapter may be skipped except by those few who are interested in a sophisticated and methodological introduction to evaluative research -- a field of which program evaluation is a subset.

Chapter II relates an overview of some of the problems which the City of Richmond faces, a discussion of the diversion concept per se, and a brief look at the Richmond Police Department's (RPD's) version of Juvenile Diversion.

Chapter III articulates the RPD Diversion Program through an evaluation framework. The more traditional, narrative description of the program components is presented in Chapter VII.

Chapter IV combines sophisticated program evaluation methodology with some additional program description, two background studies suggesting the viability of the diversion concept at RPD (pp. 23-24), and a summary of police and public attitudes about RPD Juvenile Diversion during the beginning and middle phases of the program (pp. 30-34). The additional program description on pages 22 and 23 differentiates between grant-sponsored and existing services at RPD, and between diversion and non-diversion disposition alternatives available to the Juvenile Officer.

Chapter V, while focusing on outcome (success) measures of recidivism, school performance, and school attendance as they relate to the RPD Diversion Program, also contains substantial information about process (effort) measures of the Program. Table 3 on page 33 presents the significantly increased rate of making diversion dispositions during the RPD Diversion Program as compared to the prior year. Table 4 on page 34 shows the significantly reduced rate of recidivism for first and second time offenders during a RPD Diversion Program period as compared to the corresponding period of the previous year. The results of three experimental studies of dispositions (pp. 34-41), though inconclusive, nevertheless 1) seriously question the effectiveness of RPD Counselling, and 2) suggest the superior effectiveness of one referral agency in particular. Table 8 on page 40 presents data supporting the long-term efficacy of community referral dispositions. RPD Counselling is compared to community counselling dispositions in further detail (pp. 41-43). Results summarizing the effort and achievement of the Tutorial and Employment components are presented on page 43.

Chapter VI, in addition to reviewing the results which argue for effectiveness of the RPD Juvenile Diversion Program, explores some possible reasons for the inconclusiveness of the experimental studies. Juvenile Officers appear to be making good decisions about dispositions but are not inclined to counsel cases themselves. Differential counselling effectiveness as well as issues relating to the adequacy of counselling services available to the community are discussed. Recommendations are made for improved coordination and definition of counselling services.

Chapter VII presents a highly readable narrative description and assessment of the program components. It must be read for a fuller understanding of the RPD Juvenile Diversion Program.

Chapter VIII provides both interesting and useful information about juvenile offenders at RPD. Though not directly applicable to assessing program effectiveness per se, the information contained in this chapter is highly useful in understanding juvenile offenders and the dispositions they received.

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As clinically trained psychologists have broadened their perspective over recent years from the individual to the group to organizational systems and social programs, so has emerged the characteristic lag of quality research behind behavioral science intervention strategies. Understandably, the clinical psychologist, like other behavioral science interventionists, must first have a subjectively or hypothetically efficacious intervention strategy before rigorously attempting to evaluate it. Following a period of innovation piled upon innovation, however, serious evaluation must begin. Whereas the 60's may be characterized as a time of burgeoning social programs, the 70's may become a time of serious reflection and of rationally separating the weeds from the edibles in the vegetable garden of social action. It is not uncommon to currently encounter on the state and national level both legislation and grant requirements which demand substantially increased efforts and rigor in evaluating programs and projects.

The quality and comprehensiveness of program evaluation varies widely. In some instances a mere accounting of program activities has been passed off as program evaluation. At the other end of the scale is a comprehensive linkage of program activities, components and prior objectives interwoven with some variant of random assignment to experimental and control groups, all within a system's framework. The present work attempts to add weight on the more sophisticated end of the scale.

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Models of Program Evaluations

Any controversy over which is the preferred approach to program evaluation fairly well fits into the issues raised by Cronbach¹. Both multivariate techniques which are common to the system's approach², and randomization procedures which are common to experimental designs have vied for the leading position. As "the two disciplines of scientific psychology" can be reapproached in the ways in which Cronbach has indicated, so can competing approaches to program evaluation. The preferred approach is the appropriate integration of the two. Any rigorous program evaluation must include, but not be limited to, experimental design procedures. Correlational analyses, multivariate, partial or otherwise, not only are extremely helpful in identifying potential areas for initial experimental procedures, but are also helpful post hoc, through analyses of covariance or in identifying areas for subsequent experimental procedures. A system's framework is needed to lend perspective to the program being evaluated.

Goal and Non-Goal Activities

Closely related to issue of the superior approach to program evaluation is the relatively gross distinction between goal and non-goal activities. Goal activities are those which are generally regarded to have the most direct effect on program outcome, and can be further classified into treatment variables and treatment support variables. In a community intervention program, treatment variables include individual and group counseling or therapy techniques, case reviews and other case supervisory procedures, training, and behavioral science consultation from outside experts. Treatment support variables include employment and school services, collaboration with the referral to social service community agencies, coordination of services, and publicity.

Non-goal activities can be classified into program-related and institutional variables. Staff morale, interpersonal relationships, decision-making and conflict resolution procedures constitute the broad category of human relations--virtually synonymous with the present conceptualization of non-goal program-related activities. Institutional variables include job security, salary structure and fringe benefits, intra-organizational

1. Lee J. Cronbach, "Two Disciplines of Scientific Psychology", American Psychologist, Vol. 12 (1957) pp. 671-684.
2. H.S. Schulberg, A. Sheldon, and F. Baker (Eds.), Program Evaluation in the Health Fields, (New York: Behavioral Publications, 1969) p. 19.

TABLE 1

Framework for Conceptual Perspective for Program Evaluation

Unit of Social Organization	Relation to Program Outcome	
	Direct (Goal Activities)	Indirect (Nongoal Activities)
Program	Treatment Variables Treatment Support Variables	Human Relations Program Politics
Organization or Institution	Program and Organizational Congruence of Goals Priority of Program's Goals in Organization's Goal Hierarchy	Organization Structure Intra-Organizational Human Relations Employment Policies Organization Politics

(intra-institutional) human relations, organizational structure and flexibility, and various situational variables concerning the community and the political atmosphere in which the program operates.

Conceptual Perspective for Program Evaluation

The foregoing discussion begs further refinement and elaboration. Table 1 is helpful in such a clarification. Goal activities are expanded to include variables on the organization or institution level. Program politics is an additional variable added to the list of non-goal activities, and refers to efforts to maintain or retain the program independent of its objective merits.

A system's approach would focus on the mutual inter-relationships among the four cells of variables outlined in Table 1. Multivariate and partial correlation analyses would identify those variables which had major influence on program outcome¹. Though correlational analyses are necessary and legitimate, an exclusively correlational approach suffers from the occasionally correct assumption that treatment variables do, in fact, moderate the correlation between outcome variables and those non-treatment variables which correlate highly with outcome.

Although many of the variables mentioned in the framework of Table 1 will be at least briefly explored in the present work, only those variables which comprise the upper left quadrant--goal oriented programs variables--will be considered in detail. Such a focus attempts to wrestle with the basic question of whether a program is effective, a question which translates into whether treatment and treatment support variables are casually related to positive program outcome.

This emphasis does not suggest that non-goal variables at the program or organization level or goal variables at the organization (or societal) level are any less important let alone less necessary in determining program outcome. No community program can exist as a unit isolated from a wider organizational or community structure, or as a unit which does not have at least minimally facilitating human relationships both within the unit and between the unit and the larger social context.

Applied vs. Basic Research

Establishing the casual relationship between treatment variables and outcome variables requires some variant of basic experimental design procedures. Though conceptually simple, the practical application of experimental procedures to program evaluation has not had wide acceptance. Though the major reasons for this lack of acceptance are of a practical nature, there has been in addition the theoretical objection that evaluative research (program evaluation utilizing experimental procedures) is applied research, and consequently, inferior to basic research.

1. Leonard P. Ullmann, Institutions and Outcome, (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas and Company, 1967).

Basic research is usually theory or variable research. The experimental procedures used to test basic research hypotheses are most often operationalized derivatives of the basic concepts. The value of the experimentation lies not so much in observables and measurables but in the underlying concept from which the observables and measurables are operationalized¹. The search is for timeless and spaceless variables which constitute the building blocks for accumulating scientific knowledge.

The discussion of basic research applies more to the traditional experimental areas of psychology than to the newer social and clinical fields. Although underlying conceptualization plays an integral part in social and clinical research, the operational research procedures often parallel, if not exactly duplicate intervention strategies.

Applied research has been referred to as administrative or pragmatic research². The interest is not so much in the orderly discovery of new scientific knowledge, but in answering the procedural questions for the administration of some organizational unit. Potential utility of research findings is paramount; discovery of scientific knowledge is a secondary consideration at best. Conceptualization is important insofar as it directly relates to administrative decisions. Observables and measurables are virtually the only phenomena of interest.

The argument for the superiority of basic research over applied research suffers on a number of accounts. A physical science parallel is the early distinction between physics and chemistry. Physics, more molecular and basic in scope, won the more worthy award. Chemistry, more applied and molar, came in a poor second until the grosser observations became systematized and yielded basic information about the interaction of molecular phenomena. Furthermore, subsequent advances in both physics and chemistry relied heavily on the mutual sharing of knowledge³. Henceforth, the distinction between physics and chemistry has become blurred, and scientists from both fields receive Nobel Prizes.

Similarly, applied social research can discover interactional social phenomena not privy to the laboratory of the basic psychological researcher. Pragmatic administrative decisions may in fact parallel such phenomena. The observables in applied research can lead inductively to replicable overlying phenomena in much the same way as theory is formulated in basic research. Overlying phenomena will become underlying when subsequent hypotheses are deduced and tested experimentally in the applied setting. Both the deductive process of operationalizing on a molecular level testable hypotheses from theory, and the inductive process of developing program theory from evaluative research, are legitimate and worthwhile; and, in fact, both are part of the spiraling process of knowledge discovery. The distinction between basic and applied research

1. E. A. Suchman, Evaluative Research: Principles and Practices in Public Service and Social Actions Program, (New York: Russell Sage Foundations, 1967), p. 76.

2. Ibid, p. 21.

3. Cronbach, loc. cit.

is not one of inherent value in the knowledge discovery business then, but one of research focus.

Practical Difficulties of Performing Evaluative Research

Though the public is clearly supportive of more vigorous evaluations of its social programs, and the theoretical objections to evaluative research are more provocative than detrimental, a wide variety of practical problems still beset the evaluative researcher.

Some of the difficulties, though omnipresent in evaluative research, are minor and may be overcome through education and logical deduction. Other difficulties, however, although no less omnipresent, are major in that they involve ethical problems and require solutions which respect underlying values.

Minor Difficulties. Inherent in evaluative research are demands of scientific experimentation which run counter to the desires of the program staff and administration (hereafter referred to as the staff) but involve no real ethical problems. Evaluative research requires that analyses be relatively long-term and focused on outcome. Program procedures must be modified and record keeping made more detailed and complex. Decision making must be altered in such a way that staff control is decreased. Opposed to these requirements are the wishes of the staff that analyses be short-term and focused on effort, that the program procedures remain unaltered, record keeping be simplified, and that staff control over decision making increase.

The proper conduct of evaluative research requires that these difficulties be overcome. This is not to say that compromises are not in order, but rather, that at some minimal level all requirements must be fulfilled. The resolution usually comes as a result of educating the staff about the requirements and merits of scientific experimentation, and being very persistent in reminding them that in order to obtain the much desired increase in validity, the undesirable requirements must be tolerated. Toleration stops, however, at the point where the staff consider the requirements to be unethical.

Major Difficulties. Staff begin to wave their unethical and immoral flags at the point where randomization procedures dictate what they consider to be grossly inappropriate treatment dispositions for individual cases. They may go along wholeheartedly with the idea of evaluative research and begrudgingly with the concomitant necessity of collecting outcome data, of complicating the record keeping process, of changing operating procedures, and of giving away some of their decision making power. However, when presented with a randomly dictated disposition which appears to be unethical, i.e., inhumane, or grossly against "good judgment," no amount of education about the merits of scientific experimentation can quell the riots.

To counteract the prevailing forces which usually prohibit the use of any randomization procedures, the evaluative researcher must be aware of the totality of the arguments which can be mustered against experimental procedures. A community action program does not want experimental or randomization procedures because:

1. the best disposition for each case is already known.
2. each case deserves individual attention; randomly dictated treatment for individual cases would be ineffective, inhumane, and unprofessional.
3. it is unethical to withhold treatment for those who qualify for it.
4. it is unethical to give more aversive treatment than a case would normally get without randomization procedures.
5. the program is not sufficiently developed to warrant rigorous experimental evaluation.
6. crucial information which would contradict a randomly assigned disposition may emerge only after the disposition is made.
7. if the public found out about the experimental procedures, the program would be doomed.

Each of these seven points contains elements of a serious objection to the use of randomization procedures. Yet the points, considered individually or in summation, are lacking in the case for complete stifling of experimental procedures. The evaluative researcher must then respect the valid criticisms leveled against randomizing everything in sight, and focus on rigorous randomization procedures that will be supported by the staff.

Evaluative Research, the Goal Model, and Beyond

The detailed randomization procedures which simultaneously respect the criticisms against carte blanche experimentation, engender staff support, and retain sufficient experimental respectability to make causal inferences from the data, are presented in a later section. Given that such appropriate randomization procedures can be developed and implemented, the task of the evaluative researcher is only half completed. The remaining half involves the search for some answers to the following questions: If the program is proven effective, which parts should be retained, which would be deleted and which should be modified? Helpful in the attack on the answers is the goal model presented by Suchman in which the "program" is further refined into a series of lower to higher level activity-objective (means-end) relationships.¹

1. Suchman, loc. cit.

The attainment of lower level objectives forms the basis for activities at the next higher level. An exhaustive evaluation consists of validating the means-ends relationships between each pair comprising the program. Given that evaluative research resources are limited, however, the focus should usually be on validating ultimate objectives. Demonstrated effectiveness of higher order activities leading to the attainment of ultimate objectives presumes effectiveness at lower levels but the converse is not true. For example, the demonstration that a community action program leads to better school performance in a target population of juveniles than no program presumes effectiveness of some component or interaction of components comprising the program. To demonstrate that a particular component of a program, tutoring for instance, is effective in securing more study time for juveniles, however, cannot presume that increased study time will effect the ultimate objective of improved school performance. On the other hand, if there is no substantial exploration into the intermediate and low-level activities and objectives, the evaluative researcher will have little clue as to which components and subcomponents contributed and which did not to the effectiveness of the total program.

Decision theory¹ suggests that the evaluative researcher go beyond the demonstration of effectiveness or successful outcome. What values were assigned to the various outcomes, both expected and unexpected? What is the cost of treatment? What is the selection ratio? What are the effects on those who do not receive the treatment? Is there anymore efficient ways to attain the same results--in terms of costs--in time, money, personnel, and public convenience²?

In addition, it is important to know how adequate the performance is in relation to the total need. Few successful social programs can be continued if they apply only to a small and specialized subset of the total target population.

1. Lee J. Cronbach and Glodine C. Glesser, Psychological Tests and Personnel Decisions, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).
2. Suchman, op. cit., p. 64.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM BACKGROUND

The foregoing comments apply equally to a wide variety of community social action programs. Although there are a number of substantive issues explored in the present study, the major emphasis remains methodological. Hopefully, such an emphasis will result in the wider applicability to the developing field of community psychology than if the focus were reversed.

The specific program evaluated in this study is a Police Juvenile Diversion Program in the City of Richmond. A brief look at the City reveals:

"Richmond, California, lies on a peninsula that separates the San Francisco and San Pablo Bays on the northeastern shore of the San Francisco Bay. The City is a population hub of Western Contra Costa County and covers a land area of approximately fifty-four square miles.

Incorporated in 1905, Richmond's early growth was stimulated largely by real estate promoters and industrial developers. From its incorporation date until 1940, Richmond's population, almost entirely blue-collar workers, increased steadily. The City's minimal minority populace consisted essentially of Mexican-Americans and a small resident black community.

With the advent of World War II, Richmond experienced a population explosion, a major increase in industrial activities, and a notable change in the racial composition of its citizenry. By 1943 four major shipyards had been constructed and the Richmond harbor had become a huge shipping port for war supplies. The population during this period grew from 25,000 people in 1940 to 115,000 persons in 1944, an astronomical 360 percent increase. Since the war years, Richmond's population has receded. According to its 1970 census, Richmond residents number approximately 80,000 people, of which 36 percent are black and three percent are Chicano.

The difficulties which resulted from Richmond's period of rapid growth are compounded by subsequent years of national racial turbulence. These are issues with which Richmond is yet attempting to cope. An estimated 20,000 wartime housing

units were constructed within Richmond's city limits. These units coupled with the increased influx of low income and unemployed people eventually created slums, ghetto lifestyles and many of their accompanying problems. Included in these problems are a high degree of unemployment and underemployment, low educational levels, and high crime frequencies. And although slums, ghetto lifestyles and their related problems should not be cited as the sole cause of the increasing crime in this country, they must certainly be considered to contribute significantly to that increase.

While Richmond falls heir to all of the urban blights of America's central cities, it does not have Oakland's industrial assets nor San Francisco's cultural and residential wealth. Thus, Richmond is hard-pressed to muster the resources necessary to ameliorate its problems."¹

The troubled condition in Richmond can be documented in terms of comparative juvenile arrest rates. In 1971, the yearly juvenile arrest rate per 100,000 population (juveniles plus adults) in the United States was 1,156.² The corresponding rate for California was 1,872; Contra Costa County (containing Richmond) was 2,510; and Richmond was 3,769.³ More detailed analyses respecting rural-urban and offense type classifications of offenders yield similarly escalating rates.

Juvenile Delinquency and Diversion

The phenomena and incidence of juvenile delinquency have been well studied.⁴ No attempt will be made here to survey the vast literature which bears on the field of juvenile delinquency. Suffice it to say that this multidisciplinary problem is widespread, and has been receiving increased attention in recent years. Blumstein estimates that of the male youth population, 27 percent can expect to have been arrested and approximately one-fifth will have been referred to juvenile court by age 18.⁵

1. Problem Background Statement in CCCJ Grant, April 1973, Richmond Police Department, Crime Specific: Burglary Project, p. 8.
2. F.B.I. Uniform Crime Reports: 1972.
3. California Bureau of Criminal Statistics: 1972.
4. See Robinson, 1960; Polk, 1967; President's Commission, 1967; Lemert, 1971; Polk and Korbin, 1972.
5. Alfred Blumstein, "Systems Analysis and the Criminal Justice System, American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 374, (1967), pp. 92-100.

Whereas the California youth population, ages 10 through 17, increased 39 percent between 1961 and 1971, the arrests of juveniles increased 100 percent during the same period.

National attention on delinquency was focused with the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967). Therein came the clear recommendation that diversion from the judicial process should be the watchword:

"... a great deal of juvenile misbehavior should be dealt with through alternatives to adjudication, in accordance with an explicit policy to divert juvenile offenders away from formal adjudication and to unjudicial institutions for guidance and other services."¹

The establishment of local Youth Services Bureaus was the Commission's recommendation for implementing a policy of diversion.

"An essential objective in a community's delinquency control and prevention plan should therefore be the establishment of a neighborhood youth-serving agency, a Youth Services Bureau, with a broad range of services and certain mandatory functions. Such an agency ideally would be located in a comprehensive community center and would serve both delinquent and nondelinquent youths. While some referrals to the Youth Services Bureau would normally originate with parents, school, and other sources, the bulk of the referrals could be expected to come from the police and the juvenile court intake staff, and police and court referrals should have special status in that the Youth Services Bureau would be required to accept them all."²

Lemert, while exploring and criticizing various social action models which fall within the purview of juvenile delinquency prevention and diversion, is less harsh in his evaluation of Youth Services Bureaus:

"It is both premature and unfair to criticize Youth Service Bureaus too harshly before they have a change to become fully organized and prove themselves in practice."³

More recently, Polk and Korbin continue to view the Youth Services Bureaus as an appropriate diversion mechanism and stress system advocacy in addition to individual advocacy as an important and necessary function of the Bureaus. Individual advocacy refers to

1. Kenneth Polk, "Delinquency and Community Action in Non-Metropolitan Areas", Task Force Report. Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 83.
2. Ibid.
3. Edwin M. Lemert, Instead of Court: Diversion in Juvenile Justice, (NIMH Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, Chevy Chase, Maryland, 1971), p. 93.

individual efforts to facilitate the "re-entry of the offender into the educational or work instructions on terms of equality with other incumbents."¹ System advocacy refers to system-system influences which facilitate such a re-entry.

The Richmond Police Department, however, continuing to witness extremely high rates of juvenile offenses through the end of 1971, was not favorably inclined toward the existing Youth Services Bureau in the area. Instead of focusing on efforts to amend the existing Youth Service Bureau, the Richmond Police Department chose to initiate increased and more elaborated diversionary efforts of its own. The department was reorganized in the early months of 1972 to provide increased allotment of its existing resources to juvenile cases and to provide the structure for increased personnel, equipment, and other resources coming to the department as a result of a 12-month grant awarded by the California Council on Criminal Justice and the California Youth Authority beginning July 1, 1972.

Juvenile Diversion at the Richmond Police Department: A Brief Look

Though law enforcement-based diversion programs are not unprecedented², the Richmond Police Department Juvenile Diversion Program contributes a major innovation by its comprehensive scope and rigorous evaluation. Previous police diversion programs have included only one or two components believed to be helpful in the reduction of juvenile offenses and have had very limited if nonexistent evaluation components. Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Program (hereafter referred to as RPD Diversion Program) includes the following components: police crisis intervention and mediation (following training in these primarily behavioral techniques by two PhD behavioral scientists), police coordinated and initiated referrals to community service agencies, paid tutoring experience for both offenders and non-offenders, employment services for both offenders and non-offenders, police drug education and counselling, specialized counselling by secondary school counselors, positive police involvement in the schools, and the dissemination and promotion of program information and activities. The evaluative component is extensive and focuses on outcome rather than the mere accounting of activities.

Diversion and Community Psychology

The concept of juvenile diversion embodies two major assumptions which are important to the field of community psychology.³ The first assumption is that community-based as opposed to institutional treatment, is the preferred approach and setting for remedying or controlling social deviance defined legally, mentally, or emotionally. The assumption is grounded in the psychological principle that situational variance accounts for a substantial portion of behavior. The applicable corollary is that

1. Kenneth Polk and Solomon Korbin, Delinquency Prevention Through Youth Development, (Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, DHEW Publication No. (SRS)73-26013, 1972), p. 23.
2. Lemert, op. cit., Chapter 4.
3. See Adelson and Kalis, 1970; Cook, 1970.

behavior change is also situational. If the ultimate objective is increased prosocial behavior in a normal setting, then the appropriate setting for behavioral change procedures is the normal one. From the standpoint of behavioral psychological treatment, diversion represents an improved balance between punishment and positive reinforcement for prosocial behavior, which operationally takes the form of decreased (minimal) involvement with punishing authorities and increased (maximal) involvement with authorities who focus on and reinforce prosocial behavior.

Juvenile Diversion as originally conceived by the President's Commission (1967) is by definition community based. Currently there is widespread support for community based intervention, stemming in part from persuasive rhetoric, but also in part, from research evidence such as described by the President's Report:

"The California Youth Authority for the last five years has been conducting a controlled experiment to determine the effectiveness of another kind of alternative treatment program for juveniles. There, after initial screening, convicted juvenile delinquents are assigned on a random basis to either an experimental group or a control group. Those in the experimental group are returned to the community and receive intensive individual counselling, group counselling, group therapy, and family counselling. Those in the control group are assigned to California's regular institutional treatment program. The findings so far: 28 percent of the experimental group have had their paroles revoked, compared with 52 percent in the control group. Furthermore, the community treatment program is less expensive than institutional treatment."¹

The second assumption is that the labeling process per se adds to the difficulties of reintegrating the "deviant" into the social mainstream. This assumption is based on role theory principles which assert that individual behavior, in substantial part, is determined by others' conceptualizations and attendant expectations of the individual. If the individual is conceptualized as deviant, deviant behavior is expected and usually is the result. If the label is more positive, expectations are more positive, and the probability for improved behavior increases. Therefore, to the extent that the label of delinquency compounds the problem, the most effective diversion occurs at the earliest stages in the labelling process. To extrapolate, the most effective diversion is the prevention of contact with the justice system. The extrapolation has been carried even further. Polk and Korbin have continued the argument to include the well-established finding that the majority of juvenile offenders have been previously labeled deviant by their school system.²

Hence, an all-encompassing attack on the negative consequence of being labeled deviant would include as targets the justice system,

1. Polk, op. cit., p. 43.
2. Polk and Korbin, loc. cit.

the school and any other institution or agency which perpetuated such locking-out processes. A police initiated Juvenile Diversion Program, however, cannot hope to save the world immediately. The police focus must be one of minimum justice system penetration--to divert as many juveniles as possible away from the increasing stigmatization of the justice system and into community-based treatment and positive involvement programs.

CHAPTER III

JUVENILE DIVERSION AT RPD

Suchman suggests that a cogent framework for articulating and evaluating a social action program makes extensive use of a series of lower to higher level activity-objective relationships. The attainment of a lower level objective forms the basis for activities at the next higher level. Although the exact designation of an activity on the lower-higher continuum is always somewhat arbitrary, usually the assignment closely parallels some natural subdivision of a program into its components. Components are further divided into subcomponents, etc. Figure 1 limits its illustration to the range between subcomponent activity and the ultimate objective.

The liberal use of the word "effective" in Figure 1 begs the question, What's effective? It is the attainment of some consensual criterion of quality? in many cases, yes; but the best criterion is an activity's relationship to the outcome or ultimate criterion variables. Using the tutorial service for an example again, although establishing the relationship between the existence of the service and increased study time for those juveniles involved in the service is important, establishing the relationship between the service and improved school performance is preferred. The distinction between study time and school performance in the tutorial example is identical to the process-outcome differentiation in psychotherapy research. In future discussions concerning the successful attainment of objectives, the process-outcome distinction will be respected.

The various activity-objective relationships are better understood when the assumptions underlying these relationships and the criterion measures for the successful attainment of the objectives are spelled out. Following is a slightly redundant overview description of the RPD Diversion Program using this framework. The description indicates implicitly the relationships that are explored in the present work.

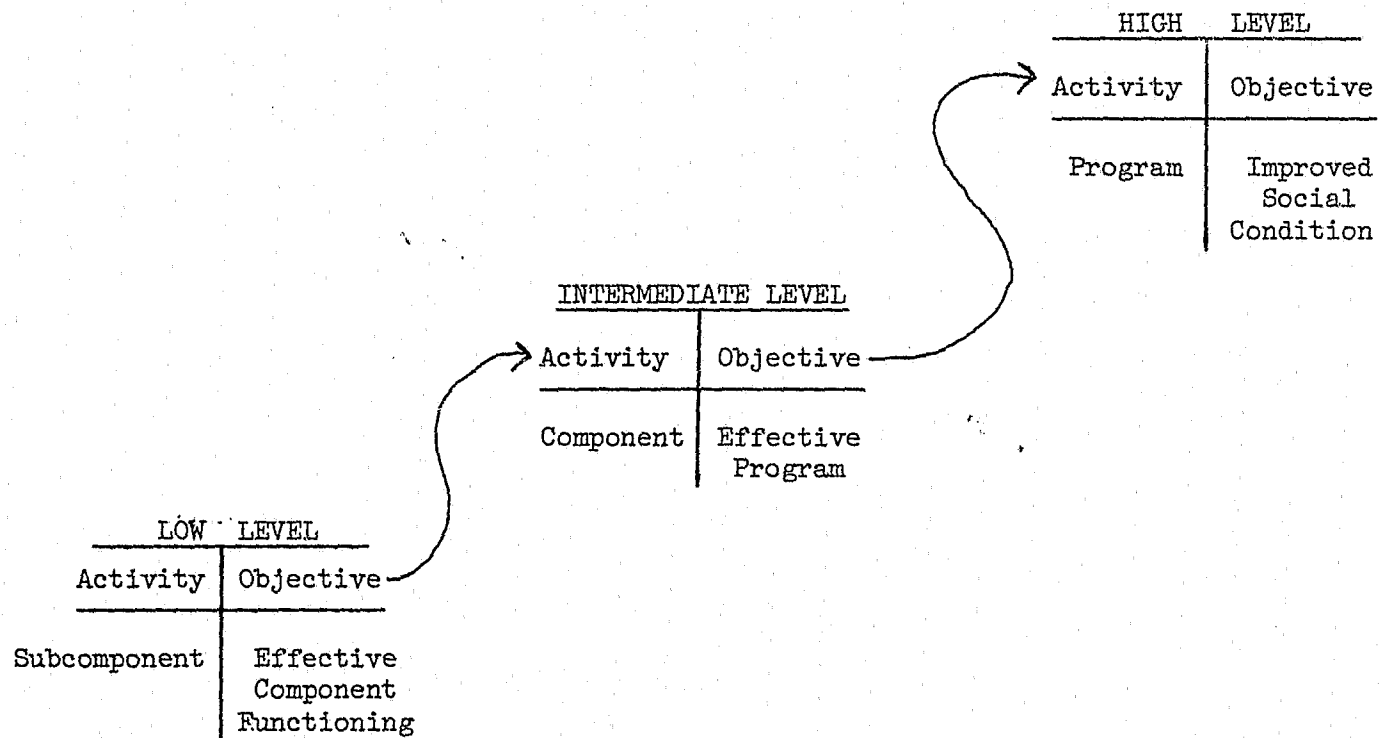
High Level Relationships

Ultimate Objective. Normalization of juvenile offenders--a reintegration into the societal mainstream such that offenders neither engage in additional deviant behavior nor do they continue to be labeled deviant.

Activity. RPD Diversion of Juvenile offenders from the Juvenile Justice System.

FIGURE 1'

Overview of Series of Lower to Higher Level
Activity-Objective Relationships



Assumptions. Barring notable exceptions and speaking generally, it would be advantageous to both juveniles and the larger society if juveniles would not engage in activities which result in their being labeled deviant. Diversion from formal institutions which deal with deviancy yet simultaneously maintain a negative labeling of their clients and involvement in positive involvement programs utilizing human problem solving methods, should facilitate normalization.

Measures. A decrease in repeat offenses (outcome) simultaneous to an increase in diversionary activity in the community (process).

Intermediate Level Relationships

Program Objective. Effective diversion of juvenile offenders from the Juvenile Justice System by RPD.

Activity. Component functioning of the RPD Diversion Program.

Assumption. Effective functioning of the various components leads to effective functioning of the overall diversion program.

Measures. Effective RPD Diversion is assessed by a decrease in the frequency and severity of repeat offenses primarily, and secondarily by increased school performance and attendance as a result of RPD Diversion Program component efforts (outcome).

Low Level Relationships

Component Objective. Effective functioning of the various components of RPD Diversion: police counselling, police referrals, tutoring and employment services, police drug counselling, school counselling, police in the schools, and information dissemination.

Activity. Subcomponent functioning of the various components.

Assumption. Effective functioning of the subcomponents leads to effective function of the components.

Measures. Adequate subcomponent process or effort defines effective subcomponent functioning.

Program Components (Intermediate Level Activity)

A more complete understanding of the RPD Diversion Program requires elaboration of its several components.

1. Police Counselling

Objective. Superior outcome to other counselling services available in the community.

Activity. a) Training in interviewing, communication skills, behavioral contracting and family crisis intervention techniques of the six full time juvenile officers by two, one-half time PhD behavioral scientists.¹

b) Application of these skills and techniques to juvenile offenders under the supervision of the behavioral scientists.

Assumption. With relatively little training (50-100 hours) sworn police officers can become effective counselors for a substantial portion of the juvenile offenders who come to the juvenile unit. Recent work attesting to the efficacy of paraprofessional intervention is only one basis for this assumption.² In comparison with community counselling alternatives, police counselling has two advantages. The first is the obvious decrease in referral processing problems if there are no referrals and police do the counselling themselves. Service can be delivered more quickly and without any of the referral red tape. By definition, the client (offender) has shown up for his first appointment (police department). Secondly, police counselors maintain the advantage of having more symbolic if not real control of negative consequences than their civilian counterparts. Though the officers are trained to have a more empathic than interrogative style in the counselling session, they nevertheless wear guns during the sessions (but not necessarily their uniforms), and may apprehend juveniles for repeat offenses.

Measures. Process-counselling hours per case, and lag-time between offense and first service contact.

Outcome--recidivism and school records for those police-counselled juveniles compared to juveniles receiving alternative dispositions.

2. Police Referrals to Community Services

Objective. Development of an effective and efficient referral system to expedite community treatment and involvement of juvenile offenders.

Activity. Development and continued updating of a community referral manual of those agencies, services of centers providing direct services to youth.

Assumption. By job description as well as sheer volume criteria, community service agencies--not police counselors--have the bulk of the responsibility for effective diversion. A major role of the police, however, is the efficient referral of juvenile offenders to appropriate services.

Measures. Process -- a) increase in number of referral services available to juvenile officers.

1. For details of training, contact Donald Liebman, PhD, or Cynthia Schwartz, PhD, at the Richmond Police Department, Richmond, California 94804.

2. R. B. Ellsworth, Nonprofessionals in Psychiatric Rehabilitation, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968).

b) increase in number of referrals made from the juvenile officers to community agencies.

c) feedback from community services about the appropriateness of the referrals.

Outcome -- recidivism and school records for those juveniles referred compared to juveniles receiving alternative dispositions.

3. Tutorial Service

Objective. Improved school functioning of juvenile offenders.

Activity. Supervised and paid (minimum wage) tutoring experience for juvenile offenders. The tutoring service is also available to non-offenders.

Assumption. Employing juvenile offenders as tutors provides not only meaningful activity and a little extra spending money, but also an effective mechanism for achieving learning gains.¹ The inclusion of both offender and non-offender juveniles in the service avoids the "spoiled-image" problem noted by Polk and Korbin.²

Measures. Improved school functioning is assessed by comparing juvenile offenders involved in the tutoring service to a matched group of offenders not involved in the service on school performance and attendance variables. Also, parental perception of school improvement is surveyed for those juveniles receiving the service.

4. Employment Service

Objective. Reduced recidivism through the placement of juvenile offenders into part-time jobs in the community.

Activity. The location and stimulation of employment openings for juvenile offenders and non-offenders.

Assumption. Part-time employment is a meaningful way to involve juveniles in the community and to prevent further law violations. Similarly to the tutorial service, the inclusion of both offender and non-offender juveniles in the employment service avoids the "spoiled-image" problem.

Measures. Reduced recidivism is assessed by comparing juvenile offenders involved in the employment service to a matched group of offenders not involved in the service on the number and severity of repeat offenses. Also, parental perception of improvement is surveyed for those juveniles receiving the service.

5. Drug Education and Counselling by Police Officers and Increased School Counselling by School Counselors.

Objective. Reduction in recidivism and improved school performance through increased efforts in existing counselling programs believed to be helpful in effective diversion.

Activity. More concentrated efforts on these existing programs.

Assumption. Increased and improved efforts by police officers to educate and counsel offender and non-offender juveniles about drugs, and more focused attention on juvenile offenders by school counselors, should be helpful in the overall diversion effort.

Measures. Although not actually measured in the present work, outcome of this component can be assessed by comparing the juvenile offenders who receive these services with a matched group who do not.

6. Police in the Classroom.

Objective. Development of reciprocally positive attitudes between police and juveniles.

Activity. Police involvement in the schools in mutually satisfying experiences for police, juveniles, and school officials.

Assumption. The school, as a socializing institution linked with legitimate identity formation¹ is an appropriate setting for the exposure of police and juveniles to mutually satisfying experiences. Social psychological cognitive consistency theory predicts that from these more positive experiences, more positive attitudes generally follow. Improved juvenile attitudes toward police should facilitate increased respect for the law and hopefully, a lower offense rate. Improved police attitudes toward juveniles should facilitate more humane and rehabilitative juvenile contacts.

Measures. Changes in police and juvenile attitudes toward one another (not actually assessed in the present work).

7. Information Dissemination and Feedback.

Objective. Flow of information about the program to the total force of the police department and to the Richmond community. Evaluative feedback to the program from these populations.

Activity. a) Publicizing program activities through team meetings in the department and through a Speakers' Bureau and news releases to the community.

1. A. Gartner, M. Kohler, and F. Riessman, Children Teach Children, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

2. Polk and Korbin, op. cit., pg. 20.

1. Ibid., p. 17.

b) Surveying the police department and the Richmond Community regarding their evaluation of the program.

Assumption. The elements comprising the social ecology of an action program should be aware of the program and suggestions for its improvement. The program must officially recognize its social interdependence by soliciting data from the elements of the larger social perspective.

Measures. Process--number of meetings of juvenile officers with other teams in the department. Number of and attendance at speaking engagements in the community. Number of news releases.

Outcome--evaluative ratings from the total police department and the Richmond Community.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGNS

The research designs correspond closely to the conceptualization presented in Chapter III. Experimental, quasi-experimental, pre-experimental, and ex post facto¹ designs are employed. Though experimental procedures are theoretically possible at any level, present experimentation is limited to the intermediate level.

Experimentation at the high level would explore whether the diversion program as a whole unit is causally related to outcome. Experimentation at the intermediate level explores the causal relationship between program components and outcome. Similarly, experimentation at the low level would explore the causal relationship between subcomponent activity and outcome.

Experimentation per se is by no means limited to the relationship between activity at any level, and outcome. The causal relationship between activity and process variables is also important, and in fact, may have a higher priority than experimentation exploring the activity--outcome relationship when the activity is low-level and tenuously related to outcome. Present experimentation, which explores the activity of some of the components of the RPD Diversion Program, restricts its focus to outcome variables.

High Level Relationships: Total Program to Ultimate Process and Outcome

Using the pre-experimental "one-Group Pretest-Post-Test"² both program process and outcome are assessed.

Process

Compared to a baseline period, improved process translates operationally into a reduction in the number of offenders receiving juvenile hall and probation dispositions, concomitant to an increase in the number of offenders being warned and released, counselled, or referred during the RPD Diversion Program.

1. Donald T. Campbell and J. C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs and Research, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).
2. Ibid., p. 7.

Intermediate Level Relationships: Component
Activity to Component Process
and Ultimate Outcome¹

The research designs at this level are pre-experimental, experimental and quasi-experimental.

Some discussion is warranted of how the various components of the RPD Diversion Program are related to the range of dispositions confronting the juvenile offender who comes to the attention of police. The juvenile offender may be: 1) sent to juvenile hall (detention or jail for juveniles); 2) cited to the County Probation Department; 3) warned and released; 4) given police counselling; 5) referred to a community service agency such as County Social Service, County Mental Health, recreation centers, churches, planned parenthood, etc.; 6) given some specialized RPD Diversion service such as Tutorial or Employment; 7) referred to RPD-employed (part-time) secondary school counselors; or 8) given simple or complex combinations of (2) through (7). Some of these dispositions are available only because of the RPD Diversion Program (4, 6). Others are a combination of RPD Diversion Program efforts and previous procedures (5, 7, 8). The nature of the remaining dispositions (1, 2, 3) remains unaltered with the advent of RPD Diversion.

The major distinction is between non-diversion dispositions (1, 2) and diversion dispositions (the remainder), although there are many other comparisons which are both interesting and useful.

Pre-Experimental Designs

Prior to the establishment of true experimental procedures, some exploration into the hypothesized effects by pre-experimental designs was undertaken.

Study 1. Recidivism rates for first offender males and females, ages 11 through 17, living in the Richmond area who came to the attention of RPD between January 1, 1971, and March 31, 1972 (N=787) were compared by diversion (warned and released or referred to a community service agency) and non-diversion (taken to juvenile hall or cited to probation) dispositions. The recidivism data² (average follow-up equals 20 months) demonstrated a significantly lower repeat offense rate for those juveniles who were diverted (diversion rate = .286, non-diversion rate = .379; chi-square = 6.5, d.f. = 1, P/ .05).

1. Although all components of the RPD Diversion Program were discussed in Chapter III, only those components that are evaluated by research designs (involving some sort of a control group) are presented in Chapters IV and V.
2. Every offense report of every juvenile offender living and committing an offense in Richmond, California, between January 1, 1971, and March 31, 1973, was computer coded. The coding supplemented routinely-kept police records and provided the basis for comprehensive computer analyses of repeat offenses.

Among the more serious confounds of this study is the severity of offense variable. Because it is generally believed that a juvenile who commits a more severe offense is more likely to be sent to juvenile hall or cited to probation than to receive a diversion disposition, the significant difference in recidivism rates might be explained by a greater percentage of more serious (and hence, more likely to recidivate) offenders in the non-diversion disposition group.

Study 2. In an attempt to control for the severity of offense, only those juveniles who committed the most "divertable" offenses were reviewed. Recidivism rates for eight-five first offender male and female "601's" (juvenile violations which would not be considered illegal if committed by adults), ages 13 through 16, living within three designated census tracts in the City of Richmond, who committed their first offense between January 1, 1971, and December 31, 1972, were compared for diversion (warned and released) and non-diversion (taken to Juvenile Hall or cited to Probation) dispositions. The recidivism data, (average follow-up equals 15 months), as in Study 1, demonstrated a significantly lower recidivism rate for those juveniles who were diverted (diversion rate = .222, non-diversion rate = .500; chi-square = 6.06, d.f. = 1, P/ .05).

Within 601 offenses, however, there are still degrees of severity. In addition to this confound, both studies also suffer from other variables (such as, juvenile attitude toward the police and adverse parental reactions), that may correlate with recidivism and predispose a juvenile to receive non-diversion alternatives. Nevertheless, the results do suggest that for these minor offenses, warning and releasing is the superior disposition to juvenile hall or probation.¹

Experimental Designs of Dispositions

The initiation of randomization (experimental) procedures in a community setting involves considerably more effort and competence than is required to develop on paper a methodologically adequate experimental design that would unconfound the troublesome variables in the pre-experimental studies #1 and 2 immediately preceding. Workable experimental methodology in a community setting requires the considered adaptation of standard experimental designs to the real concerns of the social milieu.

A large part of the discomfort detailed by the seven points of objection to randomization procedures (discussed in a previous section, "Practical Difficulties of Performing Evaluative Research", pp. 6, 7), can be summarized by the notion of program staff objection to inappropriate offender-disposition pairings. Following is a detailed explanation of experimental designs which respect these staff objections yet retain

1. Referrals to community agencies, though included in Study 1, were not included in Study 2 because of a bias in favor of the diversion group. Since a disproportionately large number of referrals occurred late in 1972, the recidivism rate can be expected to be lower because of the relatively shorter follow-up period.

scientific integrity. Much of the explanation is adapted from a previous paper by the writer.¹

Randomly receiving inappropriate treatment for juvenile offenders for example, may take two forms---dispositions which are seen to be either too harsh or too lenient. A range of dispositions and a range of Ss is hypothesized. Dispositions in Class A (Jail) may be appropriate for A-type Ss (terrible but too harsh for all others. Dispositions in Class C (Release) may be appropriate for C-type Ss (good) but too lenient for all others. Dispositions in Class B are most appropriate for B-type Ss (Treatable) and are moderately too lenient for Terrible Ss and too harsh for Good Ss. Randomly assigning good, treatable, and terrible juvenile offenders to jail, treatment, and release is scientifically elegant but morally impossible from the point of view of the staff.

An Ethical Compromise. At the same time respecting the strongly held subjective opinions of the staff about what dispositions are inappropriate for which cases, evaluative research must elicit those numerous disposition--case group pairings about which there is mixed or non-existent sentiment. Such elicitation usually results in a refinement of thinking about strongly held subjective opinions. Consider again the example of juvenile offenders and the three classes of dispositions. Hence:

Disposition Class A (Jail) may be refined into two dispositions alternatives:

- A₁ -- Juvenile Hall
- A₂ -- Probation

Disposition Class B (Treatment) may be refined into various treatment alternatives:

- B₁ -- County Juvenile Intervention Unit
- B₂ -- Police Juvenile Intervention Unit
- B₃ -- Other Community Agencies

Disposition Class C is release

Juvenile Types A (Terrible) may be refined into two subtypes:

- A₁ -- Very Terrible
- A₂ -- Averagely Terrible

Juvenile Types B are treatable.

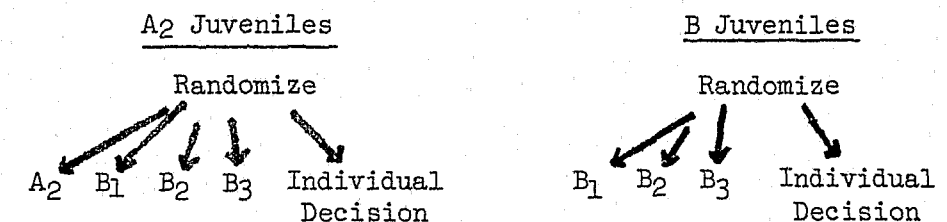
1. Donald A. True, Program Evaluation and Randomization, paper presented at WPA, 1973.

Juvenile Types C may be refined into two subtypes:

- C₁ -- Very Good
- C₂ -- Good as far as can be determined.

Refined strong staff sentiment dictates that Very Terrible Juveniles go to Juvenile Hall and Very Good Juveniles be released. Averagely Terrible Juveniles should not go to Juvenile Hall but neither should they be released. "Good as far as can be determined" juveniles should not receive any Class A disposition. Treatable juveniles should receive Treatment dispositions only. Thus, Averagely Terrible juveniles can be randomized among Probation and Treatment alternatives. Treatable juveniles can be randomized among Treatment alternatives, and "Good as far as can be determined" juveniles can be randomized among Treatment alternatives and release.

Control Groups. Randomizing C₂ juveniles among release and treatment alternatives presents the traditional control group experimental design. Randomizing A₂ and B juveniles among their respective randomized disposition alternatives presents no obvious control group but rather a range of alternative programs -- an acceptable design alternative.^{1a 1b} Though acceptable, the design would yield richer conclusions if it were better controlled. An appropriate control group would not be some variant of a release group, however, but a group whose Ss are disposed on an individualized basis--as would be the case if there were no randomization procedures at all. Pictorially, such an experimental design would be as follows:



Thus, A₂ juveniles are randomized among five disposition classes. Random assignment to A₂, B₁, B₂, or B₃ means that the juvenile officer makes one of the four dispositions which is randomly dictated to him. Random assignment to "Individual Decision" means that the juvenile officer decides for himself which of the four dispositions to choose. Because the five disposition classes randomly receive juveniles from the same pool of Ss, the "Individual Decision" group is completely comparable to the other four disposition classes. A similar situation holds for B juveniles.

1a. H.H. Hyman, C. R. Wright, and T. K. Hopkins, Applications of Methods of Evaluation: Four Studies of the Encampment for Citizenship, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 23, 24.
1b. Marguerite Q. Warren, "The Psychologist as Action Researcher," in Stanley L. Brodsky (Ed.), Psychologists in the Criminal Justice System, (Carbondale, Illinois: ADMARK, 1972).

Essentially the design, (I-G), compares the efficacy of the program's individualized decision making about dispositions to that of dispositions dictated by randomization. Such a comparison would not be available in a design which excluded the "Individualized Decision" group (design G-A). The results obtained from a G-A design give only the relative effects of disposition groups, and give no test of the real possibility that the most efficacious decision rule would send one subset of Ss to one disposition and another subset to another disposition. For example, in a G-A design involving A₂ juveniles, suppose it was found that the relative success rates for the four dispositions were: .80, .70, .60, and .50. Would the conclusion be, therefore, that all A₂ juveniles be sent to disposition alternative #1? No, the typical subsequent procedure would be to find out what S variables correlated with the success rates, and to redo a G-A type experiment incorporating the refinements indicated by the correlations. Suppose, however, the I-G design was employed. Results would either demonstrate the efficacy of the individualized disposition group over the best group disposition, or the reverse. If the I-G design produced results showing the individualized disposition group to be superior, an immediate demonstration is given that there are indeed S variables for A₂ which can be isolated and related to dispositions in a manner which is superior to any one group disposition -- and that the staff is making very good decisions. If, however, the I-G design produced results showing the individualized disposition group to be inferior to the most efficacious group disposition, the conclusion is that the staff are making some poor individualized decisions and best learn from the group disposition results. S variables correlating with success would be identified and tested in a subsequent experiment.

The I-G design is therefore helpful in that it provides a direct test of the first two points of objection to randomization procedures (1. the best disposition for each case is already known; 2. each case deserves individual attention; group treatment for individual cases would be ineffective, inhumane and unprofessional). The design directly tests whether staff do indeed have efficacious dispositional strategies which depend upon named or unarticulated S variables.

To counteract objection #6--crucial information which would contra-indicate a randomly assigned disposition may emerge only after the disposition is made--behooves the evaluative researcher to involve the program staff in fully articulating S variables by which dispositions are made and to screen out those juveniles inappropriate for randomization procedures prior to their receiving a randomized disposition.

Experimental Designs in Detail

In the middle of January 1973 three sets of experimental procedures were started, corresponding to the three designs outlined in the previous section. The experimental procedures explored the effectiveness of some of the RPD Counselling and Community Referral components of the RPD Diversion Program as well as other related issues.

Design #1. Major Offenses (Felony vs. Property)

Randomization Pool: Males between 11 and 17 years 7 months who are not currently active on probation or parole, who do not require an "urgent referral", e.g., psychiatric hospitalization, and do not have numerous prior offenses (more than two prior felonies).

Experimental Groups: (Randomly assigned dispositions from the Randomization Pool): 1) cite to probation, 2) retain for RPD counselling, 3) refer to a community service agency, and 4) "Individual Decision" (ID).

Measures: Repeat offenses within two months¹; pretest - post-test gain scores of GPA and school attendance.

Issues and Hypotheses: This is the only experimental design which directly tests a non-diversion disposition (probation) against diversion alternatives. Significant differences (expected N per group = 16) are predicted to order the groups, most effective first, in the following way: ID, RPD Counselling, Community Referral, and Probation. This order hypothesizes that RPD officers not only do an effective job of counselling, but also make good dispositional decisions about which offenders to send where. The superiority of RPD counselling over probation would validate that component of the total RPD Diversion Program.

Design #2. Minor Offenses (Misdemeanor and 601 offenders who manifest psychological or family problems)

Randomization Pool: Males and females between 11 and 17 years 7 months who are not currently active on probation or parole, who do not require an "urgent referral", and do not have numerous prior offenses (more than one prior felony or more than three prior misdemeanors).

Experimental Groups: 1) refer to YSP (formerly, the Youth Service Bureau in the area), 2) retain for RPD counselling, 3) refer to a community service agency other than YSP, and 4) ID.

Measures: Repeat offenses within two months; pretest - post-test gain scores of GPA and school attendance.

1. Although the recidivism rate obviously increases monotonically with length of follow-up, the curve accelerates negatively. Using an average follow-up period of approximately 20 months, approximately 45% of those juveniles who eventually committed a repeat offense did so within 2 months. For first offenders only, the corresponding rate is approximately 35%. Though "Two-Month Recidivism" is somewhat of an arbitrarily determined outcome variable, it nevertheless represents a considered balance between a substantial probe into the long-term recidivism picture and a sensitive measure of short-term effects.

Issue and Hypotheses: Though interventions from multiple social agencies are likely to have cumulative positive diversion effects, one agency or program may be more efficacious than another. The Youth Services Bureau (now called YSP in Richmond) is officially charged with diversionary functions. The police department also has legitimate claim to diversionary activities¹, as do other existing and developing community agencies. Trivially, before a juvenile can be diverted, he must first come into contact with the police. Police efforts to normalize as well as to apprehend deviant youth, therefore, have conceptual merit in that referral problems to other agencies are eliminated. Also, police, when appropriately trained, may be expected to provide counselling services comparable to existing community services (refer to sections on the Police Counselling Component, pp. 17, 18). Other community agencies which do not have a formal diversion mission but which provide treatment and positive involvement service for youth must also be considered viable diversionary alternatives. Significant differences (expected N per group = 44) are predicted to order the groups, most effective first, in the following way: ID, RPD Counselling, YSP, Community Service other than YSP. This order hypothesizes that officers make excellent dispositional decisions, RPD Counselling is superior to other forms of diversion, and that YSP -- the official diversion agency -- compares favorably to other community services.

Design #3. Minor Offenses (Misdemeanor and 601 offenders who do not manifest psychological or family problems.)

Randomization Pool: Males and females between 11 and 17 years 7 months who are not currently active on Probation or parole, who do not require an "urgent referral", and who have no prior felony offenses nor more than one prior misdemeanor.

Experimental Groups: 1) refer to Protective Service, a County Social Service Agency, or 2) release.

Issues and Hypotheses: The two groups represent a distinction between passive vs. active diversion. Offenders who are warned and released are diverted in the sense that they do not become increasingly involved in the Juvenile Justice System, but are given only a no treatment release (compared to treatment) intervention in the psychotherapy research analogy. The Randomization Pool comprising the two experimental groups contains those juvenile offenders who commit minor offenses and who would have usually (prior to RPD Diversion) been released because of their low priority for treatment in the face of a heavy workload of more serious cases. Program staff generally agreed that although these cases had usually been released, some additional intervention might have been beneficial. Though the base rate of recidivism for the two groups is small, the expected N per group (36) should significantly differentiate the two groups if intervention effects are real.

1. Lemert, loc. cit.

Tutorial Services

A "Static-group comparison" pre-experimental design¹ is used to assess repeat offenses for those offenders involved in the service compared to a control group matched on gross time of offense (fiscal year 72-73), type of offense (Runaway, other 601, Misdemeanor, Felony vs. Person, Felony vs. Property, Other Felony), number of prior offenses (one, two, or three), and disposition (Juvenile Hall, Probation, Community Referral, RPD Counselling, and Warned and Released). The inclusion of pretest as well as post-test measures for school data raises the level of the static-group comparison pre-experimental design to quasi-experimental status. Thus, the effectiveness of the tutorial service, as assessed by the school variables, is tested by a non-equivalent control group design, labelled quasi-experimental by Campbell and Stanley². The control group is matched on the same variables as above.

Employment Service

The research designs for assessing the effectiveness of the employment service are identical to those used for the assessment of the tutorial service.

Information Dissemination and Feedback

Typically, the survey work of the evaluative researcher ends with the gathering and analysis of evaluative ratings of the program from the social ecology in which the program operates. Important consequences may result, however, from extending the job description of the evaluative researcher to include feeding back aggregate statistics of evaluative ratings to the social ecology from which the ratings came. Such "feeding back of feedback" has the underlying justification of the recurrent finding of pluralistic ignorance³ in regards to individual and group attitudes.

Pluralistic ignorance hypothesizes that the individual often is incorrect in estimating the mean attitude of a group of which he is a member. The phenomenon has behavioral consequences to the extent that individuals act on the perceived discrepancy between their own attitude and that of the group. The larger the discrepancy, the higher the probability for negative consequences in the group. Distrust mounts and group interdependence is strained as pluralistic ignorance increases. Group intervention strategies attempt to reduce pluralistic ignorance so that attitudes and behavior will be data based.

1. Campbell and Stanley, op. cit., p. 12.
2. Ibid., p. 47.
3. Fred Fosmire, unpublished data from Social Psychology Course at the University of Oregon, Eugene, 1971.

TABLE 2

Average Attitude Ratings for RPD Diversion for
September, 1972 and March, 1973

Date of Survey	Actual and Estimate Ratings			
	Sworn Actual	Sworn Estimate Of Department	Sworn Estimate Of Public	Public Actual
September, 1972	6.13	5.05	6.23	8.00
March, 1972	6.615	5.13	6.46	8.20

Note: The surveys consisted of nine point Likert-type items, in which 5 was the neutral point, 1 was the most unfavorable and 9 was the most favorable response possible.

In September, 1972, and again in March, 1973, the attitudes of both the public and the sworn personnel of the Richmond Police Department were surveyed regarding juvenile diversion. Some of the most interesting and important results to emerge from these surveys are the differences among how sworn personnel actually rate diversion (Sworn Actual), how sworn personnel think the rest of the department rates diversion, (Sworn Estimate of the Department), how sworn personnel think the public rates diversion, and how the public actually rates diversion. The average ratings are shown in Table 2. Although the March, 1973, results are higher across the board than the September, 1972, results, none of the four March-September comparisons is statistically significant. For both September, 1972, and March, 1973, the difference between Sworn Actual and Sworn Estimate of Department, and the difference between Public Actual and Sworn Estimate of Public, are highly significant statistically ($P \leq .001$). The results signify two underestimates. One is that sworn personnel are underestimating how highly the public rates diversion. The other is that sworn personnel are underestimating how the department on the average regards diversion. Sworn personnel actually rate diversion slightly favorably but perceive the average department rating to be neutral.

Because sworn officers can be viewed as individuals comprising a subset and not the totality of the "public" group, pluralistic ignorance is not directly applicable. The phenomena does apply and is demonstrated for the Sworn Actual -- Sworn Estimate of the Department comparisons, however.

Research Design: A quasi-experimental (non-equivalent control group design)¹ is used to assess in July, 1973, the hypothesized decrease in pluralistic ignorance which is expected to result from feeding back to a portion of the total police force the survey data and some scattered program accomplishments. (The design is quasi-experimental rather than experimental because the group which received the results was not randomly selected, and therefore, may be biased.)

1. Campbell and Stanley, op. cit., p. 47.

TABLE 3

Diversion and Non-Diversion Dispositions
Before and During
the RPD Diversion Program

Nominal Period	Disposition	
	Non Diversion Dispositions: Juvenile Hall or Probation	Diversion Dispositions: Release, Referral or RPD Counseling (1972 only)
1971 Pre RPD Diversion Program	52%	48%
1972 During RPD Diversion Program	30%	70%

Note: chi-square > 100; N > 2,500

TABLE 4

Two-Month Recidivism
for First and Second-Time Offenders
Before and During the RPD Diversion Program

Nominal Period	Offense Number					
	First Offense			Second Offense ^a		
	Total N	Recidivist N	Recidivism Rate	Total N	Recidivist N	Recidivism Rate
1971 Pre RPD Diversion Program	442	42	.095	49	14	.29
1972 During RPD Diversion Program	437	26	.059 ^b	47	5	.11 ^c

a Analysis for November, December and January only

b Significant Reduction (chi-square=3.89, d.f. = 1, P < .05)

c Approximately Significant Reduction
(chi-square=3.80, d.f. = 1, P ≈ .05)

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

High Level Relationships

Program Activity and Program Process

Table 3 presents diversion and non-diversion (exhaustive of dispositions) percentages for a six-month period one year prior to the RPD Diversion Program (August, 1971, through January, 1973) compared to the initial six-month period of Program operations (August, 1972, through January, 1973). The significant increase in diversion dispositions during the Program demonstrates the hypothesized improvement in High Level process.

Program Activity and Program Outcome

Table 4 presents first and second-time offender recidivism rates (within two months) for the pre-diversion and diversion six-month periods noted above. The significant reduction in repeat offenses during the Program demonstrates the hypothesized improvement in ultimate outcome. Because a pre-experimental design was used, however, many alternatives rival the hypothesis that the improvement was caused by the RPD Diversion Program. The effect may come directly as a result of RPD Program efforts, from other community programs in the area that perform diversion functions, from some combination of the two, or from still other variables. Nevertheless, the results provide a compelling demonstration that something exists which is currently more effective in diverting first and second-time offenders than was present a year ago. (Recidivism rates for third and fourth-time offenders also dropped during the RPD Diversion Program but non-significantly.)

Intermediate Level Relationships

Two pre-experimental studies have already been reported (pp. 23, 24) which suggest the efficacy of diversion as compared to non-diversion dispositions for first offenders (Study #1), and for a limited sample of first offender 601's (Study #2). Because of the pre-experimental status of the studies, conclusions lauding the efficacy of diversion dispositions must be weakly stated.

Experimental Studies

Study #1. Table 5 presents outcome data on the four experimental disposition groups for Felony vs. Property offenders. Though N is

insufficient to obtain statistical significance, the comparatively negative result for RPD Counselling suggests that with increased N, differential results would show RPD to be one of the more inferior dispositions for these felony offenders. The similarly negative result for community counselling is tempered by further inspection of the data. Of the three ID offenders who did not recidivate, two received a community counselling disposition. Coincidentally, the two repeat offenders from the Community Counselling Disposition Group were handled by one agency (YSP) and the two ID non-repeaters given a Community Counselling disposition were handled by another agency (Protective Services). A gross comparison of the two agencies across this experimental study and the two subsequently presented ones revealed Protective Services to demonstrate less than half of the recidivism rate of YSP (3/14 compared to 7/14; average follow-up equals 3 1/2 months) but N was insufficient for statistical significance.

Study #2. Table 6 presents outcome data on the four experimental disposition groups for misdemeanor and 601 offenders who manifested psychological or family problems. Though N is insufficient to obtain significance, RPD counselling again showed the highest recidivism rate. This experimental study contributed greatly to the overall differentiation in recidivism rates between YSP and Protective Services (YSP--5/11, Protective Services--0/6; average follow-up equals 3 1/2 months) reported in Study #1. Of the three ID repeat offenders, one was warned and released, one was referred to a school counselor, and one was referred to YSP.

Study #3. Table 7 presents outcome data on the two experimental disposition groups for misdemeanor and 601 offenders who did not manifest psychological or family problems. N is insufficient to obtain significance from chi-square analyses of the recidivism data and the variance is too large to obtain significance from the t-tests of the school data. Nevertheless, because of 1) the poor showing of Protective Services compared to the Release alternative, and 2) the tentative conclusion that Protective Services is one of the best diversion dispositions available in the Richmond area, the notion of counselling intervention in cases which prior to the advent of the RPD Diversion Program were released, must be questioned. Maybe all of these cases should have continued to be released?

The course of action implied by such a question is challenged by some other data. Table 8 presents recidivism rates within three time periods for four disposition categories. Seven Hundred Eighty Seven male and female juvenile offenders, ages 11 through 17 who committed their first offense between January 1, 1971, and March 31, 1972, were followed for an average of 20 months. Those offenders receiving a referral to a community service agency committed repeat offenses initially (within two months) at a higher rate than their released counterparts. After twelve months, however, the referred group had no additional repeat offenders

TABLE 5

Outcome Data for
Felony (vs. Property) Offenders
for Five Experimental Disposition Groups

Group Information		Outcome Data			
Group	N	Two month Recidivism (n)	Extended recidivism average followup equals 3½ months (n)	Mean Δ GPA	Mean Δ Attendance
Probation	6	2	3	+0.34 (n=4)	-3.33 (n=3)
RPD Counseling	5	3	4	-0.5 (n=2)	-4.5 (n=4)
Community Counseling	3	2	2	+0.11 (n=3)	0.0 (n=3)
ID	3	0	0	+0.14 (n=1)	-2.0 (n=1)
Total	17	7	9	+0.08 (n=10)	-2.7 (n=11)

TABLE 6

Outcome Data for
Misdemeanor and 601 Offenders
(with Manifestations of Psychological or Family Problems)
for Five Experimental Disposition Groups

Group Information		Outcome Data			
Group	N	Two month Recidivism (n)	Extended recidivism average followup equals 3½ months (n)	Mean Δ GPA	Mean Δ Attendance
YSP	10	3	4	+0.27 (n=6)	-2.67 (n=6)
RPD Counseling	7	3	3	+0.04 (n=5)	-3.8 (n=5)
Community Counseling	4	0	0	+0.10 (n=2)	-1.0 (n=2)
ID	9	1	3	-0.37 (n=8)	-3.13 (n=8)
Total	29	6	10	-0.04 (n=21)	-2.95 (n=21)

TABLE 7

Outcome Data for
Misdemeanor and 601 Offenders
(with No. Manifestations of Psychological or Family Problems)
for Two Experimental Disposition Groups

Group Information		Outcome Data			
Group	N	Two month Recidivism (n)	Extended recidivism average followup equals 3½ months (n)	Mean Δ GPA	Mean Δ Attendance
Protective Services	9	3	3	-0.44 (n=9)	-1.22 (n=9)
Release	9	0	1	-0.01 (n=6)	-2.83 (n=6)
Total	18	3	4	-0.27 (n=15)	-1.87 (n=15)

TABLE 8

Recidivism within Three Time Periods
for First Offenders
for Four Disposition Classifications

Disposition Information		Recidivism					
		Within Two Months		Within Twelve Months		Over Twelve Months (Average=20 Months)	
Disposition	N	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate
Juvenile Hall	56	3	.053	19	.339	24	.429
Probation	176	26	.147	47	.267	64	.364
Community Referral	59	8	.135	15	.254	15	.254
Warned and Released	496	48	.096	113	.227	144	.290
Total	787	85	.108	194	.247	247	.313

whereas the released group saw its recidivism rate climb and exceed the rate for the referred group. The superiority of the referred group in the long run is further augmented when the assumption is made that those referred cases were initially judged to be more "serious" than those who were warned and released.

An interesting sidelight discovered in the Table is that while initially (within two months) those juveniles who were sent to Juvenile Hall had the lowest recidivism rate, subsequently (after twelve months) they had the highest recidivism rate. The trend appears strikingly similar to the suppression effects of punished behavior.

Further Analyses of the RPD Counselling and the Community Referral Components of the RPD Diversion Program

As stated previously, RPD Counselling is an activity which is specific to the RPD Diversion Program whereas Community Referral contains elements of both the RPD Diversion Program (development and continued updating of a community referral manual) and pre-existing services (the treatment provided by the Community Services). Superior effectiveness of some community referrals (which seems to be a tentative conclusion), while snubbing the RPD Counselling component, simultaneously may validate the efforts of the Community Referral component of the Program. Figure 2 portrays the percentage of community service referrals for 11 months of Program operations compared to a baseline period in 1971. The increase in the percentage of community referrals should translate into an overall decrease in the total number of repeat offenders if community service referrals are more effective than non-diversion dispositions.

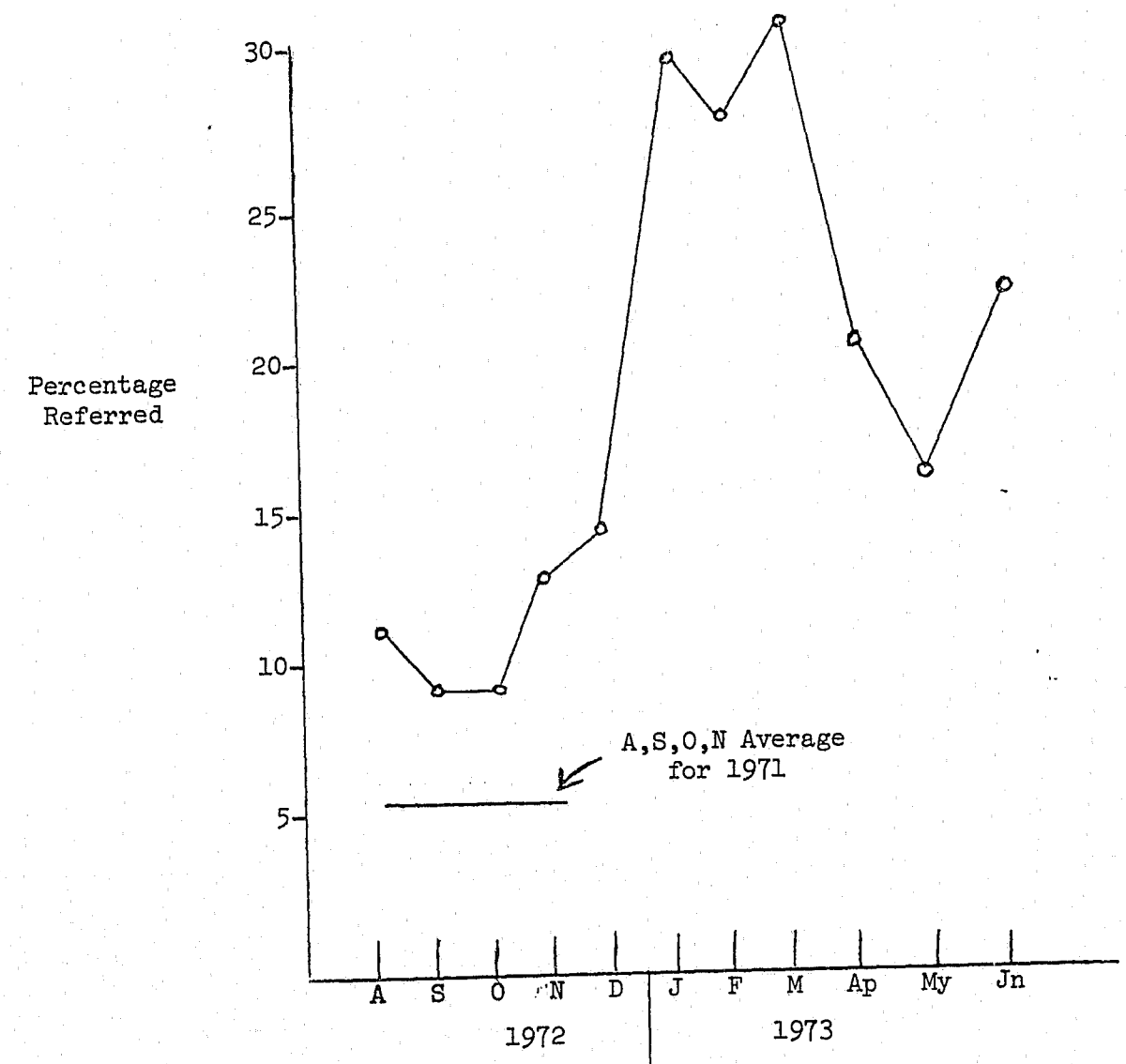
Number of Counselling Sessions or Separate Contacts. Helpful in unraveling differences between RPD and Community Counselling is the comparison of the number of interviews or separate contacts provided by the two services. The mean number of contacts for the Community cases (5.25) was significantly higher ($t=5.64$, d.f. = 134, $P/.01$) than for the RPD cases (2.01).

Lag-Time Between Offense and Service. Another distinction between RPD and Community Counselling is the expected superiority of RPD over Community Counselling in quickly beginning the counselling service. The mean number of days between offense and first service for RPD cases (4.72) was almost significantly lower ($t=1.88$, d.f. = 134, $P/.07$) than the mean number of days between RPD disposition and first service for Community cases (7.86).

Correlations of Counselling Process with Outcome. For RPD and Community Counselling analyzed separately, point-biserial correlations of "2-month Recidivism" with "Number of Counselling Contacts" and with "Offense-Service Lag Time" were explored. The only correlation to

FIGURE 2

Percentage of Community Referrals
for Baseline (A, S, O, N, 1971) and
for 11 months of RPD Diversion Program Operation



exceed .20 was the 2-month recidivism associated with Number of Counselling Contacts for Community Referrals. More contacts were weakly but insignificantly associated ($r = .249$, $N = 27$) with fewer recidivists.

Additional Referral Data. Of those juvenile offenders who were referred to community service agencies, 33% never arrived for the first appointment. Of those referrals who did arrive at the designated community service agency, 9% were rated by the agency to be inappropriate referrals.

Tutorial Service

Compared to the matched control group, no significant improvement in outcome was found for juvenile offender tutors. Parental perception of effect, however, was more positive. Of the surveys mailed to the parents of the 20 tutor offenders, 7 were returned. The mean results were that the parent(s) of the offender tutors rated the tutorial service to have improved their son or daughter's 1) attitude about responsibility in the home, 2) attitude toward school work, and 3) probability of avoiding repeat offenses. In addition to the 20 offender tutors, 51 non-offender tutors were employed by the service.

Employment Service

Compared to the matched control groups, no significant improvement in outcome was found for those juvenile offenders receiving employment service. In fact, school attendance was found to significantly deteriorate when compared to the population of juvenile offenders (school data for the matched control group was not available). Maybe the juveniles were too busy working and couldn't attend school? Parental perception of effect was positive. Of the surveys mailed to the parents of the 43 offenders receiving employment services, 7 were returned. The mean results were that the parent(s) of the juveniles rated the employment service to have improved their son or daughter's 1) attitude about responsibility in the home, 2) feelings of self-esteem, and 8) probability of avoiding future police contacts. In addition to the 43 offenders, 93 non-offender juveniles received employment services. Approximately one-third of those juveniles referred for a job were actually placed.

Information Dissemination and Feedback

Near the Program's inception every team in the department was presented with a Program overview. Irregularly, juvenile officers were assigned to acquaint the various teams with Program developments.

A Speakers' Bureau disseminated information about the Program to the public. During the Program year juvenile officers responded to a total of 38 speaking engagements, reaching an estimated total audience of over 1,500 (not counting radio broadcast and newspaper articles).

Attitude Modification Through Information Feedback. Table 9 adds July, 1973, survey results to those of Table 2. Although there was no significant difference between March and July results for individual evaluative ratings (Sworn Actual), the average Sworn Estimate of Department ratings increased significantly ($t = 2.90$, $P/ .01$). Furthermore, whereas the Sworn Actual ratings were very significantly ($P/ .001$) higher than Sworn Estimate of Department ratings in March, 1973; July results showed no significant difference. The hypothesis of pluralistic ignorance reduction through information feedback is strongly supported.

Although the evaluator would like to credit his efforts in obtaining this dramatic reduction of pluralistic ignorance, Table 10 presents results which may lead to a case study in ego deflation. Those who reported that they were "acquainted with previous results presented by (the investigator)" gave notably but non-significantly higher individual ratings ($P/ .14$) and department estimates ($P/ .08$) than those officers who reported non-acquaintance. The differences in ratings between those who reported acquaintance and those who reported non-acquaintance mildly support the notion that feedback of positive Program accomplishment is helpful in effecting more positive attitudes about the program. These differences, however, say nothing about pluralistic ignorance reduction. The difference between Sworn Actual and Sworn Estimate of Department ratings is the measure of pluralistic ignorance, and this differential is almost identical for the "Acquainted" and the "Non-Acquainted" groups. Pluralistic ignorance was reduced, but it appears not to have been a function of survey results feedback. Possibly, the measured decrease in pluralistic ignorance resulted from informal discussions and information sharing among the officers during the March to July period. The week-long training of the entire department during this period in the understanding and handling of juveniles makes the hypothesis of informal discussion and information sharing a plausible one. Now that pluralistic ignorance is at a minimum, a reduction in tension is expected among the officers over differences of opinion about juvenile diversion.

TABLE 9

Average Attitude Ratings
of RPD Diversion for
September, 1972, March, 1973 and July, 1973

Date of Survey	Actual and Estimate Ratings			
	Sworn Actual	Sworn Estimate of Department	Sworn Estimate of Public	Public Actual
September 1972	6.13	5.05	6.23	8.00
March 1973	6.615	5.13	6.46	8.20
July 1973	6.30	5.89	6.62	----

TABLE 10

Average July Attitude Ratings
of RPD Diversion For
Reported Acquaintance and Nonacquaintance
with Previous Survey Results

Reported Knowledge of Previous Survey Results	Actual and Estimate Ratings		
	Sworn Actual	Sworn Estimate of Department	Sworn Estimate of Public
Acquainted	6.58	6.15	6.73
Not Acquainted	5.95	5.55	6.48

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Two background studies (ex post facto) suggested that receiving a diversion disposition was significantly associated with a lower repeat offense rate for all first offenders and for first offender "601's" (chi-square, $P/ .05$). Tables 11 and 12 review the majority of the significant results which emerged primarily from the pre-experimental and ex post facto studies.

The significant results of the non-experimental designs suggested but could not conclusively validate RPD Diversion Program's role in reducing recidivism. The significant results in combination, however, make a stronger case for program effectiveness than any of the results considered in isolation. The demonstration of recidivism reduction from baseline, for example, invites many hypotheses which rival the assertion that RPD Diversion was the responsible factor. But when the additional significant results of the diversion disposition -- low recidivism relationship and of the increased proportion of diversion dispositions are considered, the argument for demonstrated Program effectiveness is substantially bolstered.

Insufficient N in the Experimental Groups and Its Etiology

Although a major focus of the present work was the development of ethically yet scientifically valid experimental procedures for a community setting, insufficient numbers of juveniles flowing into the randomization pools prevented significant differences.

Of the expected number of cases considered to be appropriate to enter the three randomization pools, only 20% were actually randomized. Though extant randomization procedures are currently increasing N over time¹, sufficient N to significantly validate differential

1. RPD Counselling was removed as a randomized alternative after its inferior effectiveness was indicated and after the 12-month CCCJ Grant expired which provided substantial diversion resources to the department. Through experimental design #3 (p. 29) was discontinued because of the extensive follow-up period judged to be required to obtain significant results (refer to pp. 36-39), the other two experimental designs remain intact except for the discontinuation of the randomly dictated RPD Counselling disposition. Thus, design #1 (p. 28) currently compares ID against randomly dictated Probation and

effects were not available at the writing of the present work. The non-randomized 80% were "screened out" of randomization procedures for a number of reasons. Some cases were screened out for legitimate reasons such as "numerous priors" or current monitoring by probation or parole at the time of the offense. Those screened out for legitimate reasons accounted for approximately one-half of the non-randomized 80%, and represent a joint underestimation by both the evaluation and program staff in assessing the number of cases potentially available to the randomization pools. The other half of the non-randomized 80% were screened out for seemingly illegitimate reasons. The illegitimate reasons for screening cases from the randomization pool were reversions to general arguments against carte blanche randomization (#s 1-4, p. 7) heard nine months ago. While these arguments were respected nine months ago in the joint design of ethical experimental procedures, there can be little respect for the continued resistance after mutually agreeable compromises were made and all had expressed good faith to adhere to the compromised procedures.

It appears, however, that more is involved in ensuring commitment behavior than joint decision making, compromise, and the verbal expression of good faith in honoring agreements. A look at the ID (juvenile officer's choice of disposition for the offender) dispositions gives a clue to an additional variable which might have affected commitment behavior. Of the 12 cases randomly assigned to ID status, none were given RPD Counselling. Additionally, a bastard statistical procedure comparing ID to RPD cases on two-month recidivism across experimental designs was approximately significant (chi-square = 3.80, d.f. = 1, $p \approx .05$). Also important here is the result that ID cases compared favorably with randomly dictated dispositions. These findings suggest that juvenile officers are making good disposition decisions, one of which is the decision not to counsel cases themselves -- maybe because they were aware of the inferior relative effectiveness of RPD Counselling. Such awareness could understandably account for the reluctance to follow through on "agreed up" randomization procedures. This reasoning was substantiated in a recent interview with one of the group disposition alternatives. In the interview the officer revealed not only an awareness of inferior effectiveness of RPD Counselling, but also revealed a concern about personal lack of motivation and competence for the counselling role. Such revelation is essential for the evaluation of a social action program. Unfortunately, this and other human revelations were not legitimate topics of discussion

Community Referral Agency dispositions. Similarly, design #2 (p. 28) now compares ID against randomly dictated YSP and other Community Referral Agency dispositions. Subsequent possible significant differences due to increased N, therefore, would allow inferences specific to these current comparisons but could say very little (strictly, nothing) about the effectiveness of RPD Counselling compared to the alternatives.

TABLE 11

Summary of Process and Outcome
Hypotheses and Results
for Program Activity

Nature of Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Research Design	Results
Process	Increased diversion dispositions and reduced nondiversion dispositions	Pre-Experimental	Confirmed (chi-square > 100)
Outcome	Reduction in the number of repeat offenses	Pre-Experimental	Confirmed for first and second-time offenders (chi-square, $p < .05$)

TABLE 12

Summary of Process and Outcome
Hypotheses and Results
for Component Activity--
RPD Counseling

Nature of Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Research Design	Results
Process	The number of RPD counseling contacts per case is not significantly different from the contact rate at other counseling services	Ex post facto	Disconfirmed; community counseling provides significantly more counseling contacts ($t; p < .01$)
	RPD counseling provides counseling service more quickly than other counseling services	Ex post facto	Weakly Confirmed ($t; p < .07$)
Outcome	RPD Counseling results in a lower repeat offense rate and better school performance and attendance than other counseling dispositions	Experimental	Insufficient N but trend is in the reverse direction

during the evolution and implementation of RPD Counselling.^{1a 1b} Evaluative research is directly effected to the extent that such unshared human concerns translate into a reluctance of staff to randomize lest they may be evaluated on efforts for which they have equivocal motivation and competence. It is not surprising, therefore, that the flow of juveniles into the randomization pools has increased since RPD Counselling has been eliminated as a randomly dictated disposition.

In a police setting there is the capability that increased N flowing into the randomization pools could have been "ordered".² While N may have increased through orders to do so, the concomitant hostility engendered in the staff almost ensures sabotage of randomization procedures.

RPD and Community Counselling Revisited

Though RPD Counselling did not fare well neither did the Community Referral Agency officially charged with diversion functions, YSP (the Youth Services Bureau in Richmond). Another Community Referral Agency, Protective Services (PS), did fare relatively well when assessed by recidivism rates or by the subjective reports of juvenile officers. Juvenile officers began referring cases to PS at an increasing rate (20 per month compared to 6 per month) partly because of the perceived effectiveness of PS, but also partly because of a PS reorganization which allowed an increased influx of cases from RPD. Unfortunately, referrals to PS increased to the point where a decrease in effectiveness was perceived by the juvenile officers. Given that this perceived decrease in PS effectiveness was real, it demonstrates the need to focus on adequacy of performance as well as effectiveness (performance) criteria in evaluating a social action program. Demonstrated differential effectiveness of PS, for example, does not mean that only PS should counsel juvenile offenders. Unless the most effective treatment disposition can handle the totality of the population subset for which that disposition is indicated, alternate treatment dispositions of lesser effectiveness must be utilized. (Also, even though one disposition may have an overall superiority in effectiveness, the best disposition strategy may be to assign one subset of cases to one treatment, and another, distinguishable subset to a different treatment). Therefore, even though YSP and RPD Counselling dispositions appear to have lost the race for superior effectiveness, they may be essential nevertheless in meeting the total treatment need or the treatment need of an articulated subset of the juvenile offender population in Richmond.

- 1a. C. Argyris, Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Behavior, (Hampton, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, 1962).
- 1b. Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, The Managerial Grid, (Houston: Gulf Publishing Company, 1964).
2. Donald A. True, "The Psychologist as Evaluative Researcher in the Urban Police Department", paper presented at WPA, 1973.

Ideally, however, for reasons additional to treatment effectiveness, police might well stop short of the counselling role in the diversion of juvenile offenders. By role definition police apprehend and interrogate. And although juvenile officers were trained how to interact with empathy, their lingering penchant to interrogate was noted by the trainers. In instances where officers did seem to counsel effectively (at another PD) a role identity transformation occurred and the officers were consequently viewed as a "separate unit" by the rest of the department (one such officer was making plans to enroll in a Masters level counselling program). This is not to suggest that police should not be trained in some counselling and basic human interaction skills. The indication is to the contrary¹. But in order to retain a police identification the bulk of counselling might well be left to those who so define themselves.

To counteract the problem associated with referrals (delay in service, 33% no shows, 9% inappropriate referrals), community counselors might be housed in the police department permanently or they might have the first session in the police department and continue subsequent contacts elsewhere.

A Methodological Closing

Though experimental procedures were successfully initiated in this community setting, the attainment of sufficient N fell short of the significance mark. Resistance to providing an adequate flow of cases into randomization pools may be expected when program staff do not feel sufficiently competent about their intervention strategies to test them against competing alternatives. The inadequate development of sufficient counselling competence in this social action program may arise in part from the strains inherent in the police counselor role.

The ID control group proved useful in testing individualized disposition decisions against randomly dictated dispositions. The control group provided a clear and sensitive procedure for assessing disposition preferences for both disposition class (RPD Counselling vs. Probation vs. Community Counselling) and for preferred alternatives within a disposition class (referral preference for one community agency over another). More extensive analyses using the ID control group should identify any S variables by which staff are making disposition decisions.

1. J. Schwartz and D. Liebman, "Mental Health Roles in Law Enforcement Consultation", in John and Homa Snibbe (Eds.) Urban Policeman in Transition, (Indianapolis: Charles C. Thomas, 1973).

CHAPTER VII

NARRATIVE COMPONENT EVALUATIONS

Each component of the Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Program was narratively described and assessed. To insure informational consistency in these narratives, the following format was devised:

- I. Name of Component
- II. Description of Component as Specified Proposal
- III. Describe the planning process to implement Proposal (who had input? problems?)
- IV. Changes made prior to implementation (was the component, as described in the proposal, actually planned? If not, what was changed and why?)
- V. How was it implemented? Be specific as to procedures, number of people worked with, etc.
- VI. Problems in Operation
 - A. Personnel
 - B. Supervisory
 - C. Policy
 - D. Community
 - E. Other
- VII. Fiscal
 - A. Was money spent as allocated in grant? (over? under? changes?)
 - B. Fiscal problems
- VIII. Impact on Community
 - A. Citizen Groups
 - B. Other Agencies
 - C. Other Community Involvement
- IX. Impact on Department
 - A. Within Diversion
 - B. Other Elements of Department
- X. Impact on Juveniles
 - A. Offenders
 - B. Non-Offenders

- XI. Program review and monitoring
 - A. How often, and by whom?
 - B. How adequate?
 - C. Who were results communicated to?
- XII. Major Accomplishments of Program Component
- XIII. Major Problems
- XIV. Parts of Program that should be maintained; and justification
- XV. Practical problems anticipated in maintaining Program without federal funds
- XVI. Kinds of data that could have been collected to evaluate Program effectiveness
- XVII. Other areas of importance in understanding Program Component

Following are the eight program components which were reviewed using this format.

I. Behavioral Scientists

- II. The Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Project proposed to employ two (2) Behavioral Scientists, one full-time (100%) and one half-time (50%). These Behavioral Scientists were charged with four responsibilities: (1) the provision of training, relative to behavioral issues, for the personnel within the Juvenile Diversion Project; (2) the provision of direct counseling services to juvenile offenders and the parents of juvenile offenders; (3) the provision of clinical supervision to diversionary project members engaged in furnishing counseling services to juvenile offenders and the parents of juvenile offenders; and (4) the provision of consultation services pertaining to behavioral issues.
- III. The Behavioral Scientists had extensive involvement in the planning, orientation, program development and the implementation of training for every programmatic component within the Juvenile Diversion Project.
- IV. The initial planning coupled with component and an overall resources review by the supervisory staff members of the Juvenile Diversion Program resulted in a revision of the original intent to employ one full-time (100%) and one half-time (50%) Behavioral Scientist. Two (2) Behavioral Scientists would be utilized but each would be employed at half-time (50%). Additionally, their roles were expanded to include the following functions: (1) the provision for individualized consultation relative to specific component development; and (2) active participation in the development of an operational Community Resource Manual.
- V. Two planning meetings were convened prior to the initiation of the Juvenile Diversion Project. These meetings focused upon the development of an overall conceptual orientation of diversion for in-coming program personnel. The actual orientation was five (5) days in duration. This time was utilized for programmatic planning and policy formulation to facilitate the project's operation. The Behavioral Scientists provided much input relative to the conceptual orientation.
- VI. Several operational problems, pertaining to responsibilities, functions, policy and personnel issues, occurred with the utilization of Behavioral

Scientists. In the initially developed proposal, the specific functions, responsibilities and authorities of the Behavioral Scientists were not clearly defined. This role ambiguity ultimately resulted in intra-project confusion, frustrations and in some instances, impasses. An excellent example of this confusion occurred in juvenile related training. It was originally conceived that the juvenile related training would take place concurrently with the development of programmatic components. Weekly training schedules were agreed upon and were to be implemented. In retrospect, however, the training activities probably should have been completed prior to the actual initiation of the Juvenile Diversion Program. The inconsistent availability of the police officers for training, created by on-going project functions, was compounded by the types of training the officers received. Some very new techniques were presented over a very short interval of time. And little time was allocated or available to assist the individual officers in molding these new approaches to their personal work styles. This situation was further complicated as several of the more experienced juvenile officers were of the opinion that the newer techniques promulgated by the Behavioral Scientists were too inflexible. Had the functions of the Behavioral Scientists been more clearly defined -- were they policy and procedural decision-makers or were they simply to provide technical assistance?; what was their position in relationship to the police chain of command?; what authorities did they possess? -- perhaps issues as this would have been adverted. This particular issue was never completely resolved and thusly hampered the overall effectiveness of the Project.

- VII. \$30,000 was originally allocated for the services of one full-time (100%, \$20,000) Behavioral Scientist and one half-time (50%, \$10,000) Behavioral Scientist. This allocation was revised at the conclusion of the initial project planning to total \$20,000. These funds were to be utilized for the services of two (2) half-time (50%) Behavioral Scientists at \$10,000 each. The entire amount for each Behavioral Scientist was expended.
- VIII. Juvenile service organizations within the Western segment of Contra Costa County were exceptionally interested in establishing linkages with the Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Project. The Behavioral Scientists were actively involved with the coordination of activities for several of these agencies to improve the types of services available to juveniles.
- IX. The Behavioral Scientists were initially well received by all members of the Richmond Police Department. However, as a result of the role ambiguities alluded to in earlier portions of this narrative, the relationship deteriorated between the Behavioral Scientists and other members of the Diversionary Staff.
- X. The Behavioral Scientists' impact upon juvenile offenders was essentially an indirect one. As the Juvenile Diversion Project emanated, the energies of the Behavioral Scientists were channeled towards consultation

and component development services. These services facilitated the involvement of entities from which juvenile offenders would receive direct service.

- XI. The supervisory staff of the Juvenile Diversion Project monitored monthly the activities of the Behavioral Scientists. The focus of these supervisors was primarily directed towards training. During the operational phases of this Project, approximately sixty hours of formal training was presented to each member of the Juvenile Diversion Staff. This formal training was augmented by numerous hours of informal training.
- XII. The major accomplishments achieved by this particular segment of the Juvenile Diversion Project were as follows: (1) the active participation of the Behavioral Scientists in the development and implementation of the Community Resource Manual; (2) the active participation of the Behavioral Scientists in the development of individual project components; and (3) the provision of training relative to behavioral issues.
- XIII. N/A
- XIV. The principal derivative benefits resulting from the services of the Behavioral Scientists would be the availability of consultation and technical assistance relative to continuous training and programmatic component development.
- XV. The cost of maintaining Behavioral Scientists for the Juvenile Diversion Program would be almost prohibitive exclusive of external funding.
- XVI. Ideally, the data necessary to evaluate the techniques espoused by the Behavioral Scientists would be a comparison of groups, one utilizing behavioral techniques and the other involving traditional methods. Issues as recidivism and recurring family problems could possibly serve as evaluation instruments.

I. Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail

- II. The Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Program proposed to retain the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail as an integral component of its diversion approach. The Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail was charged with the responsibility of three basic activities: (1) the organization and coordination of parent drug education groups; (2) the provision of intensive drug educational training to diversionary personnel; and (3) the dissemination of drug education information to elements within the Richmond Police Department.
- III. The officers within the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail solicited and received input from each member of the Juvenile Diversion Staff relative to possible component modifications.
- IV. As the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail had been operational for several years, its structure and general objectives were well established. Structurally, only minor modifications were necessary to coordinate the on-going activities, with the greater and more comprehensive functions of the diversion model. However, the objectives specified at the inception of the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail were expanded to facilitate the purposes of the Diversion Program. The expansion focused essentially upon one central area: the location and/or development of effective community resource agencies.
- V. The implementation process for the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail was as follows:
 - 1. The assignment of two officers to the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail.
 - 2. The provision of intensive counseling techniques to the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail officers.
 - 3. The continued direction of energies toward the accomplishment of the objectives listed in earlier portions of this narrative.
 - 4. Participation in the development of an effective Community Referral Manual.
 - 5. An expansion of the provision of drug educational technical assistance available to schools, civic operations and individuals.

- VI. The central problem encountered during the Juvenile Diversion phases of Drug Abuse Detail was essentially one of administration: the allocation and coordination of adequate amounts of time for training activities.
- VII. Funds were allocated for the purchase of films, pamphlets and books relative to drug educational issues. The funds allocated were expended.
- VIII. The activities of Drug Abuse personnel impacted significantly upon the citizens of Richmond. Extensive interaction occurred with local neighborhood organizations, PTAs and civic associations. Numerous educational lectures were provided to these groups. Other available community activities included a confidential drug analysis service and an informal counseling and referral service.
- IX. The Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail personnel was viewed as a drug abuse informational source by other elements within the department. Formal and informal presentations were frequently provided to various agency segments.
- X. The activities of the officers within the Drug Abuse Detail yielded positive relationships with juveniles. Approximately eighty sixth grade classes were visited during the Juvenile Diversion Program. It was the impression of component staff members that excellent rapport with juveniles was established. This contention was supported by the frequent requests for information and presentations by youth groups.
- XI. Programmatic reviews were conducted periodically within the Juvenile Diversion Project. Monthly program summations were submitted to the Juvenile Diversion Project Sergeant. Additionally, frequent informal verbal conferences were conducted to assess the progress of the Project.
- XII. The principal accomplishments achieved by this particular programmatic component were as follows: (1) the successful Drug Educational Program conducted in the sixth grade classes; (2) the rapport and Unit credibility established with juveniles; (3) the provision of drug educational information to the various elements of the Police Department; and (4) the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail's active leadership role in the Richmond Drug Abuse Council.
- XIII. The central problem encountered within this component was noted in an earlier narrative segment: poor planning relative to the allocation and coordination of adequate amounts of time for training activities.

- XIV. In the estimation of the Juvenile Drug Abuse personnel, the following portions of this component should be maintained: (1) the Drug Education Program in the schools; (2) the provision of counseling and/or referral services to juveniles; (3) participation in community activities relative to drug education and rehabilitation; and (4) the provision of investigating services to schools relative to drug activities.
- XV. The pamphlets, films and other educational materials relative to drug education would be unavailable without federal funds.
- XVI. Although many activities of the Juvenile Drug Abuse Detail are difficult to evaluate statistically, data relative to comparative recidivism rates would be useful.

I. Educational Specialists

- II. The Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Project proposed to employ four (4) Educational Specialists from the secondary and elementary levels of the Richmond Unified School District. These Educational Specialists were charged with two basic responsibilities: (1) the provision of direct counseling to juveniles relative to educational and prospective career issues; and (2) participation in the development of agency-wide juvenile training. An anticipated derivative benefit resulting from the utilization of educational specialists was an enhancement of the working relationship between the Richmond Police Department and the Richmond Unified School District.
- III. In conformance with the specifications detailed in the Juvenile Diversion Grant, four Counselors from the secondary and elementary levels were to be selected as the Educational Specialists. The Richmond Unified School District was to provide to the Juvenile Diversion Project Director a list of candidates for those positions.
- IV. Prior to the initiation of the selection process and after consultation with representatives of the Richmond Unified School, it was determined that the four experienced Counselors should be selected from three high schools and one intermediate school.
- V. The selected Educational Specialists participated in the orientation for the Juvenile Diversion Program. Upon the component's implementation each was assigned to work one four hour period per week at the Police Department. During this four hour period each Specialist, in conjunction with a sworn officer, was to meet with juveniles to provide direct counseling services. Initially, it was intended that the counseling services provided by the Educational Specialists be focused upon educational and prospective career issues. As the component progressed, however, it became apparent that the counseling skills of the Educational Specialists could be directed to other areas as well. Resultantly, their responsibilities were expanded twofold: (1) the Educational Specialists would make general counseling available to juvenile offenders and the parents of the juvenile offenders; and (2) the Educational Specialists would provide technical assistance in the coordination of the tutorial component of the Juvenile Diversion Program.

- VI. The most frequent problem occurring for the Educational Specialists was the occasional failure of families to meet for scheduled counseling services.
- VII. \$8,000.00 was allocated via grant funds to compensate the Educational Specialists for services. \$7,402.09 was expended at a rate of \$9.61/hr. The Educational Specialist had approximately 832 hours of service available for the Police Department. Approximately sixty-two hours were unused at the conclusion of the Juvenile Diversion Program.
- VIII. In the estimation of the Educational Specialists, the principal community impact of the component was the exceptional relationship established between the high schools and junior high schools of the Richmond Unified School District and the Richmond Police Department.
- IX. The primary Police intra-departmental impact was the increased interaction provided between Richmond Unified School District personnel and Richmond Police Officers. Each group enhanced its knowledge of the others' responsibilities resulting in a greater coordination and provision of services to juveniles.
- X. Counseling and intervention techniques caused positive behavioral changes in many juveniles. These changes most often occurred in juveniles without severe offenses and/or personal problems. The availability of learning assistance and job opportunities via the Tutorial Program, particularly, engendered affirmative results from the offender as well as the non-offender.
- XI. The Juvenile Diversion programmatic component staffed by the Educational Specialists was monitored monthly through discussions between these educators and the project's supervisory personnel.
- XII. The major accomplishments achieved by this particular segment of the Juvenile Diversion Project are as follows:
1. A team family counseling approach consisting of a juvenile officer and an Educational Specialist was initiated and effected successes with juvenile offenders and the parents of juvenile offenders.
 2. A successful Tutorial Program involving juvenile offenders was implemented.
 3. The coordination of activities for juvenile justice agencies was enhanced resulting in an improvement in the provision of services for juveniles.

4. The Educational Specialists became more aware of the policies, interworkings and problems of a police agency.

5. The training made available to the educators participating in the Juvenile Diversion Program honed and improved their counseling skills.

XIII. The principal problem confronted during the operational phases of this component was essentially the same as that faced by other elements of the Juvenile Diversion concept: the inadequate availability of fiscal resources.

XIV. With consideration to the several positive phases mentioned in other portions of this narrative, this entire component of the Juvenile Diversion Program should and has been maintained. The Richmond Unified School District not only institutionalized this approach via financial support for the 1973-1974 academic year, but it expanded by one the number of Educational Specialists originally available via federal funds.

XVI. A comparison between those cases involving solely Educational Specialists as opposed to cases administered by sworn officers would have proven an effective evaluation mechanism. Issues as recidivism, school performances and recurring family problems could possibly serve as evaluation instruments.

I. Employment Program

II. The Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion program proposed to provide an employment component as an integral part of its diversion approach. Coordinated by a civilian professional with job development skills, this component was conceptualized as a mechanism to solicit employment opportunities for juveniles.

III. The civilian charged with the coordination of activities for this component sought and received input from each member of the Juvenile Diversion staff relative to a format for the employment program.

IV. This particular component was implemented as initially conceived.

V. The principal implementation methodology utilized for the employment component was the initiation of the solicitation of prospective youth employment opportunities. This was effected via the following instruments: (1) speaking engagements; (2) hand bills; (3) newspaper advertisements; and (4) door to door employment requests.

VI. The principal problem encountered during the operation of the employment component was personnel. More succinctly the lack of personnel. The sole position allocated to the Employment Project was that of Employment Specialist. Supportive job development staff was provided, as a result of a budget revision during the later portion of the component's operation. This revision, however, allocated too few funds and occurred too late during the project year for any real impact.

VII. Funds were allocated for the position of the Employment Specialist and later supportive job development staff (two people). Allocated funds were expended. A major failing of this component, in the estimation of the employment specialist, was the lack of funds provided to train prospective juvenile workers.

VIII. The primary interaction between the communities of Richmond and the Employment Specialist occurred during efforts to secure employment for juveniles. The presentations of the Employment Specialist was generally favorably received by these groups.

- IX. The most significant agency impact relative to the employment component was within the Diversionary Unit. Diversionary Staff members often provided suggestions relative to employment opportunities and frequently participated in efforts to secure jobs for youth.
- X. The rapport established between the Employment Specialist and juveniles was good despite the minimal returns yielded from the employment component. The resulting impact among the youths was positive as frequently they appeared pleased more so with the Police Department's effort than the end result.
- XI. Programmatic reviews were conducted periodically within the Juvenile Diversionary project. Monthly program summations were submitted to the Juvenile Diversion Project Sergeant. Additionally, frequent informal verbal conferences were conducted to assess the progress of the Project.
- XII. The principal accomplishment achieved by this particular programmatic component was the successful placement of nearly 130 youths in full-time or part-time jobs.
- XIII. The central problem encountered within this component was noted in an earlier narrative segment: the failure to allocate adequate fiscal resources.
- XIV. In the estimation of the Employment Specialist, the total employment component concept should be maintained.
- XV. If external funding is unavailable, the entire programmatic cost must be absorbed by the Police Department.
- XVI. An effective statistical evaluation of this component should be focused upon two areas: (1) the number of juveniles placed in full-time and/or part-time jobs; (2) the number of juveniles counseled and trained within the Employment Program.

I. Police in the Schools Program

- II. The Richmond Police Department Juvenile Diversion Program proposed to allocate 1700 police officers' hours for interaction with Richmond Unified School District students in the classrooms. Coordinated by a sworn Juvenile Diversion officer, this particular component vigorously sought the participation of each officer within the agency. The Police in the Schools Program was structured as an informal informational exchange session between the participating parties and served three essential purposes: (1) the students received educational information relative to functions and responsibilities of a police department; (2) the students were afforded the opportunity to become better acquainted with police officers; and (3) this interaction enabled the officers as well as the students to view one another from other perspectives.
- III. The juvenile officer charged with the coordination of activities for this component solicited and received input from each member of the Juvenile Diversion Staff relative to a format for the Police in the Schools Program. Additionally, it should be noted that an earlier School Safety Patrol Program and Bicycle Safety Program influenced the model ultimately utilized for the Police in the Schools Program.

It was determined that the emphasis of this component would be placed at the elementary school level. Twelve officers were selected initially and each was assigned responsibility for two of the twenty-five elementary schools in Richmond. Every officer was to visit each of his assigned schools at a minimum of two hours weekly. The utilization of this hourly assignment schedule proved particularly advantageous. This methodology not only enabled additional police personnel to visit the elementary schools but financially provided a portion of the aforementioned 1700 hours to be directed to one junior high school and five high schools.

- IV. Prior to the implementation of the Police in the Schools Program, two conceptual changes were implemented: (1) it was determined by the component administrator, after consultation with diversionary staff members, that approximately 50 of the 1700 hours should be utilized for the orientation and training of officers participating in this element of the Juvenile Diversion Program; and (2) the focus of the component was expanded to include school related activities (recreational centers and youth groups).

V. The implementation process for the Police in the Schools Program was as follows:

1. A meeting was convened with the previous school coordinator regarding his experiences working in the schools. Ideas and suggestions relative to the Police in the Schools Program were solicited and received.
2. A separate file folder was created for each participating school containing relevant coordination information: principal's name, address, phone number and school contact person.
3. An informational memorandum regarding the Schools Program was distributed to all sworn personnel. This memorandum detailed the program and encouraged officer participation.
4. A meeting was convened with the Richmond Police Department's Administrative Captain and Administrative Analyst. It was determined that participating officers would receive remuneration at the top salary step.
5. A payroll expenditure record keeping system was established with the assistance of the Administrative Analyst.
6. The component Administrator attended the annual Back-to-School Teachers Meeting conducted by the Richmond Unified School District. The Program's objectives were explained and teacher support solicited.
7. A meeting was convened with Deputy Superintendent of Schools, Dr. R. W. Lovette, relative to placing uniformed police officers on school campuses.
8. A Police in the Schools Guidelines Pamphlet was developed and disseminated to school officials and police personnel.
9. A meeting was conducted with Dr. R. J. Griffin, Curriculum Director of the Richmond Elementary Schools. Dr. Griffin was informed as to the Project's objectives and procedures and provided a copy of the Richmond Police Department's School Guidelines. Dr. Griffin then directed a copy of these guidelines, with an appropriate cover letter, to each elementary school principal.
10. A format was developed for the training and orientation of the participating officers.
11. The training and orientation meetings were conducted with the participating officers.
12. A constant review mechanism was established and the initial indications revealed that the Program was functioning smoothly.

VI. There were no significant operational problems during the Police in the Schools Program. It should be noted that during the school year, neither the Richmond Police Department nor the Richmond Unified School District received one complaint from a school administrator, teacher, parent or student relative to the Richmond Police Department's School Program.

VII. An overview of the fiscal activities of the Police in the Schools Program is as follows:

FISCAL INFORMATION

Original Grant Funds	\$17,000.00
Total Funds Spent	<u>16,994.12</u>
Funds Remaining	\$ 5.88

ITEMIZATION

Funds Spent for School Appearances	\$16,581.56
Funds Spent for Training	475.56
Total Number of Participating Officers	34
Total Richmond Schools Involved in Program	33
Total Hours Spent at Schools	1,585½

- VIII. The officers who participated in the Police in the Schools Program
- IX. are all too familiar with the problems facing the community, the attitude of the citizens and the potential explosiveness of many situations involving youth. These officers brought to the Richmond Schools the expertise of experience. This experience was coupled with an interest in bridging the communication gap. Officers and students were able to view each other from several perspectives. Policemen exchanged views with juvenile offenders and with the non-offenders as well. In working with the future adults in their adolescent years, the Police in the Schools Program proposed to eliminate some of the causative factors of police-community misunderstandings.
- XI. The juvenile officer charged with the coordination responsibilities of this Program received monthly reports from the participating officers as to their individual activities, hours spent at schools, problems encountered and comments and/or suggestions for possible programmatic improvement. The Program Coordinator submitted monthly program summations to the Juvenile Diversion Project Sergeant.
- XII. The principal accomplished achievement by this particular segment of the Juvenile Diversion Project was the participation of 34 police officers and 33 schools in this component's activities.

- XIII. The single issue evolving from this component that might possibly be construed as a "problem" was the School District officials prohibiting police surveys within the schools.
- XIV. The total Richmond Police Department's Police in the Schools Program should be maintained. This kind of program has decided advantages for possibly reducing police-youth hostilities.
- XV. The lack of funds for the participating officers to continue this component on an overtime basis is the primary deterrent to its continued operation. However, it should be noted that as of this writing, Chief Lourn G. Phelps has committed internal funds for the continuance of the Richmond Police in the Schools Program.
- XVI. Attitudinal changes are difficult to assess, however, an Industrial Relations Specialist at Cal Tech has devised an instrument to survey these changes. It is a three-part instrument which purportedly measures the attitudes of students, teachers, administrators and members of a Police Department. Perhaps a mechanism as this or one of similar quality can be utilized to statistically support the success of the Police in the Schools Program.

I. Public Information Officer

- II. The Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Program proposed to provide a public information component as an integral part of its diversion approach. Coordinated by a civilian professional with journalism skills, this component was conceptualized as a mechanism to publicize all aspects of the Project via the news media.
- III. Planning relative to the implementation of this particular programmatic phase was coordinated primarily between the Chief of Police and the Public Information Officer.
- IV. This particular component was implemented as initially conceived.
- V. The implementing methodology utilized for the public informational component focused upon two (2) primary instruments: (1) press conferences; and (2) press releases. Three press conferences were convened; at the initial conference, press members were afforded the opportunity to interview each staff member of the Juvenile Diversion Project. Eight general press releases were circulated among the newspaper, radio and television stations within the Bay Area. This specific approach resulted in five individual interviews for the Chief of Police and/or the Juvenile Diversion Project Director. In addition to these primary instruments, several special articles relative to the Police Department's diversionary efforts were published locally.
- VI. This particular component experienced minimal operational problems relative to personnel, supervisory, policy and/or community difficulties.
- VII. Funds allocated for the position of Public Information Officer were expended. An unanticipated cost did, however, result from photograph processing.
- VIII. The responses engendered among civic leaders by the Juvenile Diversion Project was extremely favorable. A survey conducted by the Program's Evaluators directed towards a cross-section of Richmond citizens, too, yielded positive results.

- IX. Publicity generated relative to the organization's diversionary efforts were viewed affirmatively intra-departmentally. This was particularly applicable within the Juvenile Diversion Program.
- X. As the public informational component of the Juvenile Diversion Project was directed toward programmatic operational aspects rather than youth-staff interaction, information relative to the diversionary impact upon juveniles was to be addressed in the evaluation of the Program.
- XI. Programmatic reviews were conducted periodically within the Juvenile Diversion Project. Monthly program summations were submitted to the Juvenile Diversion Project Director. Additionally, frequent informal verbal conferences were convened.
- XII. The major accomplishment of the Public Information component was the provision of extensive and continual news media coverage to Richmond Police Department's diversionary efforts. The frequency and type of publicity is specified in an earlier portion of this narrative.
- XIII. The central problem encountered within this component, in the estimation of the Public Information Officer, was the failure to allocate funds for publicizing the Juvenile Diversion Program upon its conclusion.
- XIV. In the estimation of the Public Information Officer, the total informational component should be maintained.
- XV. If external funding is unavailable, the entire programmatic cost must be absorbed by the Police Department.

I. Speakers Bureau

- II. The Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Program proposed to provide a Speakers Bureau as an integral part of its diversion approach. Coordinated by a sworn juvenile diversion officer, this component was construed as an organizational forum to be focused upon juvenile related issues. The Speakers Bureau was to be staffed primarily with diversionary personnel, sworn and civilian.
- III. The juvenile officer charged with the coordination of activities for this component solicited and received input from each member of the Juvenile Diversion Staff relative to the establishment of specific component objectives.
- IV. This particular component was implemented as initially conceived.
- V. The implementation process for the Speakers Bureau was as follows:
 - 1. Local newspapers, telephone directories, the Chamber of Commerce and existing informational material was researched to determine probable organizations, within the City of Richmond, appropriate for speaking engagements. As this information was being compiled, a letter, requesting a speaking engagement, was directed to the selected organizations, briefly outlining the Juvenile Diversion Program.
 - 2. Goals and objectives were established for the Speakers Bureau:
 - a. Inform the citizens of the Juvenile Diversion concept, utilizing a comparative analysis with the present modality of the Juvenile Justice System.
 - b. Accentuate the necessity for change generated by the gradual and persistent increase in juvenile delinquency and the recidivism rates.
 - c. Enlist active community support for the Juvenile Diversion Program via speaking engagements:
 - 1. individual assistance from community members in areas as counseling, tutoring and recreation;

2. the creation of jobs specifically designated for youth referred from the Juvenile Diversion Program;
 3. obtain monetary donations to provide income for juveniles involved in work programs related to Juvenile Diversion; and
 4. enhance the relationship between the community and the Police Department.
3. The establishment of coordination with the Police in the Schools component. The participating schools component officers were requested to solicit speaking engagements with the Parent-Teachers Association (P.T.A.) organizations of their respective schools. These requests engendered excellent responses from PTAs as well as local neighborhood and church organizations.
 4. The preparation of a speaking engagement format. Upon development, this document was disseminated to Diversionary Unit personnel to provide speech preparation assistance.
- VI. There were no significant operational problems within this programmatic component.
- VII. Funds were allocated to provide for the services of one sworn component coordinator. All allocated funds were expended.
- VIII. The Speakers Bureau provided a significant impact upon the City of Richmond during its operational phases. Presentations addressing
- X. more than twenty-five hundred people were delivered to approximately sixty neighborhood groups, churches, civic and professional organizations and PTAs. Additionally, two radio stations broadcasted excerpts relative to the Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Project.
- XI. Programmatic reviews were conducted periodically within the Juvenile Diversion Project. Monthly program summations were submitted to the Juvenile Diversion Project Sergeant. Additionally, frequent informal conferences were conducted to assess the progress of the project.
- XII. The major accomplishments achieved by the Speakers Bureau were as follows:
1. Addressing more than twenty-five hundred people relative to the Richmond Police Department's diversionary efforts.
 2. Soliciting and obtaining the cooperation of neighborhood groups, churches, PTAs and civic and professional organizations in requests for speaking engagements.

3. The success of the Speakers Bureau is making citizens aware of the diversion concept.

- XIII. The central failure of the Speakers Bureau was its inability to obtain support for several of its aforementioned objectives: (1) the creation of jobs for diversionary referrals; and (2) obtaining monetary donations for work related diversionary programs.
- XIV. The total concept of the Speakers Bureau should be maintained. This programmatic component has and should continue to serve as an excellent police forum.
- XV. Financial problems resulting from a discontinuance of federal funds would be circumvented if the Police Department assigned an officer to continue coordinating the activities of the Speakers Bureau.
- XVI. The most logical assessment data available from a component as this would appear to be evaluative information obtained from the group addressed. The mechanics necessary for this methodology, however, appear cumbersome.

I. Tutorial Program

- II. The Richmond Police Department's Juvenile Diversion Program proposed to provide a Tutorial Program as an integral part of its diversion approach. Coordinated by a sworn juvenile diversion officer, this component was designed to utilize and remunerate capable juvenile offenders as tutors for younger children experiencing learning difficulties.
- III. The Juvenile Officer charged with the coordination of activities for this component solicited and received input from the Juvenile Diversion Staff members, representatives from the Richmond Unified School District, and coordinators from other existing Tutorial Programs (i.e., Catholic Social Services, North Richmond Neighborhood House, Inc.).
- IV. Prior to the implementation of the Tutorial Program, one conceptual change was initiated: it was determined by the Project Administrator, after consultation with Diversionary Staff members, that non-offenders with applicable academic skills would, too, be utilized as tutors. First priority in tutorial positions, however, would be placed with juvenile offenders. The rationale for this decision is indeed logical: although the primary emphasis of this component is clearly diversionary, the preventative aspects of delinquency are heavily stressed. The availability of the tutorial positions for juveniles who have not had police contact is indicative of the preventative phases of this component.
- V. The implementation process for the tutorial component was as follows:
1. The location of adequate facilities.
 2. The identification of prospective tutees.
 3. The coordination of available tutorial positions with the Educational Specialist and the Employment Specialist.
 4. The location and selection of eligible tutors.
 5. The provision of orientation to the tutors.
 6. The assignment of tutors to specific locales, classroom coordinators, and tutees.

It should be noted that the Educational Specialists worked in close collaboration with the component administrator, and provided much assistance in the location and selection of eligible tutors. Upon identification of a tutor, it was normally the responsibility of an Educational Specialist to provide the orientation for the tutor; to coordinate the tutors assignments at a particular tutoring facility; and to monitor the tutors' school performances and grades. Additionally, the Educational Specialist reviewed periodically the performance of the tutor as to work acceptability. Tutoring sessions were conducted from two to four weeks for each student experiencing learning difficulties. Each tutor was compensated at a rate of \$1.65 per hours.

- VI. Three central issues were consistent problems during the operational phases of the tutorial component: Locating juvenile offenders academically competent to instruct a younger child experiencing learning difficulties. Convincing a juvenile offender to accept the maximum weekly salary available via component established regulations (less than \$7.00) whereas comparatively, his nefarious activities had previously netted him more money; restricting the involvement of good students and/or juveniles in a component as this.
- VII. The tutorial component was allocated \$6,000 for anticipated operational costs. The entire amount was expended as fifty-seven tutors were utilized.
- VIII. The coordinator of the tutorial component met on several occasions with neighborhood councils and various other community groups. During these meetings, the purpose and objectives of the Juvenile Diversion Program were espoused, with particular emphasis placed upon the tutorial efforts. By and large, these groups had had little previous information of knowledge relative to the Richmond Police Department's diversionary efforts, but upon being made aware, they appeared to be pleased and very impressed.
- IX. In the estimation of the tutorial component coordinator, the Richmond Police Department's initial reaction to the Juvenile Diversion Program was apprehensive. However, as the Project evolved and more programmatic information was disseminated to the various organizational elements, a transition to support occurred in the Department's position.
- X. The most significant impact relative to juveniles, in the estimation of the tutorial component coordinator, was the realization by juvenile offenders that a police agency was sincerely attempting to divert delinquents from the juvenile justice system.
- XI. Programmatic reviews were conducted periodically within the Juvenile Diversion Project. Monthly program summations were submitted to the Juvenile Diversion Project Sergeant. Additionally, frequent informal verbal conferences were conducted to assess the progress of the Project.

- XII. The major accomplishment achieved by the Juvenile Diversion Project, in the estimation of the tutorial component coordinator, was the attitudinal change effected in juvenile offenders and the parents of juvenile offenders.
- XIII. The central problem relative to the operation of a tutorial component is addressed in an earlier portion of this narrative.
- XIV. The total tutorial component concept should be maintained. This particular approach enables a youngster experiencing learning difficulties to receive individualized instruction. Perhaps a more important consideration within this approach is the opportunity for the assumption of positive responsibilities by juvenile offenders.
- XV. This particular component cannot exist without external financial support.
- XVI. Effective evaluation data for this project must include an analysis of each student's school performance, recidivism rates and family problems prior, during and subsequent to programmatic involvement.

CHAPTER VIII

FURTHER STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

In order to better understand juvenile crime and delinquency at Richmond, several additional analyses were performed.

Variations as a Function of Repeat Offenders

Twenty-five hundred juveniles who came to the attention of the Richmond Police Department in 1971 and 1972 were identified primarily by the number of offenses they committed. The number of offenses was then analyzed according to the frequency of a subsequent offense, sex of the juvenile, type of offense, and type of subsequent offense.

Figure 3, presenting the frequency of a subsequent offense as a function of the number of offenses, shows that the more offenses a juvenile has, the more likely he is to commit a repeat offense. This general trend holds for both males and females and across broad offense categories (Figures 4 and 5). Figure 6 demonstrates that males are increasingly inclined to commit felonies upon repeat offenses. Figure 7 demonstrates that females generally are increasingly inclined to commit 601 offenses upon repeat offenses. Figures 8 and 9 refine the three broad offense categories (601, misdemeanor, felony) into more specific offense groupings. Male recidivists commit an increasing proportion of felonies vs. property; whereas, female recidivists commit an increasing proportion of runaways.

FIGURE 3

Frequency
of
Subsequent
Offense

Recidivism
as a function of
Number of Offenses
Males and Females

Average Follow-up
Period is 15 Months

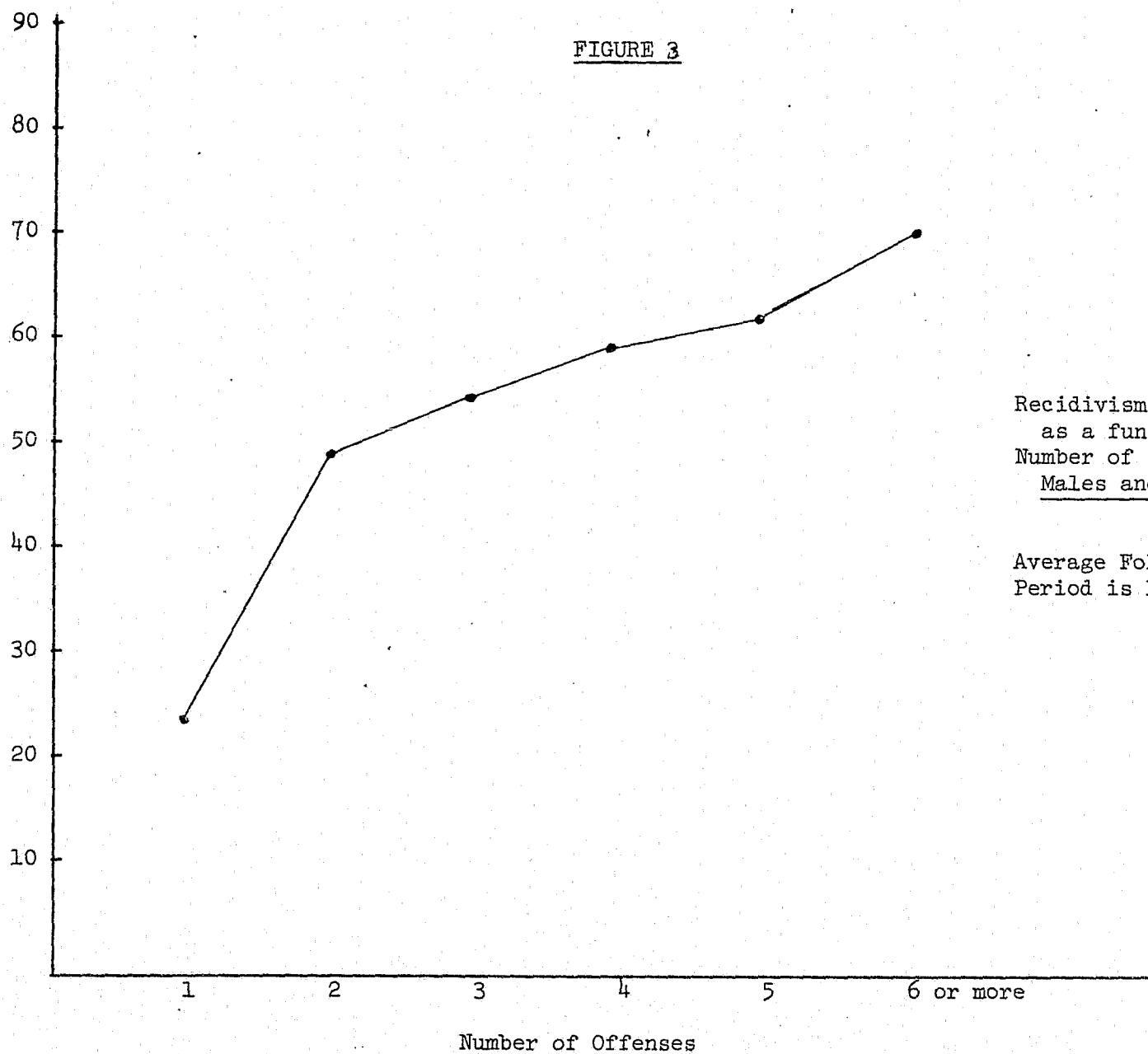
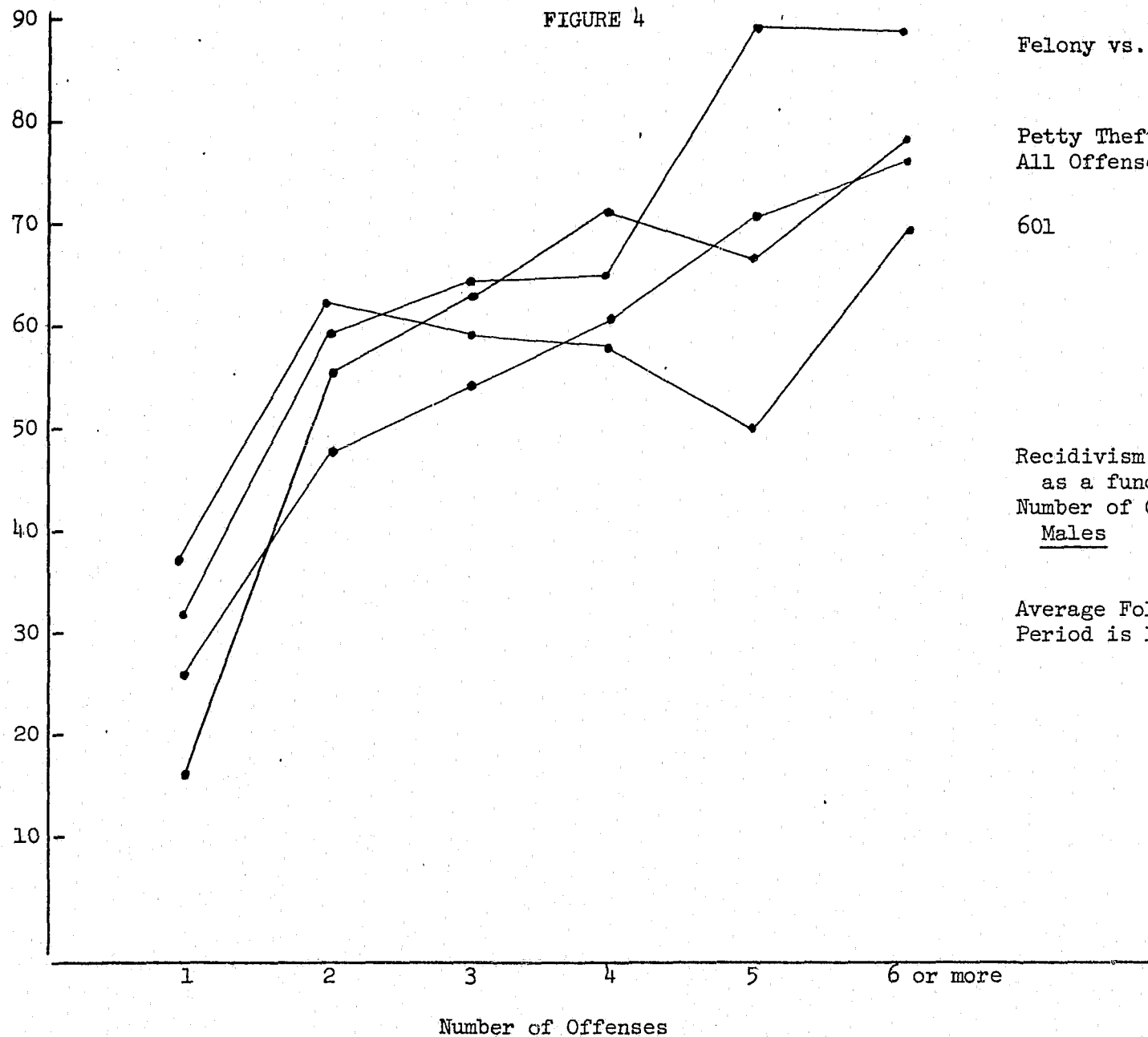


FIGURE 4

Frequency
of
Subsequent
Offense



Felony vs. Property

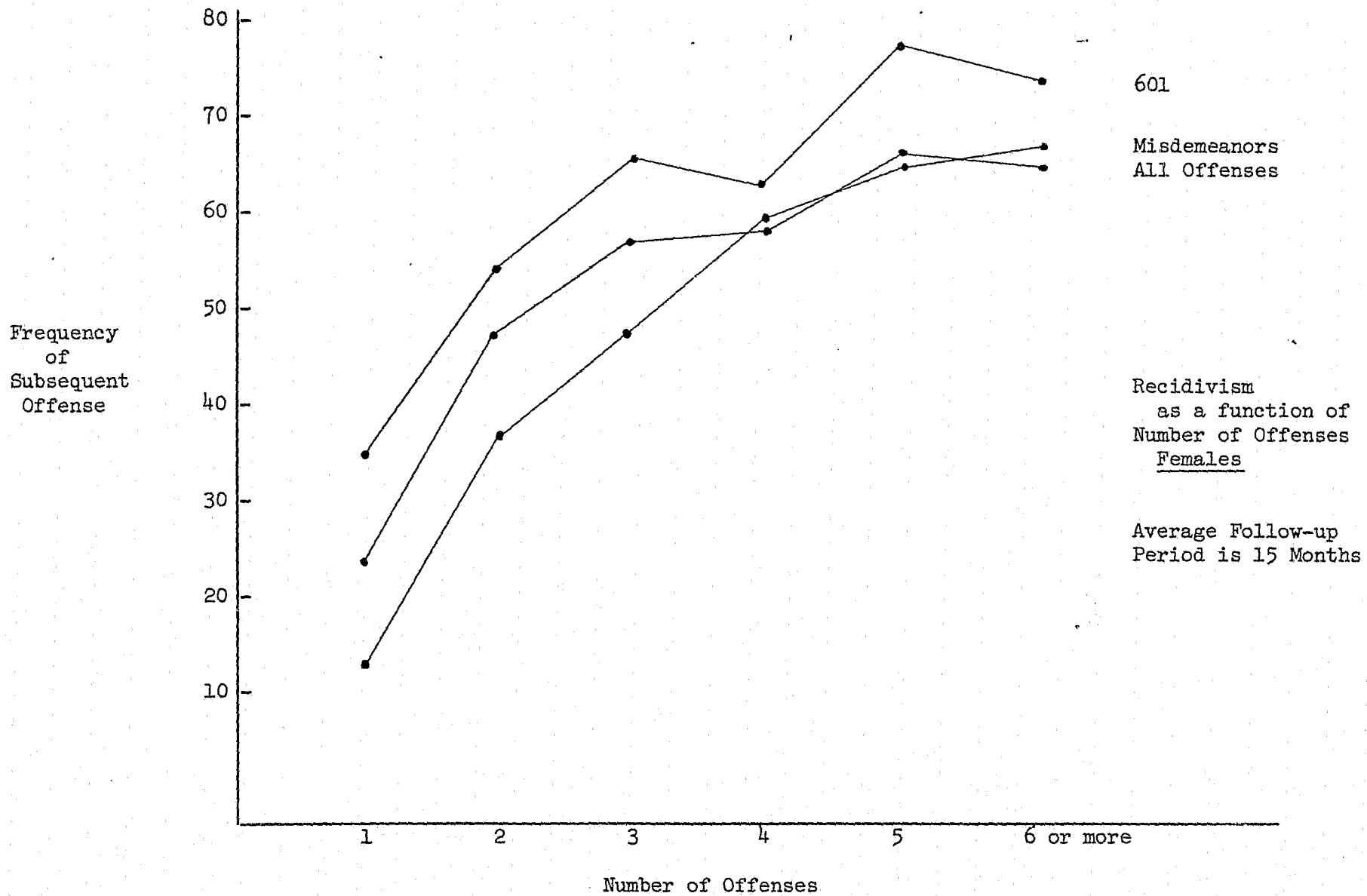
Petty Theft
All Offenses

601

Recidivism
as a function of
Number of Offenses
Males

Average Follow-up
Period is 15 Months

FIGURE 5



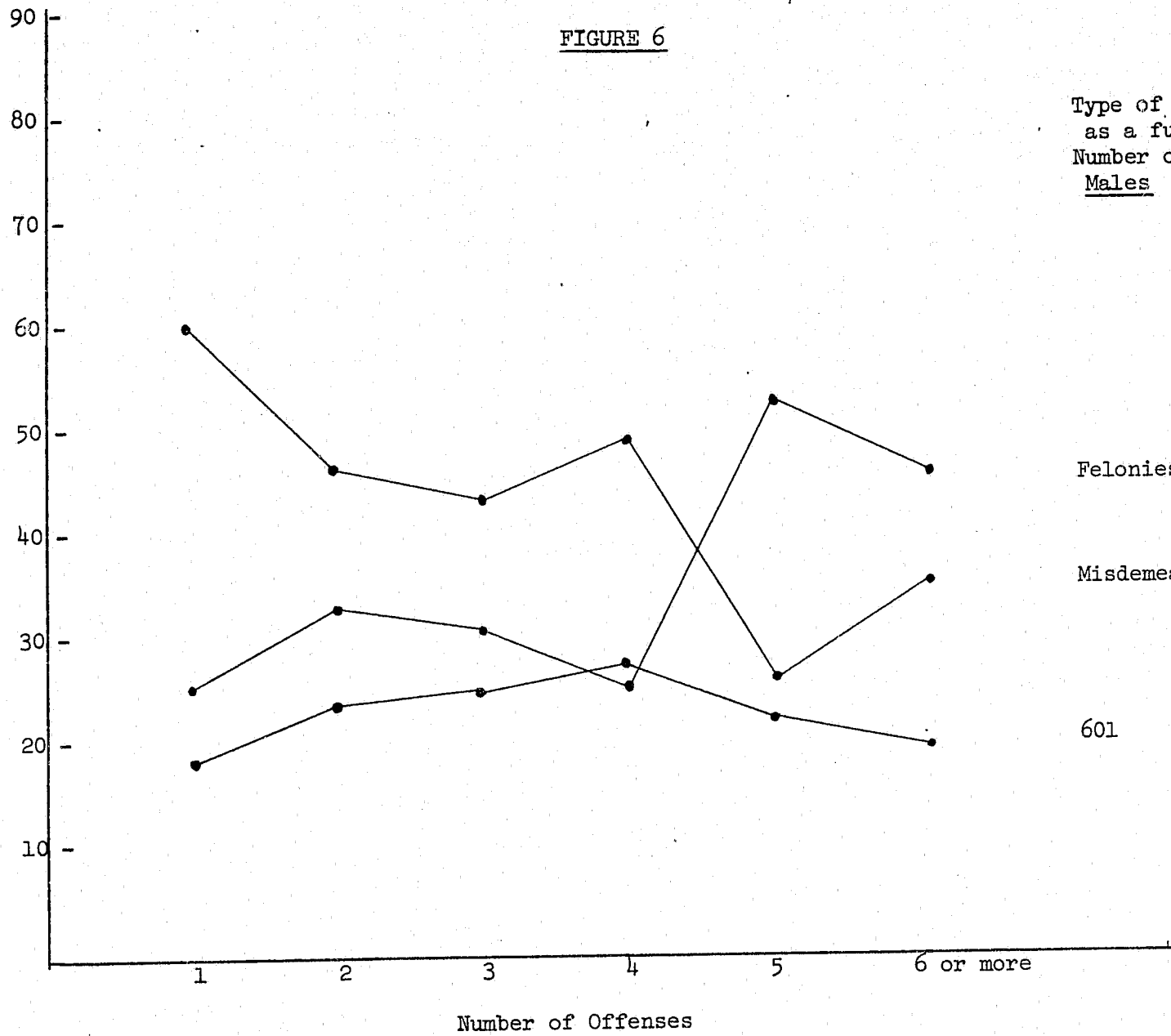
CONTINUED

1 OF 2

FIGURE 6

Type of Offense Committed
as a function of
Number of Offenses ,
Males

Percent
of
Total
Offenses



Felonies

Misdemeanors

601

FIGURE 7

Type of Offense
as a function of
Number of Offenses
Females

Percent
of
Total
Offenses

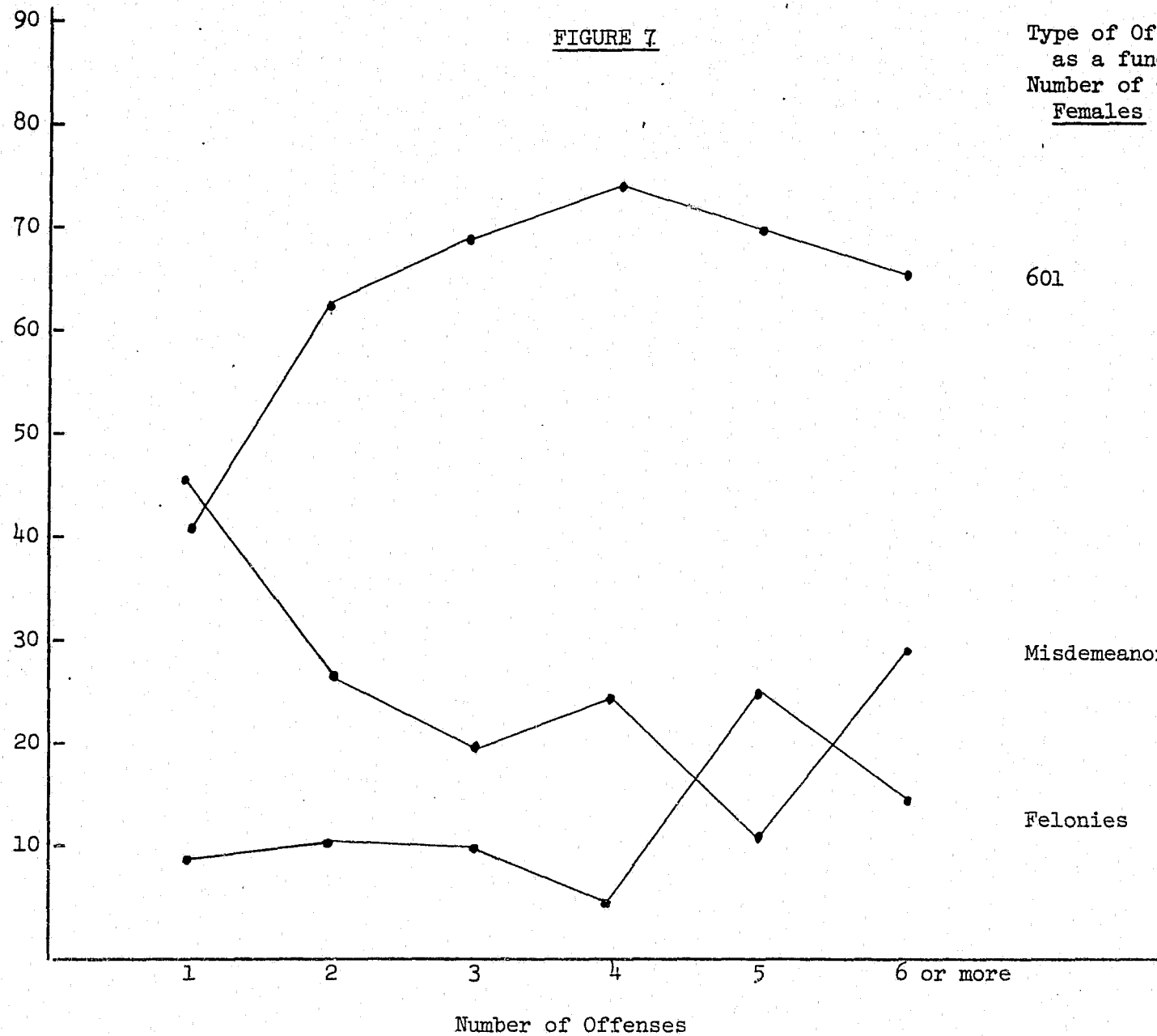


FIGURE 7

Type of Offense
as a function of
Number of Offenses
Females

Percent
of
Total
Offenses

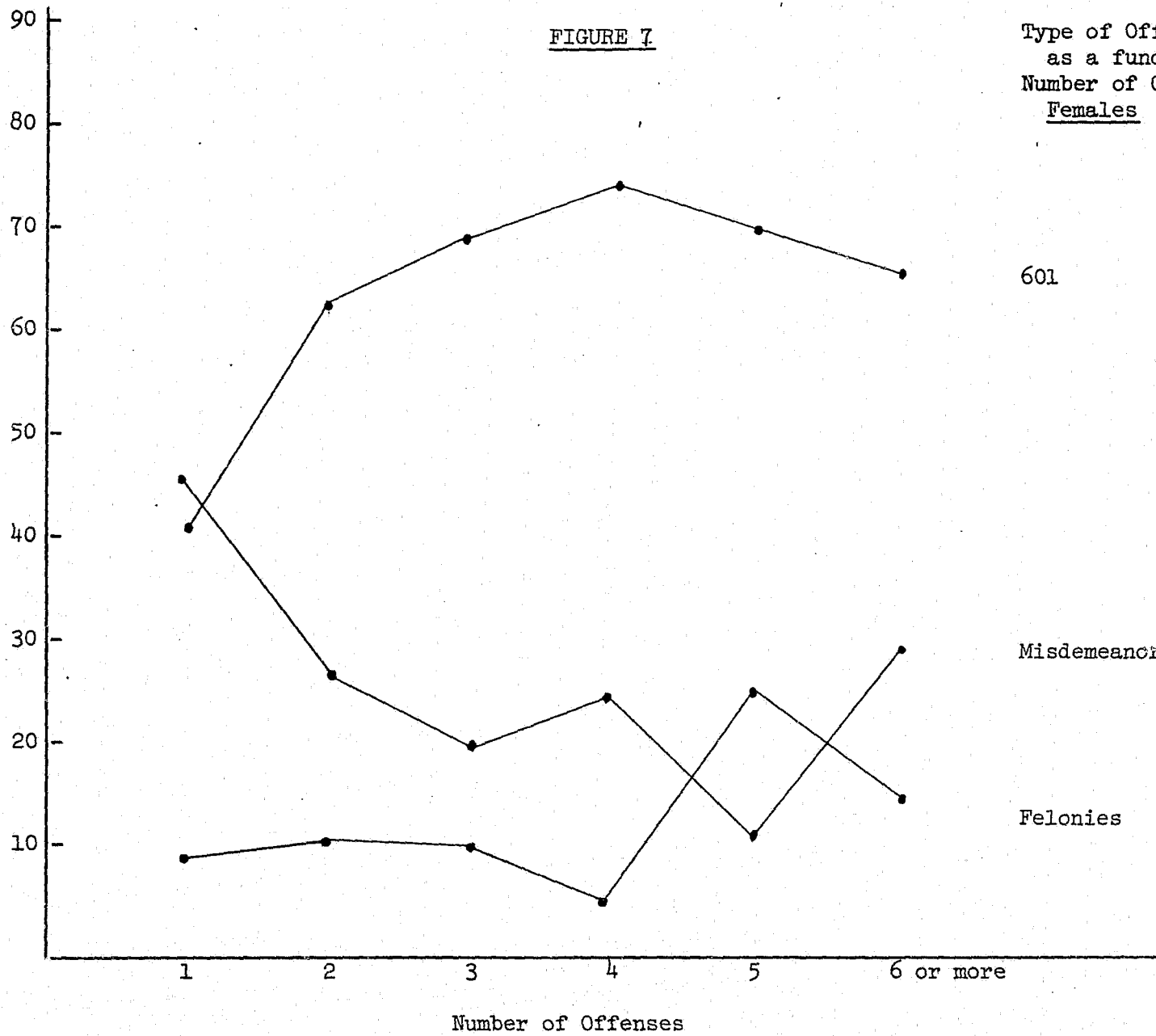


FIGURE 8

Crimes Committed
as a function of
Number of Offenses
Males

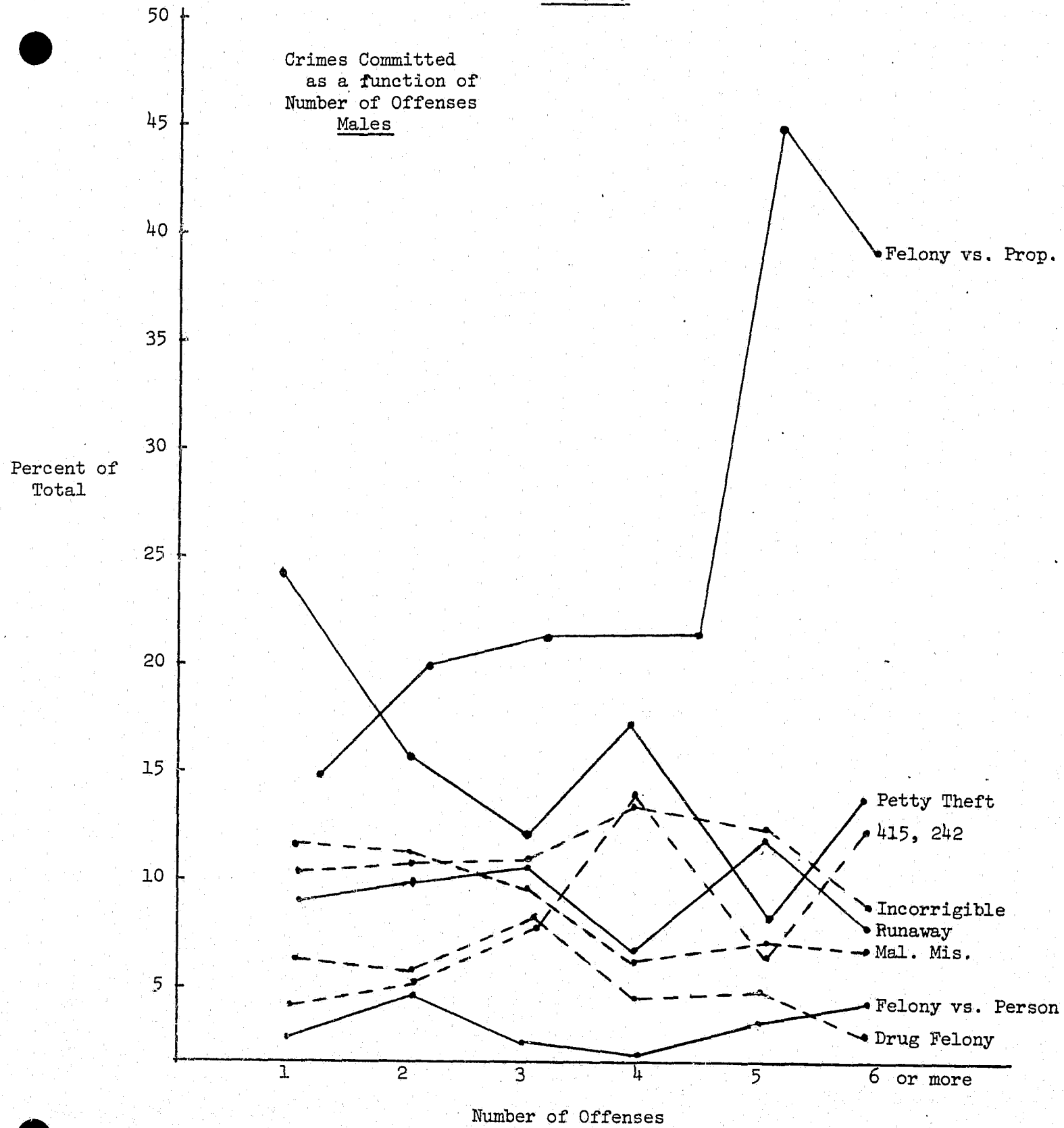
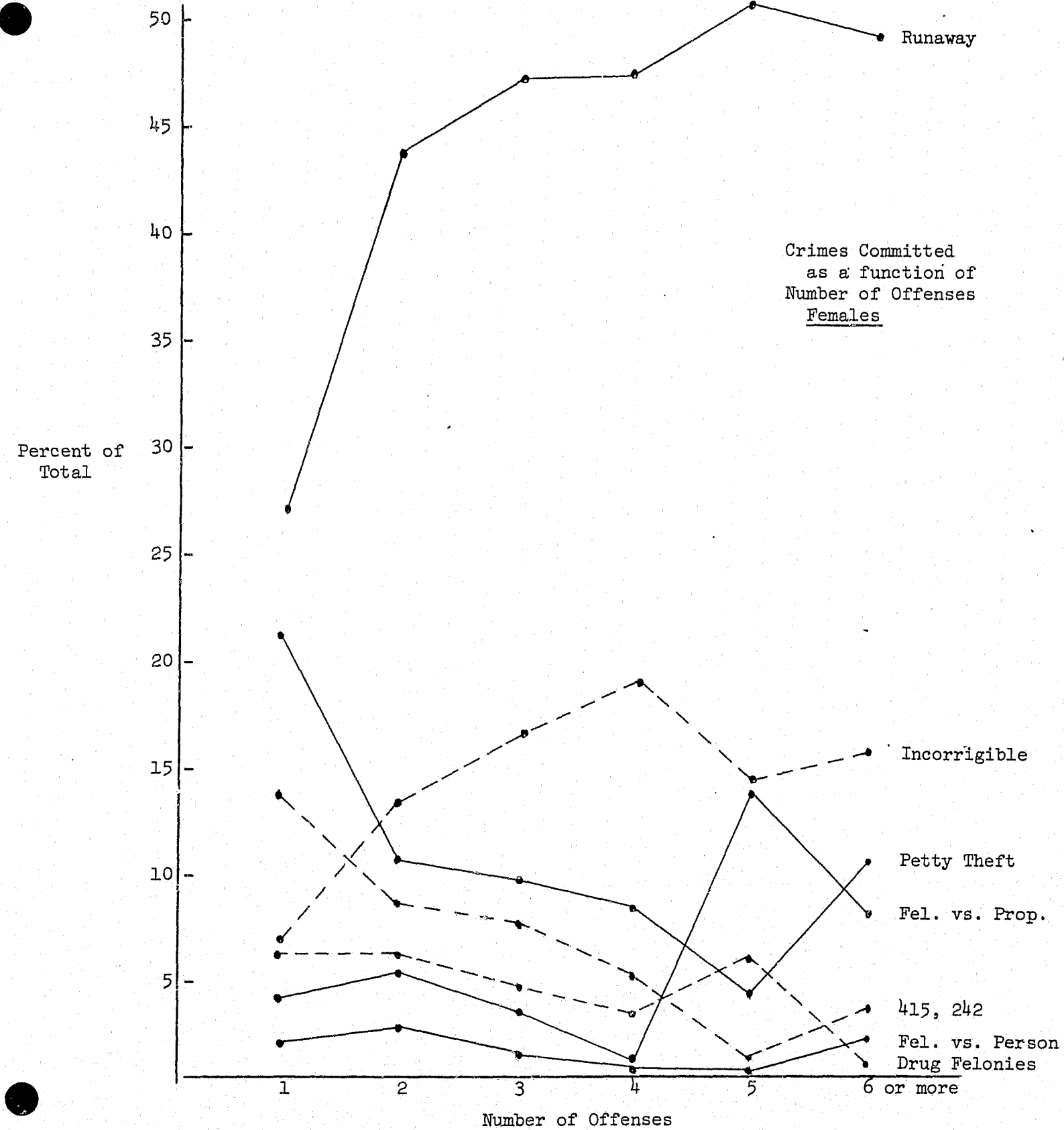


FIGURE 9

Crimes Committed
as a function of
Number of Offenses
Females



DISPOSITION ANALYSES

The Police Department dispositions were examined of all juveniles who had four or fewer offenses and who came to the attention of the Richmond Police Department in the period from August, 1972, through March, 1973.

Table 13 demonstrates a significant relationship between the offense number and the kind of disposition a juvenile offender received. The general trend was that as the number of offenses a juvenile committed increased, so did the chances that he or she would be sent to Juvenile Hall or cited to the County Probation Department. Obversely, juveniles who committed fewer offenses were more likely to be warned and released or given some additional police department or local community assistance.

Table 14 explores the significant relationship between the type of offense committed and the disposition received. The percentage of felony offenders who were warned and released was high (30%) but not as high as for other offenders (50%). Nearly 75% of all misdemeanor and 50% of all runaways were warned and released.

Table 15 shows significant sex discrimination. More females were referred to a local community agency for assistance, whereas more males were sent to Juvenile Hall or cited to Probation.

Table 16, however, shows that the significant relationship of Table 15 is attenuated when the number of type of offense is specified. For first time misdemeanor and felony offenders there is no significant sex discrimination upon disposition. For first time runaways and 601's, however, sex discrimination upon disposition does, in fact, approach significance. The attenuation in significance from Table 15 to Table 16 may be due to the fact that males commit more felonies and females run away more (refer to Figures 6 and 7). Since felony offenders per se are more likely to receive a Juvenile or Probation disposition, sex discrimination upon disposition may be an artifact of the tendency for boys to burgle while the girls run.

Table 17 demonstrates that dispositions were not significantly made in discrimination of the ethnic origin of the offender.

Table 18 shows that dispositions did vary significantly according to the age of the offender. No offender under ten years old was sent to Juvenile Hall or cited to Probation. The older offenders were more likely to be sent to Juvenile Hall.

Table 19, 20, 21 and 22 explore the relationship between the type of offense a juvenile committed and the disposition he or she received -- separately for first, second, third and fourth offenders.

TABLE 13

Disposition by Number of Offenses*

Disposition	Number of Offenses				
	One	Two	Three	Four	
Hall	5.2% (30)	13.5% (22)	21.6% (16)	43.4% (20)	10.2% (88)
Probation	5.7% (33)	8.0% (13)	17.6% (13)	10.9% (5)	7.4% (64)
Community Referral	12.6% (73)	20.9% (34)	13.5% (10)	6.5% (3)	13.9% (120)
R.P.D. Service	12.4% (72)	8.6% (14)	6.8% (5)	4.3% (2)	10.8% (93)
Warned and Released	64.1% (372)	49.1% (80)	40.5% (30)	34.8% (16)	57.7% (498)
	100% (67%)(580)	100% (19%)(163)	100% (8.6%)(74)	100% (5.3%)(46)	100% (863)

* $P < .01$

TABLE 14
Disposition by Type of Offense*

Disposition	Type of Offenses						
	Runaway	Other 601	Misdemeanor	Misc. Felony	Felony vs. Property	Felony vs. Person	
Hall	13.6% (20)	17.6% (18)	5.0% (22)	8.3% (5)	21.4% (22)	14.3% (1)	10.2% (88)
Probation	4.8% (7)	2.0% (2)	4.5% (20)	13.3% (8)	24.3% (25)	28.6% (2)	7.4% (64)
Community Referral	21.1% (31)	34.3% (35)	8.1% (36)	13.3% (8)	7.8% (8)	28.6% (2)	13.9% (120)
R.P.D. Service	10.9% (16)	9.8% (10)	8.1% (36)	35% (21)	9.7% (10)	0	10.8% (93)
Warned and Released	49.7% (73)	36.3% (37)	74.3% (330)	30.0% (18)	36.9% (38)	28.6% (2)	57.7% (498)
	100% (147)(17%)	100% (102)(11.8%)	100% (444)(51.4%)	100% (60)(7%)	100% (103)(11.9%)	100% (7)(018%)	100% (863)

* P < .01

TABLE 15
Disposition by Sex*

Disposition	Males	Females	
Hall	11.7% (66)	7.4% (22)	10.2% (88)
Probation	9.2% (52)	4.0% (12)	7.4% (64)
Community Referral	10.2% (58)	20.9% (62)	13.9% (120)
R.P.D. Service	10.8% (61)	10.8% (32)	10.8% (93)
Warned and Released	58.1% (329)	56.9% (169)	57.7% (498)
	100% (566)(65.6%)	100% (297)(34.4%)	100% (863)

* P < .01

TABLE 16

Disposition by Sex*
For First Offender 601s,
Misdemeanors and Felonies

Disposition	601 - Runaway		Misdemeanor		Felony vs. Property		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Hall	11% (4)	4% (2)	3% (7)	4% (5)	9% (5)	11% (1)	5.0% (24)
Probation	3% (1)	2% (1)	4% (8)	3% (3)	22% (12)	11% (1)	5.4% (26)
Community Referral	6% (2)	30% (15)	8% (16)	5% (6)	7% (4)	11% (1)	9.2% (44)
R.P.D. Service	17% (6)	16% (8)	9% (18)	10% (12)	13% (7)	0	10.6% (51)
Warned and Released	64% (23)	47% (23)	77% (162)	78% (93)	49% (27)	67% (6)	69.7% (334)
	(36)	(49)	(211)	(119)	(55)	(9)	100% (479)

* P > .05

* P > .05

* P > .05

TABLE 17

Disposition by Ethnic Group*

Disposition	Ethnic Group				
	Black	White	Chicano	Other	
Hall	10.5% (57)	10.3% (28)	7.3% (3)	0	10.2% (88)
Probation	6.3% (34)	8.1% (22)	17.0% (7)	12.5% (1)	7.4% (84)
Community Referral	14.3% (78)	11.9% (32)	19.5% (8)	25% (2)	13.9% (120)
R.P.D. Service	8.8% (48)	15.6% (42)	4.9% (2)	12.5% (1)	10.8% (93)
Warned and Released	60.1% (327)	54.1% (146)	51.2% (21)	50% (4)	57.7% (498)
	100% (544)(63%)	100% (270)(31.3)	100% (41)(4.8%)	100% (8)(0.9%)	100% (863)

* P > .05

TABLE 18
Disposition by Age Group*

Disposition	Age Group					
	Under 10	10 to 13	13 to 15	15 to 17½	Over 17½	
Hall	0	4.3% (7)	10.3% (25)	13.6% (48)	17.8% (8)	10.2% (88)
Probation	0	1.2% (2)	8.2% (20)	11.0% (39)	6.7% (3)	7.4% (64)
Community Referral	16.7% (10)	14.3% (23)	15.6% (38)	13.0% (46)	6.7% (3)	13.9% (120)
R.P.D. Service	3.3% (2)	6.2% (10)	10.7% (26)	14.1% (50)	11.1% (5)	10.8% (93)
Warned and Released	80.0% (48)	73.9% (119)	55.1% (134)	48.3% (171)	57.8% (26)	57.7% (498)
	100% (60)(7.0%)	100% (161)(18.7%)	100% (243)(28.2%)	100% (354)(41.0%)	100% (45)(5.2%)	100% (863)

* P < .01

TABLE 19
Disposition by Type of Offense*
For First Offenders

Disposition	Type of Offense						
	Runaway	Other 601	Misdemeanor	Misc. Felony	Felony vs. Property	Felony vs. Person	
Hall	7.1% (6)	7.8% (4)	3.6% (12)	4.2% (2)	9.4% (6)	0	5.2% (30)
Probation	2.4% (2)	3.9% (2)	3.3% (11)	10.4% (5)	20.3% (13)	0	5.7% (33)
Community Referral	20.0% (17)	43.1% (22)	6.7% (22)	12.5% (6)	7.8% (5)	(1)	12.6% (73)
R.P.D. Service	16.5% (14)	7.8% (4)	9.0% (30)	35.4% (17)	10.9% (7)	0	12.4% (72)
Warned and Released	54.1% (46)	37.3% (19)	77.2% (255)	37.5% (18)	51.6% (33)	(1)	64.1% (372)
	100% (85)(14.7%)	100% (51)(8.8%)	100% (330)(56.9%)	100% (48)(8.2%)	100% (64)(11%)	100% (2)(0.3%)	100% (580)

* P < .01

TABLE 20

Disposition by Type of Offense*
For Second Offenders

Disposition	Type of Offense				
	Runaway	Other 601	Misdemeanor	Felony	
Hall	13.9% (5)	11.5% (3)	11.0% (8)	21.4% (6)	13.5% (22)
Probation	5.6% (2)	0	4.1% (3)	28.6% (8)	8.0% (13)
Community Referral	25.0% (9)	26.9% (7)	16.4% (12)	21.4% (6)	20.9% (34)
R.P.D. Service	5.6% (2)	15.4% (4)	5.5% (4)	14.2% (4)	8.6% (14)
Warned and Released	50.0% (18)	46.2% (12)	63.0% (73)	14.2% (4)	49.1% (80)
	100% (36)(22.1%)	100% (26)(16.0%)	100% (73)(44.8%)	100% (28)(17.2%)	100% (163)

* P < .01

TABLE 21

Disposition by Type of Offense*
For Third Offenders

Disposition	Type of Offense				
	Runaway	Other 601	Misdemeanor	Felony	
Hall	25.0% (4)	37.5% (6)	4.0% (1)	29.4% (4)	21.6% (16)
Probation	18.8% (3)	0	4.0% (1)	52.9% (9)	17.6% (13)
Community Referral	18.8% (3)	31.3% (5)	8.0% (2)	0	13.5% (10)
R.P.D. Service	0	12.5% (2)	4.0% (1)	11.8% (2)	6.8% (5)
Warned and Released	37.5% (6)	18.8% (3)	80.0% (20)	5.9% (1)	40.5% (30)
	100% (16)(21.6%)	100% (16)(21.6%)	100% (25)(33.8%)	100% (17)(23.0%)	100% (74)

* P < .01

TABLE 22
Disposition by Type of Offense*
For Fourth Offenders

Disposition	Type of Offense			
	601	Misdemeanor	Felony	
Hall	50.0% (9)	11.8% (2)	81.8% (9)	43.4% (20)
Probation	0	29.4% (5)	0	10.9% (5)
Community Referral	16.7% (3)	0	0	6.5% (3)
R.P.D. Service	0	5.9% (1)	9.0% (1)	4.3% (2)
Warned and Released	33.3% (6)	52.9% (9)	9.0% (1)	34.8% (16)
	100% (18)(39%)	100% (17)(37%)	100% (11)(24%)	100% (46)

* P < .01

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