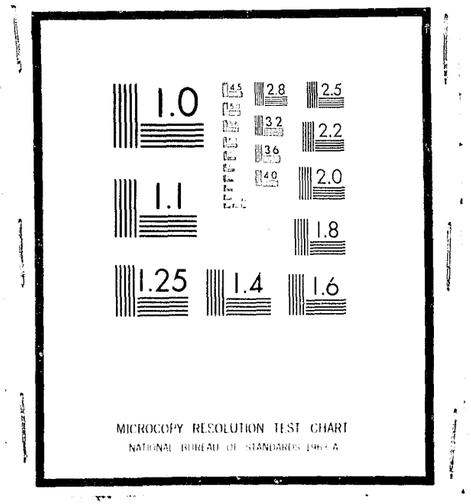

BEHAVIORAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DELINQUENT YOUTHS AS RELATED TO TREATMENT OUTCOMES --

Summary Report of Major Findings and Program Implications

by
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Introduction

This research had three major purposes. One was to find out whether youths' patterns of adjustment to Division for Youth Experimental programs were related to their post-release adjustment. The question is important because of a widespread belief that at best, institutional programs merely foster conformist-type adaptations to conditions of living that have little if any relevance to the problems of the real world. At worst, such programs may just be schools for continuing education in delinquency. When the Division for Youth Experimental programs were established, it was hoped that these grosser excesses of institutional living would be avoided. It was a basic tenet of treatment, for example, that youths would not be able to "be good" their way out of the program by mere conformist adaptation. Instead, they would be offered, and expected to become actively involved in, a program of rehabilitation which would be geared to improving their skills for coping with the real world. It was timely to see if these and other aims were being met and if so, what effect there was on post-release adjustment.

A second aim was to see if post-release adjustment could be predicted from within-program behaviors. For example, if certain patterns of program adjustment were reliably associated with post-release recidivism then program staff and administrators could be alerted to the vulnerability of certain youths to future failure. In such cases,

different and more effective treatments would be necessary and it was hoped that the research itself might indicate what alternative approaches might work.

A third and closely related aim was to develop and examine a typology of delinquents - or of delinquent behaviors - which could be used as an aid in conceptualizing differential treatment strategies. It has become increasingly clear in recent years that trying to treat delinquents as a homogenous group does injustice to the complexity of the problem and is certain to be ineffective. The Division for Youth recognized this at the outset when it used a gross typology of delinquents and treatments based partly on the youths' behavior, partly on their degree of maturity and partly on what were believed to be delinquency related psychodynamics, especially level of ego functioning. Thus youths who were younger, more immature and acting-out were judged to need the structure of Camps; youths with good ego-strength who could maintain close community ties were best served in Urban Homes, and, older, more manipulative and sophisticated delinquents needed the ego-battering approach of the START (Short Term Adolescent Residential Treatment) Center. Placement of youths according to these principles was based on the professional experience and judgements of intake workers and program staff. This is of course a perfectly legitimate and practical procedure but for research and evaluative purposes, some more systematic method of describing either the youths themselves or their categories of behavior was needed.

It was decided to use a behavior rating scale which would describe the youths' program adjustment patterns in terms of 3 main categories. They were: hostile, aggressive, acting-out behaviors; passive, withdrawn, non-participating behaviors; and, an actively involved, sociable, competent type of program adjustment. In accord with the earlier discussion, we examined a) whether these different types of behavior were associated with different post-release recidivism rates; b) if youths displaying hostile or passive behaviors improved during the course of treatment; c) if so, what type of programming or program factors accounted for the change and d) whether youths who improved were less likely to recidivate after release than youths who did not improve.

Method and Procedures

594 males aged 14-18 years who were resident in 12 Division for Youth Experimental facilities during 1971-1972 took part in the study. The facilities were: 5 Camps, 6 Urban Homes and 1 START Center. Two research staff members visited each facility and invited all the youths to take part in groups of 7-12 people in a "research survey" lasting about 2 hours. Participation was voluntary and only 1 youth refused to take part. The purpose of the survey was explained as wanting to find out: what kind of people were coming into the Division's programs, what they thought of their particular program, and, how they saw themselves and each other getting along in the program. The

long-term aim was explained as wanting to find out how the programs were being helpful to the people in them and also get ideas for improvement - should improvement be needed. Six months later, the same 2 research staff members visited each facility again and re-tested all youths (approximately 140) who were still in the program as well as tested for the first time any youths who had been admitted since the first visit.

Data Collection - Tests, Scales and Measures.

Five major types of data were collected in respect of each youth. They were:

I. A Behavior Rating of within-program adjustment. This rating scale measured the youths' typical program adjustment behaviors in terms of the 3 categories described earlier (i.e., hostile; passive; or actively involved)[1] and did so in relation to three major program areas - relationships with staff; relationships with peers, and, involvement in program activities. Each youth was rated by himself, his Counsellor and a Supervisory Staff Member.

II. The Jesness Personality Inventory. This is a personality-attitude test devised expressly for the purposes of: tapping dimensions relevant to the measurement of delinquency proneness; the classification of delinquents into types, and, the evaluation of change. The test gives ten scale scores as well as a delinquency proneness index (the Asocialization Index). The ten scales are: Social Maladjustment, Value Orientation, Immaturity, Autism, Alienation, Manifest Aggression, Withdrawal, Social Anxiety, Repression and Denial. The test was completed by each youth.

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[1] In devising the Behavior Rating Scale, we did not automatically assume that these 3 categories would describe the youths' typical behaviors. Instead, items tapping these and other possible behaviors were written into the scale. It was later ascertained by factor analyses that these 3 categories were applicable to DFY Experimental youths. Full details of the technical development of the scale are given in the main report.

III. The Moos Correctional Institutions Environment Scale (C.I.E.S.) This scale describes the social climate or atmosphere of DFY programs in terms of 9 different dimensions, namely, Involvement, Support, Expressiveness, Autonomy, Practical Orientation, Personal Problem Orientation, Order and Organization, Clarity and Staff Control. These 9 scales can also be grouped to measure three or four basic types of environmental dimensions. In this study, 4 dimensions were used:

1) Relationship dimension (Sub-scales 1, 2 and 3). This is the people-to-people dimension and assesses to what extent youths tend to become involved in the unit, the extent to which staff support youths and youths support and help each other, and the extent of spontaneity and open expression within these relationships. Thus these variables define the type and intensity of personal relationships among youths and between youths and staff.

2) Personal Development or Treatment dimension (Sub-scales 4, 5, and 6). Autonomy assesses the extent to which youths are encouraged to be self-sufficient and independent and to take responsibility for their own decisions. The subscales of Practical Orientation and Personal Problem Orientation reflect two major types of treatment orientation. Practical Orientation reflects items such as training for new kinds of jobs and other forms of practical preparation for the youth's release. Personal Problem Orientation encourages youths toward increased self-understanding and insight. Some programs may emphasize both of these, some one or the other, and some neither.

3) System Maintenance and Structure. This dimension relates to keeping the unit or institution functioning in an orderly, clear, organized and coherent fashion. It includes items such as letting youths know what to expect in the day-to-day routine of the program and assesses how explicit the program rules and procedures are.

4) Staff Control. This dimension is usually included as part of 3) above but was treated as a separate dimension in this study. It assesses the extent to which the staff use measures to keep residents under necessary controls, i.e., in the formulation of rules, the scheduling of activities, and in the relationships between residents and staff.

The C.I.E. Scale was completed only by youths, not by the staff.

IV. Social-Demographic (Background) Data. These data concerning items such as a youth's previous arrest history, age, educational level, type of petition, family circumstances and ethnicity were collected routinely at Intake.

V. Program Outcome Measures (Dependent Variables). The first major outcome measure was whether youth successfully completed the program (graduated) or failed to graduate for reasons such as absconding, dismissal by staff or removal by court action. Program outcome information was obtained from the Division's Statistical and Survey Unit. The second measure was whether youths recidivated within 1-2 years of program release. Recidivism was measured both by arrest and by commitment to an institution. Recidivism data were obtained through the New York State Identification and Intelligence System (N.Y.S.I.I.S.).

Results

1. Sample Characteristics.

a) Social-Demographic. Of the 594 youths, 435 (73%) were in Camps; 127 (22%) in Urban Homes and 32 (5%) in the START Center. The mean age of the youths at time of referral to the program was 15.6 years (S.D. .89). Ethnically, 272 (46%) were Black, 244 (41%) were White and 78 (13%) were Puerto Rican. In terms of family characteristics, 149 (25%) came from families on public welfare; 164 (28%) came from Intact Families (defined as both parents living in the home). 133 (22%) of the youths were voluntary admissions. Of the remainder, 207 (35%) had a Person in Need of Supervision (P.I.N.S.) petition; 147 (25%) had a Juvenile Delinquent (J.D.) petition and 107 (18%) fell into the "other" category which consisted largely of Youthful Offenders. With regard to referral county, 298 (50%) were from New York City and the remainder from Up-State New York. These breakdowns correspond very closely to

those obtained on other DFY Experimental samples and it may be assumed that the present sample was representative of DFY Experimental youths in terms of background characteristics.

b) Personality Characteristics. The results for the entire sample showed a high delinquency potential as measured by the Jesness Asocialization Index[1]. On this index, and all the other Jesness scales, a mean score of 50 is "normal," that is, represents the average score of a large group of non-delinquents. In general, a score of 10 points above or below 50 indicates a significant departure from normality. The mean score for the present sample on the Asocialization Index was 66.6. The youths were also significantly more delinquent on every other scale, except for the Withdrawal, Social Anxiety, Regression and Denial scales.

More interesting perhaps are the differences between various sub-groups. For these analyses, Camp youths were compared with Home/START[2] youths; P.I.N.S. with J.D.s; Black youths with Whites, and Voluntary cases with Rehabilitation cases. With respect to Camps versus Homes/START, Camp youths were found firstly to be significantly more Immature and more prone to Manifest Aggression.

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[1] Definitions of the Jesness Inventory Scales are attached in Appendix A.

[2] There was only 1 START program included in the study and it was combined with Homes for most analyses.

This is what one would expect from DFY placement policies and indicates that the subjective placement decisions of intake and program staff are effectively implementing the intended policy. Camp youths also scored in a more delinquent direction on Social Maladjustment, Value Orientation and Autism. These differences were in turn reflected in higher mean scores on the Asocialization Index. The conclusion is that Camp youths have a somewhat greater delinquency potential than Home/START youths. But it should be noted that the difference was only relative; the average Asocialization score for Home/START youths was 65, significantly above normal. It does seem however that <u>in general</u>, Home/START youths are more stable and mature, less impulsive and less likely to act out their problems in an asocial manner. These characteristics are compatible with their placement in open, community-based facilities.[1]

With respect to <u>personality differences between P.I.N.S. and J.Ds.</u>, there were no differences of any kind on any of the individual scales or the Asocialization Index. Thus both groups have the same (high) delinquency potential and similar personality profiles.

Turning to <u>ethnic differences</u>, Black and White youths did not differ on the Asocialization Index (both means were approximately 67),

[1]Findings reported later indicate there may be one or two sub-groups of Camp youths who might be better served in a community setting.

indicating a similar overall delinquency potential. There were, however, some noteworthy differences on individual scales. Black youths were characterized by high (poor): Social Maladjustment, Value Orientation, Autism, Manifest Aggression and Alienation scores but were normal on other scales. White youths were also high on the first 4 of these scales but were significantly <u>less</u> Alienated than Black youths. White youths were also significantly more Withdrawn and Socially Anxious. The conclusion is that while both groups have a high delinquency potential, their underlying problems and behavioral manifestations are significantly different.

Finally, comparisons between <u>Rehabilitation and Voluntary admissions</u> to DFY programs showed no differences with the single exception that Rehabilitation youths were more Immature. Even here, however, both groups were so close to normal that the difference is probably of no consequence. The important finding is that the Voluntary cases are just as delinquency prone as the Rehabilitation cases who are admitted through the courts.

c) <u>Characteristic Ratings of the Social Climate of DFY Experimental programs</u>. Details of the youths' ratings of the social climate of their DFY program are given in Table 1 which shows the results for both the individual Correctional Institutions Environment Scales and its 3 major dimensions. It is impossible to comment on the results for each individual facility but two general results

TABLE 1

NEW YORK STATE DIVISION FOR YOUTH
EXPERIMENTAL FACILITIES
C.I.E.S. MEANS AND S.Ds.

	CAMPS								URBAN HOMES AND START									
	N=98 1		N=73 2		N=92 3		N=100 4		N=16 A		N=9 B		N=12 C		N=26 D		N=36 E	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Involvement	6.73	2.24	5.95	2.15	6.88	2.29	6.68	2.23	7.38	1.93	6.89	2.67	5.67	2.15	6.81	2.15	5.97	2.27
Support	6.98	2.02	6.18	1.96	6.68	2.13	6.34	2.18	7.19	1.68	7.00	1.80	5.00	2.41	6.50	2.00	6.19	2.12
Expressiveness	5.59	1.83	4.77	1.92	5.80	1.65	4.69	1.54	4.56	1.63	5.22	1.92	6.33	1.61	5.65	1.85	5.53	1.75
Autonomy	5.74	1.56	5.05	1.96	6.24	1.64	5.38	1.61	5.44	2.16	6.33	2.24	5.33	1.44	5.38	1.55	5.44	1.68
Practical O.	6.97	1.65	6.95	1.55	6.90	1.82	6.64	1.81	7.31	1.40	6.44	2.30	6.67	2.19	6.85	1.71	6.94	1.76
Pers. Problem O.	6.81	1.73	5.89	1.79	5.71	1.54	5.88	1.61	6.56	1.82	5.33	1.94	5.67	2.39	6.00	1.85	6.64	1.79
Order and Org.	6.68	2.06	5.49	1.93	5.48	2.31	6.36	1.95	8.06	1.18	5.89	1.76	5.50	1.62	5.81	2.14	6.00	2.28
Clarity	6.19	1.51	5.40	1.89	5.77	1.66	5.97	1.64	6.81	1.97	5.67	2.18	6.17	1.75	5.92	1.90	5.69	1.82
Staff Control	5.10	1.74	5.95	1.56	3.72	1.70	5.58	1.65	5.50	1.51	3.78	1.64	4.25	1.76	5.38	1.39	4.33	1.82
I Relationships	6.43	2.13	5.63	2.17	6.45	2.09	5.90	2.19	6.38	2.16	6.37	2.34	5.67	2.14	6.32	2.06	5.90	2.07
II Treatment	6.51	1.79	5.96	1.95	6.28	1.74	5.97	1.75	6.44	1.96	6.03	2.23	5.89	2.13	6.08	1.74	6.34	1.86
III Structure	6.44	1.82	5.45	1.81	5.63	1.75	6.17	1.79	7.44	1.72	5.78	1.98	5.84	1.70	5.87	2.00	5.85	1.84

Note: The higher the score, the greater the program emphasis on each scale.

are of special note. First is the comparison between Camps and Urban Homes. Camps differ from Homes in several respects but size and type of youth admitted are the most obvious ones. With respect to size, Camps accommodate 60 youths each while Homes have only 7-20 youths. Because of this size discrepancy, one might expect that Camps would be more regimented and rule-oriented simply out of necessity for coping with larger numbers of youths. This could be reflected on the social climate profiles with Camps showing greater emphasis on Order, Organization, Clarity and Staff Control. As noted earlier, Camps also serve a younger and more immature population. This being the case, one might expect that Camps would find it necessary to establish a more structured setting in the form of higher levels of Organization, Order and Staff Control. Thus there were two strong reasons for expecting the facilities to differ structurally.

The results (see Figure 1) showed that this was not the case. Camps did not differ from Homes on any individual scales nor the 3 major dimensions. This implies that the DFY has been successful in establishing facilities of 60 youths without having to stress rules and regulations at the expense of responsiveness to individual needs. Figure 1 shows just how similar the two facility types were in terms of social climate. Youths in both programs felt that Involvement, Support and Practical Orientation were given the greatest

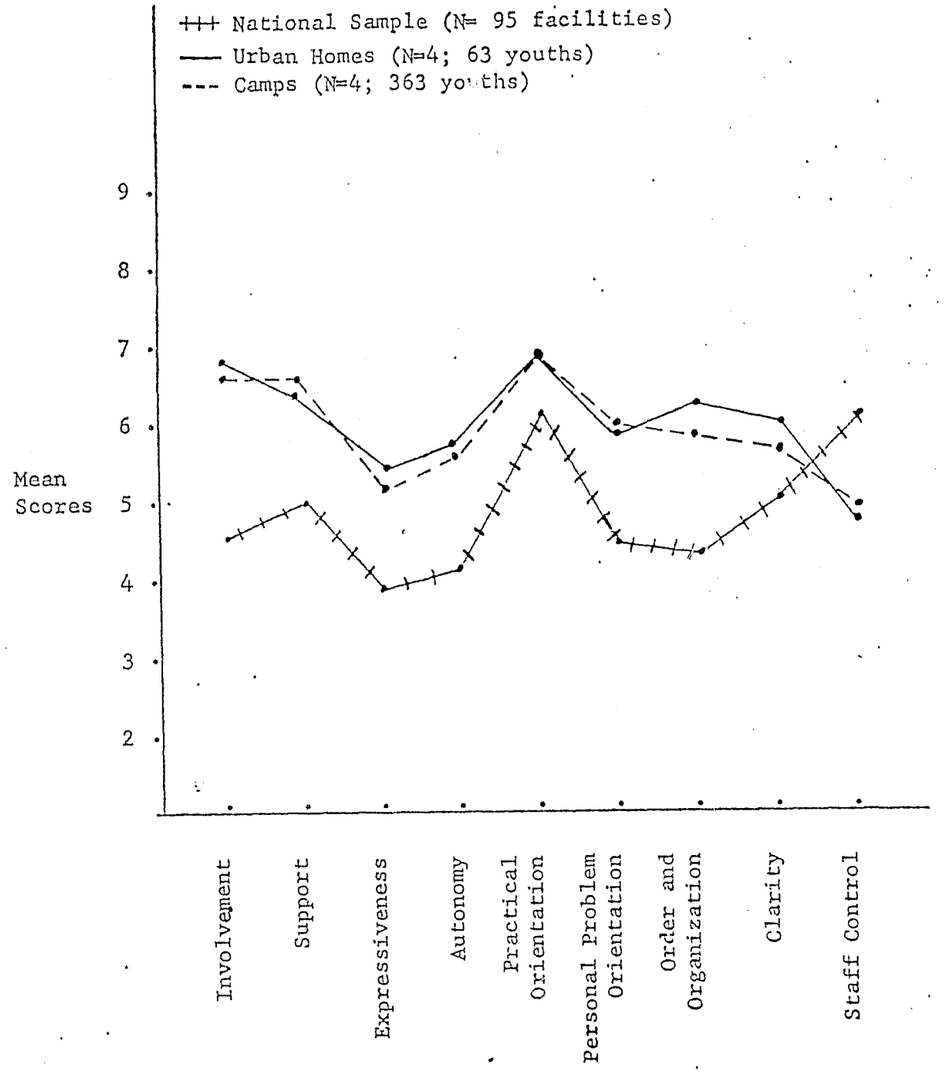

Figure 1: Youths' Perceptions of Social Climate in DFY Camps and Urban Homes Compared to a National Sample of 95 Juvenile Male Facilities. (The higher the mean score, the greater the program emphasis on each scale.)

emphasis while Staff Control, Expressiveness and Autonomy received the lowest ratings (relatively).

The second set of results concerns the comparison between DFY youths' ratings of their programs and other youths' ratings of 94 nationally sampled juvenile facilities.[1] (Details of this comparison are also given in Figure 1.) Compared to the national sample, DFY youths rated their programs as significantly better in every respect. For example, they rated their program as more involving, supportive, spontaneous, better organized, allowing more autonomy, offering more opportunities for personal development and less authoritarian in terms of staff control.

d) Behavioral Characteristics

The ratings of within-program behavioral adjustment made on each youth by both Counsellors and Superivsors were in substantial agreement with each other. In particular, both types of staff member perceived:

a) A hostile, acting-out, irresponsible type of behavior. These youths were, to varying degrees, defiant of staff, impulsive, unable to take criticism, selfish and inconsiderate of others. The Jesness results showed a significant proportion of these youths had a poor Value Orientation, were Alienated, had very low Denial scores (often indicative of family conflict) and were quite high on Manifest Aggression. They scored normal on Social Anxiety, Withdrawal and Repression. The socio-demographic results showed a significant number of these youths were younger and came from non-intact families.

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[1] Grateful thanks are extended to Dr. R.H. Moos for making these national ratings available.

b) A passive, withdrawn type of behavior. Characteristics of these youths included: being easily led or dominated by other youths; shy and hesitant in expressing opinions, easily victimized, constantly in need of direction and a general ineffectiveness in peer relationships. These youths were also significantly more likely than other youths to be high on Social Anxiety, Withdrawal and Repression and to be older. They were also likely to have a "good" Value Orientation in the sense of accepting and aspiring to more middle-class standards. They were somewhat more likely to be White.

c) An actively-involved, sociable type of behavior characterized by good peer relationships, an ability to respond to staff as reasonable authority figures and an ability to accept rules but not be cowed by them. These youths were generally interested in the program, well accepted by peers and able to be leaders or followers depending on the demands of the situation. The Jesness results showed no particularly unique personality characteristics and they were normal on Social Anxiety, Withdrawal and Repression. There was, however, a significant proportion of this group with a low Value Orientation. The only significant demographic correlation was with ethnicity - the group contained a significantly larger number of Black youths.

In addition to these 3 categories, both Counsellors and Supervisors specifically rated youths in terms of good-poor Task Orientation which related to work attitudes, habits and motivation (e.g., ability to stick with a job, even if difficult; interest in school work; need for constant supervision, etc.)

As noted earlier, the youths also rated themselves on the Behavior Rating Scale and the analysis of these Self-Ratings showed similar categories of behavior as for the staff ratings. However, the youths often rated themselves differently from the way the staff did in terms of the degree to which they were hostile, or passive, or actively involved. These differences were of both kinds (e.g.,

some youths rated themselves more hostile than staff rated them; others rated themselves less hostile, etc.).

Other results showed that the different categories of Behavior were found in every type of facility. Thus in general, there was no particular tendency for hostile youths to be in one facility, actively-involved youths in another and passive youths in a third.

This concludes the main results for characteristics of the youths. The next section will discuss results showing in what way these characteristics were related to program outcomes.

2. Characteristics Related to Treatment Outcomes.

Post-release recidivism data could be obtained for 578 (97%) of the 595 youths. It was found that 351 (61%) were not arrested within 1-2 years of program release and 531 (92%) were not committed to a State institution during the same period. While arrest and commitment are by no means perfect criteria of treatment success or failure they are nevertheless important ones - if only because the general public expects these youths to keep out of further trouble with the law. It was therefore instructive to examine which factors were related to post-release arrest and commitment.

a) Post Release Arrest

Taking the various data separately, it was found that of the socio-demographic variables: youths with a larger number of previous petitions (at time of referral to the DFY); youths from

families on public welfare, and, youths who were Black were each more likely to be arrested after release. It is noteworthy that age; type of present petition (none, P.I.N.S., J.D., etc.); family intactness, and, referral county were not related to different arrest rates.

Of the Jesness Personality scores, none were related to post-release arrest. Thus even youths with an adverse score on the Asocialization Index were not more likely to be arrested than other youths.

Of the social climate variables, youths who rated their program as low on Relationships and low on Structure were somewhat more likely to be arrested.

Finally, of the Behavior Ratings, all 3 hostility ratings (i.e., those by Counsellors, Supervisors and Self) were related to higher arrest rates. Thus the more hostile the youth, the more likely he was to be arrested. Youths who were rated by Counsellors and Supervisors as having a poor Task Orientation also recidivated more, as did youths who rated themselves as overly self-assertive in peer relationships. Whether youths were actively-involved in the program, or, passive and withdrawn had no relationship to post-release arrests.

These individual relationships are informative but can often be misleading because of overlap and redundancy among the factors. For example, youths with a more serious delinquency history may be

the same ones who rate the programs low on Relationships and who also rate themselves as hostile and are rated by staff as having a poor Task Orientation. It is therefore impossible to tell from this simple type of analysis which factors are the crucial ones and which are merely associated with the crucial ones.

More complex analyses showed that of all the factors the most important (i.e., unique) predictors of arrest were: a large number of previous petitions; the youths' own Self ratings on the Behavior Ratings as being hostile toward staff and overly self-assertive in peer relationships; a rating by Counsellors as having a poor Task Orientation; coming from a family on public welfare, and, a short program stay, (i.e., less than 3 months). The more of each of these characteristics a youth possessed the more likely he was to be arrested; conversely, youths with none of these characteristics were least likely to be arrested.

Some other results of interest were firstly that ethnicity ceased to be a predictor of arrest after the Self (behavior) ratings were taken into account. This is an important finding because until the present study of within-program adjustment behaviors, Black ethnicity had always been found in previous DFY research to be related to higher arrest rates. The present results indicate that Black ethnicity was not the crucial factor but rather, how youths rated their own relationships with staff and peers was. Knowing that they rated these relationships as

hostile would tell more about their likelihood of arrest than merely knowing their ethnicity.

Secondly, it might be thought that whether various measures such as the Jesness scores or the behavior ratings were related to arrest would depend to some extent on the stage of treatment the youth had reached when the measures were taken. For example, measures taken on youths who were in the early stages of treatment might be less predictive of post-release adjustment than those taken on youths who were close to release. The results showed that it made no difference when the measures were taken. Thus, for example, youths who were in the early stages of treatment and rated themselves as hostile had the same arrest rates as youths who were close to release and rated themselves as hostile. This in turn implies either that the youths did not change much during treatment, or, if they did change, it had little effect on their likelihood of arrest. The findings support the latter interpretation as will be seen below.

Thirdly, the obtained relationships between the youths' socio-demographic and behavioral characteristics and post-release arrest were certainly statistically significant and therefore worth noting. However, all the factors combined explained only 12%-13% of the variance in arrest rates. This degree of predictive power is far too low for purposes of individual prediction. The results should therefore be treated as having general explanatory value and applied on a group, not individual basis. They could also be useful for research and evaluation purposes

since they provide base line expectancies from which departures under various treatment strategies may be studied and assessed.

Finally, with regard to arrest rates among the various DFY Experimental facilities, Camps, Homes and the START showed no differences. There was, however, an initial tendency for Camps to differ among themselves with Camp A showing lower, and Camp D higher, arrest rates than other Camps. These differences were not attributable to differences in the youths' within-program adjustment behaviors. They did, however, disappear when the socio-demographic variables were taken into account, indicating that in this particular sample, Camp A youths were somewhat less socially disadvantaged and Camp D youths somewhat more socially disadvantaged than youths in other Camps.

b) Post-Release Commitment.

All the same factors that were used in the analysis of post-release arrest were analyzed again to examine their relationship to post-release commitment. The results showed that none of the within-program measure (behavioral adjustment, Jesness personality scores and social climate) were related to commitment. Committed youths did not differ from non-committed youths on any of these characteristics. The only significant factors were both socio-demographic. Youths with a larger number of previous petitions and, minority group youths (Black and Puerto Rican) were more likely to be committed. Youths with both characteristics had a higher commitment rate than youths with only one.

c) Program Outcomes

In addition to post-release criteria of program success or failure there remains the question of immediate program outcome and its relationship to subsequent recidivism. That is, DFY Experimental programs have 4 possible kinds of treatment outcomes. Youths may (1) successfuly complete the treatment and graduate from the program; or, (2) they may terminate treatment by permanently absconding; or, (3) they may be dismissed by the staff or removed by court action for offenses committed during treatment, or, (4) they may withdraw from the program for miscellaneous reasons such as enlistment in the Armed Forces, removal to a Mental Hospital or removal by parental request. Of the non-graduation categories, absconding and being dismissed or removed by court action are each regarded as unsatisfactory outcomes; the withdrawal category is regarded as having more neutral connotations. Of the present sample, two hundred ninety eight (75%) of the youths graduated; 45 (12%) absconded; 35 (9%) were dismissed or removed by court action and 17 (4%) withdrew. These breakdowns seem to differ somewhat from DFY graduation/non-graduation rates in general in that the sample seems to have a higher percentage of graduates than usual (75% as against the more usual 55%-60%) and correspondingly a lower percentage of non-graduates (25% as against the more usual 35%-40%). Why this should be so is not readily explicable.

A consistent finding of DFY Research has been that program graduates are significantly less likely to be arrested within 2 years of release. Non-graduates, especially if they were dismissed or absconded were

significantly more prone to post-release arrest. In general, these findings held for the present sample. There was a significant but low correlation between non-graduation and arrest.

To some extent, graduation/non-graduation would seem to represent the DFY's definition of "successful" and "unsuccessful" program outcome - as distinct from the post-release recidivism criteria which are much more dependent on factors beyond the DFY's control. It is therefore instructive to compare the factors associated with non-graduation and post-release recidivism, respectively, and examine whether they are the same or different.

Each youths' socio-demographic, behavioral, personality and social climate data were analyzed using the same multiple regression analyses (and the same ordering of variables) that were used for arrest and commitment. The results showed that of the socio-demographic variables, none were related to graduation. This contrasts with the arrest results where both Number of Previous Petitions and source of family income were related to arrest. It is a positive finding because it indicates that even youths with adverse social backgrounds can successfully complete the treatment.

Of the within-program behaviors, the Counsellors' rating of youths as actively involved in the program was the most important indicator of graduation. Youths rated as passive and withdrawn were much less likely to graduate.[1] They also tended to stay in the program a shorter time.

[1]These youths were particularly likely to abscond or, if voluntary cases, to withdraw from the programs. A separate report is available on factors associated with absconding, together with program suggestions for reducing its incidence.

This result contrasts with the arrest results where neither active nor passive behaviors were related to arrest. Conversely, hostility towards staff, especially if based on the youths' own Self-Ratings had been related to higher numbers of arrests. But a Self-Rating of hostile toward staff was related to graduation in the opposite direction, i.e., hostile youths were more likely to graduate than non-hostile youths. Together, these results clearly indicate that DFY programs were more successful in working with hostile than with passive youths.

One other important aspect of these within-program adjustment behaviors is that the Counsellors' ratings of youths as actively involved has many items reflecting active peer involvement. This indicates that the professed DFY belief in peer group pressures and peer group relationships is in fact a key treatment modality. But the results raise serious questions about the effectiveness of this method with youths who are passive and withdrawn.

Of the Jesness personality scales, youths who were high on Manifest Aggression were less likely to graduate. Under certain social climate conditions, youths with high Manifest Aggression were particularly likely to abscond and this doubtless accounts in part for the present result.

Of the social climate ratings, the most clear-cut finding was that youths who withdrew from the program rated the programs much more negatively than anyone else on all the social climate scales. Youths who absconded also rated the programs as lower on Expressiveness and

higher on Staff Control than other youths did. Youths who were Dismissed or removed by court action did not differ in their social climate ratings from graduates.

In conclusion, these results for graduation indicate that the factors relating to successful completion of treatment are not the same as those relating to post-release arrest or commitment. This does not of course imply that the criteria for program graduation are irrelevant or meaningless. Such criteria as ability to relate to peers could well be indicative of dimensions of social competence which are important for successful post-release adjustment. However, while involvement in peer relationships may be a pre-requisite for graduation, and perhaps justifiably so, the arrest data indicate that attention must be paid to at least two other characteristics of the youths if post-release arrest rates are to be reduced. One is the need to improve the Task Orientation of certain youths. A second is to pay more attention to those youths who rate themselves as both hostile toward staff and who engage in negative self-assertion toward peers. This combination of attributes was associated with markedly higher arrest rates. But the present results indicate that these youths are just as likely to graduate as other youths. Assuming that graduation is contingent upon readiness for release, this perhaps implies that DFY staff are not fully aware of the vulnerability of these particular youths to post-release failure. Whether help can best be rendered through within-program efforts or by special Aftercare services is of course an open question.

3. Behavior and Personality Changes During Treatment

For a sub-sample of 135 youths, it was possible to collect data at two different points in time with a 6 month interval between. The statistics for this group showed that 103 or 77% had been in the program for 2 months or less at the time of the first (pre-test) session. Their average program stay was 9.9 months so that many were within 2 months of program release at the time of the second (post-test) session. It can be assumed, therefore, that the results approximate a genuine pre- and post-treatment set of measures.

In order to measure change, the youths' pre-test scores were subtracted from their post-test scores to give mean Change Scores on both the Behavior Ratings and the Jesness sub-scales. The results are given in Tables 2 and 2a, respectively, where significant changes are asterisked in the column labelled "t Change."

Regarding first the Behavior Ratings, all three raters judged that the youths had become more actively involved in the program and in peer relationships. Counsellors and the youths themselves also rated an improvement in general or global program adjustment. One possible negative change was that Counsellors rated an increase in hostility but the youths themselves and the Supervisors did not perceive this. It is important to note also the behaviors which did not change. Firstly neither the staff nor the youths rated any across-the-board improvement in Task Orientation. A rating of poor Task Orientation by Counsellors was one of the factors related to higher arrest rates. It might perhaps be

TABLE 2

VALUES OF t FOR PRE-TEST TO POST-TEST CHANGES ON THE BEHAVIOR RATINGS (n = 135)

Rating Variables	Pre-Test		Post-Test		Change		t	Correlations
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Change	Pre vs.Post
Counsellors' Ratings:[1]								
F1 Active-Passive	.296	1.02	-.125	1.01	-.421	1.11	-3.76**	.40
f2 Hostile-Conformist	.116	1.06	-.279	.88	-.395	1.07	-3.60**	.40
F3 Task Orientation	-.214	1.10	-.046	.89	.168	.99	1.81	.53
F4 Staff Avoid-Depend.	-.140	.97	.020	.73	.160	1.01	.70	.32
Supervisors' Ratings:[1]								
F1 Active-Passive	.238	.97	-.095	.93	-.333	.88	-3.61**	.57
F2 Hostile-Conformist	.083	1.08	-.134	.79	-.217	1.10	-1.80	.35
F3 Passive Re. Peers	-.280	1.06	.013	.93	.293	1.06	2.55*	.43
F4 Task Orientation	-.052	.99	-.041	.82	.011	1.02	.09	.37
Self Ratings:[1]								
F1 Passive Re. Peers	.204	1.13	.081	.99	-.123	1.05	-1.24	.52
F2 Active Task Orient.	.027	1.04	-.051	.95	-.078	.96	- .68	.51
F3 Hostile v. Staff	-.008	1.12	.121	.98	.129	1.01	1.13	.54
F4 Active re. Peers	-.215	1.04	.061	.90	.276	1.10	2.66**	.37
Global Adjustment:[2]								
Counsellors' Rating	2.68	.83	2.98	.67	.30	.93	3.30**	.24
Supervisors' Rating	2.70	.72	2.84	.68	.14	.83	1.56	.30
Self Rating	2.18	.78	2.36	.60	.19	.75	2.68**	.43

[1] Z-scores standardized on basis of entire sample

[2] Raw scores on a 4-point scale where 1=Poor Adjustment and 4=Excellent Adjustment

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

TABLE 2(a)

VALUES OF t FOR PRE-TEST TO POST-TEST CHANGES ON THE JESNESS INVENTORY (n = 131)

Jesness Scales	Pre-Test		Post-Test		Change		t	Correlation
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Change	Pre vs. Pos
Asocial Index	66.28	9.17	64.68	10.46	-1.60	10.77	-1.69	.39
Social Maladjust.	66.49	10.46	64.50	12.10	-1.99	9.87	-2.31*	.63
Value Orientation	59.65	8.50	57.08	10.93	-2.57	8.68	-3.39**	.63
Autism	59.05	8.58	59.37	9.54	.32	8.07	.45	.61
Alienation	58.46	9.28	58.00	10.59	- .46	8.59	- .61	.64
Manifest Aggression	56.62	10.20	55.57	11.99	-1.05	10.32	-1.16	.57
Withdrawal	55.84	10.10	52.06	10.91	-3.78	10.14	-4.27**	.54
Social Anxiety	51.42	10.48	46.59	12.65	-4.83	10.52	-5.25**	.59
Repression	48.64	11.52	50.17	10.56	1.53	11.44	1.53	.48
Denial	43.31	9.26	46.87	11.29	3.56	8.44	4.83**	.68
Maturity	11.04	3.33	11.82	3.73	.78	3.18	2.81**	.60

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

thought that this particular sub-sample of youths had a satisfactory Task Orientation at entry into the program and therefore that there was perhaps less need for improvement. Table 2 shows however that the Counsellors rated the youths significantly below average at the pre-test time.

Secondly, earlier results had shown that a Self Rating of negative self-assertion in peer relationships (Self Factor 1) and hostility toward staff (Self Factor 3) were related to higher numbers of arrests. But Table 2 shows there was no across-the-board improvement in these behaviors. In general, therefore, the programs did not effect any improvement on arrest-related behaviors.

While this may be the generalized conclusion, it was also possible that some youths, or youths in some programs, may have improved while others may have deteriorated - the net effect being that the two types of change cancelled each other out to give an appearance of no change. Results showing that this was in fact the case will be discussed shortly.

Turning to changes in personality, Table 2a shows significant improvements on the Jesness Social Maladjustment, Value Orientation, Withdrawal, Denial and Maturity Scales. There was also a significant decrease in Social Anxiety but it is not clear how to interpret this since the scores were close to "normal" at the pre-test time. The change could conceivably represent a retrograde step if it meant a lessening of inhibitions and inner controls in some youths who were already prone to impulsivity. The two noteworthy lack of improvements were firstly on

the Asocialization Index (a result which presumably indicated no decrease in general delinquency proneness) and secondly, on the Manifest Aggression scale. The latter result would seem the more serious since Manifest Aggression scores were related to program outcomes while the Index was not.

Apart from these two scales, the general direction of the results in Table 2a is clearly that the youths' personality profiles improved after 6 months' treatment.

4. Factors Accounting for Behavior and Personality Change

Despite the general lack of improvement on certain key behaviors, further analyses showed that some youths changed more than others and that some facilities and social climates were more conducive to change than others. In this analysis, considerable care was necessary because programs which seemed to help youths most may merely have been working with less disadvantaged or more mature youths to begin with. In order to take this into account, the youths': age; number of previous petitions; ethnicity, present petition status and initial behavior scores were controlled for before examining the amount of change.

a) Changes on Task Orientation, as rated by Counsellors. The results showed firstly that improved Task Orientation was related to only one socio-demographic variable - White youths improved while Black and Puerto Rican youths did not or got worse. In addition, Camp youths improved more than Home/START youths did and of the Camps, Camp A youths improved more than other Camp youths did. It is important to stress

that this result for Camp A was not due to the fact that Camp A youths differed in terms of being less socially disadvantaged. The social climate results showed further that Task Orientation improved significantly when youths rated their program as stressing the Relationship dimension (Involvement, Support and Expressiveness). An emphasis on Treatment, Structure or Staff Control was not specifically related to improved work attitudes.

In addition to the ethnic differences, three noteworthy aspects of these results are firstly, that regardless of any vocational skill deficits, these youths have serious problems of work attitudes and motivation and a pre-requisite for helping them to change is good personal relationships rather than stressing factors such as personal problem solving or a regimen of rigid discipline and control. Secondly, the results show that even the more delinquency-prone youths (i.e., those with a large number of previous petitions) can and did improve their work attitudes in DFY programs, given the right atmosphere. Third, P.I.N.S. and J.D. youths did not differ in their capacity to change. Both were capable of improving - or deteriorating - depending on the social climate of the program.

b) Changes on Hostility towards Staff-Self Ratings. These results showed two important socio-demographic effects. Older youths rated themselves as becoming less hostile while younger ones became more hostile. Secondly, the larger number of previous petitions the youths had, the more hostile they became, and vice versa. There were

no ethnic differences. Also, with these differences taken into account, neither major facility types nor individual Camps varied in their capacity to change hostility.

The social climate results showed, however, that youths who experienced their programs as well structured and tempered with good personal relationships decreased in hostility whereas youths who felt a lack of structure increased in hostility. These factors were important over and above the age and previous delinquency history factors. Thus the results do not mean simply that younger or more delinquent youths need more structure. They do mean that there was a significant tendency across-the-board for youths to respond to poorly structured programs by becoming more hostile toward staff and conversely to decrease in hostility with better structuring.

It is important to clarify exactly what is meant by "structure". Based on Moos' definitions, it refers to the orderly organization of program activities and assignments; an emphasis on residents behaving in an orderly and reasonable manner, and, a set of coherent and explicitly stated standards of conduct which are consistently administered and clearly understood. An environment in which there is clarity about rules and goals and where people know what to expect is an important aspect. However, the structural dimension does not imply rigid control and authoritarian discipline by the staff. These items are measured more by the Staff Control scale which was deliberately measured separately from "structure" in this study. There was

even some tendency for hostility to increase if youths perceived a high degree of staff control.[1]

In sum, the results show that hostile youths become less hostile in a structured milieu. Conversely, a laisser-faire, disorganized, "anything goes" type of atmosphere was likely to increase hostility even among youths who were not hostile initially.

The decreasing hostility among older boys and the increasing hostility of younger ones is also an interesting finding but not easily explained. One possibility is that it may be a maturational effect. Another is that a given amount of structure may be experienced as adequate by older youths but the same amount is experienced as not enough by younger ones. Many other explanations are possible but without further research they would remain speculative. The present results indicate it would certainly be instructive to experiment with increasing the structural aspects of programming for younger, acting-out residents.

c) Changes in Active-Passive Program Involvement-Counsellors' Factor 1. These results showed first that socio-demographic factors were unrelated to changes in program involvement. This is a positive finding in the sense that socially disadvantaged youths can become

[1] The issue of who exerts control and with what effect even in a well structured environment would seem a key question which unfortunately could not be examined in this study. An important aspect is no doubt the balance between peer or normative control and staff or authoritarian control. In this respect, it seems possible that the DFY programs could operate with such a relatively low level of staff control because the development of peer group pressures has been given such a high priority.

just as interested and involved in DFY programs as less socially disadvantaged youths.

Secondly, there was a significant effect for the Relationship dimension. Passive youths became more involved if they experienced the programs as stressing personal relationships. By the same token, youths who experienced the programs as low on this dimension became less involved and more passive.

Thirdly, there were some small but significant differences among facilities. Camp youths tended to become more involved than Home/START youths and of the Camps, youths in Camp D were somewhat more passive than other Camp youths. This difference was not due to the youths' socio-demographic characteristics.

The results for this factor, taken together with those for hostility permit the generalization that relatively speaking, hostile youths change more in a structured setting while passive youths change more where close interpersonal relationships are stressed and developed. Within this, it is important to keep the findings in perspective. It seems unlikely, for example, that structure alone would be enough for hostile youths and if administered without good personal relationships, the treatment could conceivably boomerang and have deletorious rather than beneficial effects. Similarly, passive youths would surely need more programming than just an emphasis on "close personal relationships". But the findings do indicate that youths with different types of behavioral problems not only require different treatment emphasis but will also respond differently to them.

d) Other Changes During Treatment. Two other factors related to arrest or program outcome were Manifest Aggression and negative self-assertion in peer relationships (Self Rating Factor 1). Changes on both these factors were consistent with findings already discussed. Thus Aggression scores as well as overt acting-out behavior decreased when youths experienced the programs as high on structure. The changes on negative self-assertion were more complex but consistent in that the youths rated themselves as becoming more passive in peer relationships if the program was experienced as low on the Relationship dimension and more self-assertive if the program was high on Relationships. These results are complicated because if passive youths change only towards negative self assertiveness and conversely, if negatively assertive youths change only towards greater passivity, not much has been accomplished. Thus while Relationships seem to be the crucial factor in effecting changes in passivity/assertiveness, these youths clearly need much more help in terms of appropriate forms of self-assertiveness.

5. Changes During Treatment and Post-Release Arrest.

Having established that some youths did in fact change on arrest-related behaviors during treatment the next question was whether youths who improved were less vulnerable to post-release arrest than youths who did not change. It was found that there was no relationship between behavior or personality changes during treatment and arrest within one to two years of program release. Thus youths who improved had the same arrest rates as youths who did not improve or youths who got worse.

It was not possible to examine if the same held true for commitment because of the 135 youths on whom change-data were collected, only 3 or 2% were committed after release. This low rate was probably affected by a shorter period of post-release vulnerability (i.e., the majority of this sample had been released for only just over 1 year when recidivism data were collected whereas the average period of risk for the larger sample was closer to two years).

Practical Implications and Discussion[1]

1. Recidivism Rates

In general evaluative terms, this research has found that the post-release recidivism rates of the DFY Experimental study population were low. 61% (351) of the 578 youths studied were not arrested within a 1-2 year period of release. 92% or 531 were not committed to a State institution during the same period. Individual D.F.Y. programs differed very little in their recidivism rates. This result emerged even though - as the research also verified - Camps, Homes and START are serving youths with different kinds of personalities. The indication is then that these different youths are being served with about equal effectiveness.

2. Adjustment to Residential Programs

Any notion that the DFY Experimental programs force youths into a single pattern of conformist-type adaptations to institutional living

[1]This section draws heavily on many suggestions which were made during very helpful discussions of the results with: Milton Luger, Director of the Division for Youth; Roslyn G. McDonald, Deputy Director, Research, Program Evaluation and Planning, and Charles H. King, Deputy Director, Rehabilitation.

is clearly refuted by the results. Patterns of adjustment-behavior varied from acting-out to passivity to active-participation as well as some degrees of social conformity. The safest generalization would be to say that while some youths can and do cope with their DFY program by conforming to staff demands, this is by no means the prevailing pattern. Many other youths displayed their more typical behaviors (such as passivity or hostility) openly thus providing an opportunity to examine, confront and in some cases change the behaviors.

3. Personality and Attitude Changes.

Results for a sub-sample of 135 youths showed that their personalities and attitudes generally improved over a 6 month period of treatment. In particular, based on the Jesness Inventory they became significantly less Socially Maladjusted, improved their Value Orientation, became less Withdrawn and Socially Anxious, became more Mature and moved toward greater normalcy on Denial. In each of these respects, their personality profiles moved closer toward the pattern of 'normal', non-delinquent youths.

On the other hand, there were no across-the-board improvements on the Asocialization Index, Autism, Alienation, Manifest Aggression and Repression. Of these, the latter is probably unimportant since the group was normal on this scale to begin with. Of the other scales, the lack of change on Manifest Aggression would seem of greatest practical consequence since youths with high Aggression were more prone to

program failure. Other results showed that in the few cases where Manifest Aggression significantly decreased, it was related to the youths experiencing their particular program as well structured. But the structuring needed to be accompanied by good personal relationships with peers and staff since it was also found that youths who were socially isolated, unable to get involved in the program and who felt unable to express their feelings were likely to abscond.

4. Behavior Indicators of Post-Release Arrest.

None of the personality scales were related to post-release recidivism but three of the program adjustment behaviors were. Youths who rated themselves as both hostile towards staff and negatively self-assertive in peer relationships had higher post-release arrest rates. This was the case even if the youths changed their hostile behavior during treatment. This means that any improvements the residential programs effected were not carried over for very long in the post-release situation. The finding clearly indicates a need for increased Aftercare support. The additional finding that these particular youths improved most when they were given a well-structured milieu suggests Aftercare might best help by working with these youths to create more structure in their post-release situation. By "structure" is meant factors such as order and organization in daily activities, clarity about aims and goals and the establishment of some clear-cut rules and expectations. It does not imply rigid authoritarianism and control. To the extent that any attempt to introduce order and organization in daily activities is likely to be rendered ineffective by chaotic

domestic conditions, there may well be a need for intensive work with the youths' families. Stepped-up activity in this direction is indicated by other findings discussed below.

This discussion of Aftercare needs should not overshadow one of the more interesting findings of this study, namely that DFY experimental programs seem to work well with hostile, acting-out youths. The program staff seem comfortable with this behavior as evidenced by the finding that most hostile youths stay the course of treatment (i.e., they are not among the early leavers) and usually graduate.

5. Work attitudes and Motivation.

Another within-program indicator of post-release arrest was Task Orientation or work attitudes. Youths who were rated by Counsellors as having a poor Task Orientation had higher post-release arrest rates than youths with a good Task Orientation. The research did not study the effects of poor vocational skills so that the findings relate very specifically to work attitudes and motivation. The implication is that more attention needs to be paid to this aspect as well as to any skill deficits per se. One indication of how this may be accomplished was given by the finding that Task Orientation improved significantly when youths experienced the programs as stressing the Relationship dimension. This was (relatively) more important than program factors such as structure, staff control, personal problem solving or even practical orientation. Increased work motivation and perhaps decreased feelings of exploitation might also be enhanced if youths were paid the minimum wage for satisfactory work performances during training. Finally, the results showed that the Task Orientation of Black youths improved less during

treatment than those of White youths. However, even Black youths improved significantly if they rated the program highly on Relationships.

6. Treatment Needs of Passive Youths.

In general, the programs were less successful in working with passive-withdrawn youths. They stayed in the program a shorter time, were less likely to graduate and were quite likely to abscond. It was found, however, that they became less passive if they experienced the program as high on Involvement, Support and Expressiveness (i.e., the Relationship dimension). Based on other research these youths are good risks for community treatment. But there is some question whether they might not find intensive peer group pressures and confrontations too threatening and overwhelming - at least initially. Thus if they are placed in Camps and especially if they are then grouped with aggressive, acting-out youths serious management problems are likely. Moreover, the outlook for their improvement would be poor unless special efforts were made to involve them in program activities and provide psychological support. This could perhaps be achieved by helping them attain more group status and responsibilities, possibly even by making some of them crew chiefs. But a pre-requisite for success under Camp living conditions would certainly be to interpret their problems in ways which would encourage other youths to adopt a co-operative rather than hostile or ridiculing attitude towards them. If this is not possible then a Home placement would seem indicated. It might also be worth experimenting with more homogenous groupings of these youths on a crew basis in Camps. Optimally, Counsellors and Supervisors would be assigned on the basis of qualities such as perceptivity, sensitivity and ability to provide insightful and understanding support.

7. Social Conformers with Delinquent Value Orientations.

Based on a variety of research findings, one could seriously question whether all youths who appear to be actively involved in, and adjusting well to the program may not in fact contain a small sub-group of youths who are "conning" the staff. Doubts about some of these youths are raised by a variety of converging evidence. First, one of the more interesting aspects of this study from a research point of view is the similarity between the DFY behavior groupings and those of some other delinquency researchers, notably Herbert Quay. During the last 10-15 years, Quay has studied and elaborated upon 4 distinct types of behavior characteristics of delinquent youths. They are: "unsocialized-aggressive" which corresponds very closely to our hostile, acting-out behaviors; "neurotic-disturbed" which is generally comparable to our passive-withdrawn; "socialized-subcultural" and "inadequate-immature." This last cluster seems the least well-established of Quay's groups but the "socialized-subcultural" grouping is of special interest. According to Quay, their characteristics include being peer oriented, engaging in group delinquent activities, capable of close interpersonal relationships but delinquent value oriented and defiant of adult authority. With respect to the peer group orientation and capacity for close interpersonal relationships, these descriptions are very compatible with what in this study, we have called "active program participation". (See page 14 above.) Indeed, given the DFY emphasis on peer group relationships some members

of this group could have felt very much at home in the programs. It was even found that the only really negative characteristic of this actively-participating group was that a significant number had a poor Value Orientation. The latter is a second reason for assuming that some youths who were rated as actively participating may have been less well-adjusted than they seemed at face value. A third cause for doubt is, of course, that even youths who were rated as actively-participating in the program were no less likely than other youths to be arrested after release.

In sum, our research indicates that a significant number of youths who were rated as actively involved in the programs had a Value Orientation that was compatible with the ethos of a delinquent sub-culture. They did not appear to have any serious personality problems but may have been overly prone to social conformity. Thus they could conform and adapt well to DFY programs, but equally, could probably adapt well to their local delinquent sub-culture once they returned to it after release. With regard to program implications, a more persistent confrontation and probing of these youths' beliefs and values during treatment is indicated. Also, if they are returning to the conditions which fostered their pre-treatment delinquency, Aftercare would need to be especially alert to their peer group associations. There might even be a need to keep these youths under closer scrutiny. This could be accomplished, for example, by providing pre-release living accommodation similar to

Urban Home apartments where they could stay while constructive and satisfying community ties with non-delinquent associates could be established.

8. Need for Study of Post-Release Problems.

The most clear-cut and consistent results of this research are firstly the finding of such a low-level relationship between the youths' within-program attitudes and adjustment and post-release arrest, and secondly, the finding that even youths who changed for the better during treatment were as vulnerable to arrest as youths who did not. This is becoming an increasingly common finding in delinquency research and does not imply that the programs were ineffective. The residential programs were never expected to carry sole responsibility for the successful or unsuccessful rehabilitation of these youths. But the overwhelming implication of the findings is that the post-release situation is a critical factor in whether youths recidivate or not. There is an urgent need to study the kinds of problems and stresses the youths experience after release together with the effectiveness of Aftercare in helping them cope.

9. Gradual Reduction of Treatment.

Some suggestions for alternative Aftercare support have already been made but an additional suggestion - prompted both by this and other research - is that the most effective treatment would gradually taper off the intensity of programming as the youths begin to improve.

For example, for hostile youths a highly structured program would gradually become less structured in accord with the youth's ability to cope and take more responsibility for his own structuring. The final pre-release environment would try to simulate ever more closely (in terms of the problems the youth has to face) the anticipated post-release environment. Aftercare services should of course be involved in this programming and would represent the final link in the treatment-reduction process. By developing and instituting this kind of programming, the amount of carry-over of benefits from treatment could be greatly enhanced.

10. Need for Family Counselling Services.

One of the many limitations of this study is that it could not investigate the youths' family backgrounds and experiences nor examine in what way their post-release problems were compounded by various degrees of family impairment and inadequacy. But there can be no doubt that many of these youths need all the post-release support they can get. To the extent that their families are inadequate to the task, increased involvement by the DFY either directly by offering a family counselling service or indirectly by financial support of other family agencies is indicated. The earlier this service begins in relation to the youth's overall treatment plan, the better. There is obviously, for example, no need to wait until the youth is released from the program.

Earliness of family intervention could also be beneficial in cases where the youths have younger siblings who may be vulnerable to future delinquency.

Finally, with respect to Aftercare in general, the findings of this and other DFY research can be used for identifying which youths are at greatest risk and therefore whose Aftercare and family needs should have high priority. These identifying factors include: two or more previous petitions at entry to the DFY; a family on public welfare, a typical program adjustment pattern of hostility towards staff and a constant need to assert himself against peers, and, a poor work attitude. The more of these characteristics the youths have, the greater their vulnerability to post-release failure.

These generalizations apply even if the youths become less hostile and improve their work attitudes during treatment. The residential programs can and do help youths change some of their problematical behaviors and attitudes but in general, they are not capable of insulating the youths against all the delinquency promoting forces of the post-release environment. Nor would it be at all realistic to expect that they should. Even here, however, the picture is by no means as black as the last few paragraphs stressing what changes might be made to reduce the recidivism rate may have indicated. It is timely to recall that 60% of these youths had no record of further trouble with the law after leaving and only 10% were reinstitutionalized.

11. Limitations of the Study and Research Implications.

It was obviously not possible in a single study of this scope to cover everything. The research had certain prescribed aims as described in the Introduction and consequently many other aspects had to be ignored.

These include critical areas such as family backgrounds and problems; educational motivation and achievement; and, vocational skills and aptitudes. Each of these areas seems so central that the DFY can only stand to gain by systematically documenting the problems, studying processes of change and improvement and, where indicated, experimenting with various treatment approaches.

Within the study's own prescribed aims, there was a limitation of small sample size with respect to the change-date analyses. This does not mean the results are in any sense unstable - the statistical tests used fully allowed for the sample size. But there were many other analyses of interest which could not be undertaken because of insufficient numbers.

A third limitation was the very narrow criteria used to define treatment success and failure. Post-release arrest and commitment and program outcomes are certainly important and widely used indicators but they should not be the only ones. There is a great need for other measures which would tap the full range of effectiveness of DFY programs - for example, indicators of improved work habits and attitudes, continuing educational performance, family adjustment, drug usage, dependency on welfare, mental illness and any other indicators of social competence. Evaluating the programs in terms of their impact on these measures would give a much more adequate picture of the usefulness and effectiveness of DFY programming. Moreover, many of these measures could be studied within 3-9 months of program release. This would increase the practical usefulness of the research findings as well as

reduce the research credibility gap caused by the present need to wait at least 2 years for the recidivism criterion to mature.

Fourth, in terms of research implications there is an ongoing need to explore and characterize more accurately the major types of delinquent behaviors identified by this and other research. In addition, if these sub-groups (and hopefully finer distinctions within each sub-group) are to be used as a basis for differential treatment there must be some more systematic kind of classification at Intake. Such an initial diagnostic and classifying service would also permit controlled treatment experiments with different delinquent sub-groups. For example, it might be possible to set up two work crews in a given Camp which would offer different treatments for hostile, aggressive youths. In this way, the DFY could assess the effectiveness of alternative treatments with youths who had been diagnosed to have similar problems.

The generality of the delinquent sub-groups which have emerged from this study also indicates some useful research and program possibilities. For example, the effectiveness of DFY programming with a given sub-group can be compared with the effectiveness of other treatment approaches outside New York State. The DFY might also be able to benefit from other research findings across the country and by studying other results find much that it would want to test in its own programs or develop further.

Another, more specific research implication includes a need to understand the present finding that younger residents became significantly

more hostile toward staff during treatment while older ones did not. It is by no means clear whether this is a straightforward maturational process with younger adolescents having a greater need to act-out their problems, or, whether there is something inherent in DFY programming which may be provoking it. In either case, nothing has been inferred about whether the hostility should be discouraged, or whether it might actually be a positive sign in some youths and under some circumstances. This too would seem a useful area for further investigation.

Finally, it should be noted that this research was conducted only in the Experimental facilities. It would clearly be dangerous to generalize the results or their implications to State Training Schools without first verifying by some form of replication of the present study that they are applicable.

APPENDIX A

THE JESNESS INVENTORY SUB-SCALES

JESNESS INVENTORY SUB-SCALES

1. Social Maladjustment Scale (SM) - 63 items. Social Maladjustment refers to a set of attitudes associated with inadequate or disturbed socialization, as defined by the extent to which an individual shares the attitudes of persons who demonstrate inability to meet environmental demands in socially approved ways.

2. Value Orientation Scale (VO) - 39 items. Value Orientation refers to a tendency to share attitudes and opinions characteristic of persons in the lower socioeconomic classes.

3. Immaturity Scale (Imm) - 45 items. Immaturity reflects the tendency to display attitudes and perceptions of self and others which are usual for persons of a younger age than the subject.

4. Autism Scale (Au) - 28 items. Autism measures a tendency, in thinking and perceiving, to distort reality according to one's personal desires or needs.

5. Alienation Scale (Al) - 26 items. Alienation refers to the presence of distrust and estrangement in a person's attitudes toward others, especially toward those representing authority.

6. Manifest Aggression Scale (MA) - 31 items. Manifest Aggression reflects an awareness of unpleasant feelings, especially of anger and frustration, a tendency to react readily with emotion, and perceived discomfort concerning the presence and control of these feelings.

7. Withdrawal Scale (Wd) - 24 items. Withdrawal involves a perceived lack of satisfaction with self and others and a tendency toward isolation from others.

8. Social Anxiety Scale (SA) - 24 items. Social Anxiety refers to perceived emotional discomfort associated with inter-personal relationships.

9. Repression Scale (Rep) - 15 items. Repression reflects the exclusion from conscious awareness of feelings and emotions which the individual normally would be expected to experience, or his failure to label these emotions.

10. Denial Scale (Den) - 20 items. Denial indicates a reluctance to acknowledge unpleasant events or aspects of reality often encountered in daily living.

11. Asocial Index (ASI) Asocialization refers to a generalized disposition to resolve problems of social and personal adjustment in ways ordinarily regarded as showing a disregard for social customs or rules.

END