An Exemplary Project

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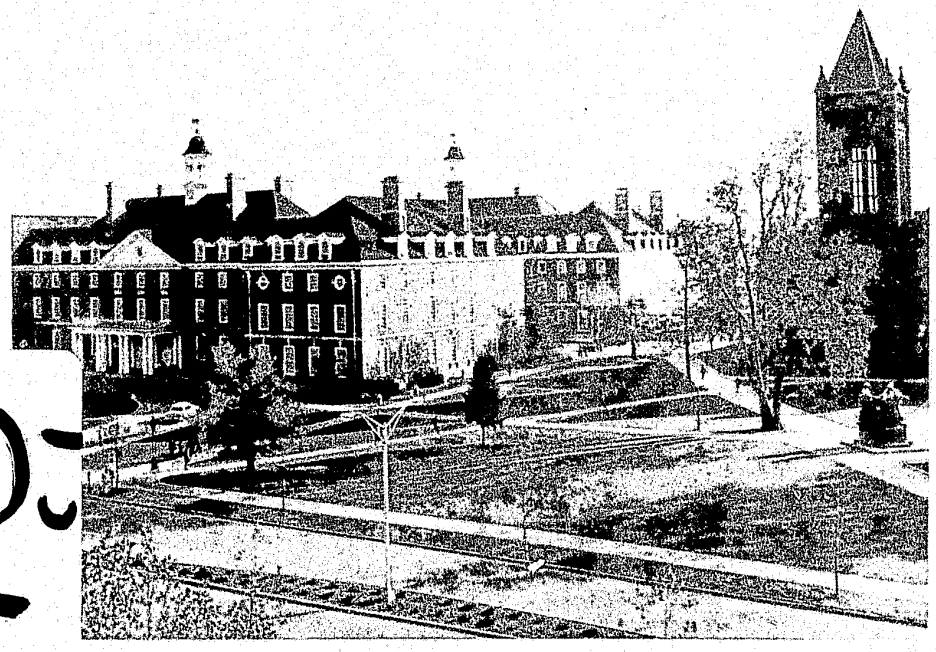
The Adolescent Diversion Project

Urbana and Champaign, Illinois



A University's Approach to Delinquency Prevention

Office of Technology Transfer
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
U.S. Department of Justice

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A University's Approach to Delinquency Prevention

The Adolescent Diversion Project

Urbana and Champaign, Illinois

An Exemplary Project

by

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March 1977

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FOREWORD

The field of delinquency prevention and treatment is a particularly challenging one for researchers. There is much to be learned about the effects of various intervention strategies. One approach to acquiring this knowledge is the design of programs that couple action with thorough experimental research.

The Urbana-Champaign Adolescent Diversion Project demonstrates that the combination can work. Through such programs, we can begin to find answers to questions about the impact of diversion and community treatment on youngsters in trouble with the law.

This manual describes the Adolescent Diversion Project as it existed during the two academic years spanning 1973-75. During that period, it exemplified the manner in which academic research could be combined with university-based service to meet a community problem.

Although the research aspects of the project have now ended, they proved sufficiently convincing to lead the community to continue project operations, which link the University of Illinois with the community in a joint effort to help troubled youth.

Gerald M. Caplan
Director
National Institute of Law Enforcement and
Criminal Justice

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The Urbana-Champaign Adolescent Diversion Project (ADP) involves children, parents, professors, graduate and undergraduate students, policemen, teachers, and community social service workers in a cooperative effort to divert youngsters in legal jeopardy from the juvenile justice system. Implemented in 1972 by the Community Psychology Action Center of the University of Illinois, ADP was designed to serve three equally important goals:

(1) To provide juveniles in the neighboring communities of Urbana and Champaign with an alternative to formal court proceedings by intervening at the point of police contact and offering counseling and social assistance;

(2) To provide students at the University of Illinois with practical experience in social intervention techniques by involving undergraduates in the service delivery process;

(3) To find out more about the whys of delinquency and its treatment by delivering services within the framework of a carefully controlled experimental research design.

ADP, then, was a successful venture in the simultaneous use of research, treatment and delivery of social service by a university.*

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* The information presented in this section draws heavily from a brochure previously published, *Out of the Ivory Tower: A University's Approach to Delinquency Prevention*, The Adolescent Diversion Project, Urbana and Champaign, Illinois, available through the National Criminal Justice Reference Service.

The typical ADP client was a misdemeanant with two or three previous police contacts. They were persons considered beyond "lecture and release" and clearly headed for court. Instead of going ahead with an arrest, the police in the neighboring towns of Champaign and Urbana cooperated with the University, which invited the juveniles and their parents to participate in ADP. Under the supervision of University faculty, services were provided by students for an eighteen-week period.

The project was the focus of intensive research by the University during the three academic years of 1972-1975. Although the University's direct control and research effort terminated at the conclusion of its three-year Federal grant, the Psychology Department took its commitment to the Urbana-Champaign youth seriously. Even in the initial planning stages, the Department provided for continuing service delivery beyond the initial research period. The locally-funded TARGET Outreach Program (Treatment for Adolescents Requiring Guidance and Educational Training) now shares the supervision tasks, and undergraduates enrolled in the practicum, together with community volunteers, continue to provide treatment services.

As a well-conceived and well-executed social experiment, the Urbana-Champaign ADP has been designated an Exemplary Project by the National Institute. This manual is primarily concerned with the project as it existed during its third year of operation -- the period when ADP tested its operations through a program of rigorous experimental research. It is this integration of scientific method with social program development -- the product of a successful collaboration between academic and law enforcement resources -- which makes the ADP concept worthy of adaptation by other communities.

1.1 Overview

University operation of the Adolescent Diversion Project spanned a three-year period which was divided into a pilot test year (1972-1973), and two full years of experimental operation. During each academic year, refinement occurred in the intervention techniques employed in the juvenile referral process developed with

the Urbana-Champaign Police Departments, and in the design of the research experiment.

Unless otherwise noted, all references in this manual are to Year III, which is the year on which "Exemplary" project status was based. The first two years were also important, however, and the success of their activities contributed to the interest in pursuing the intervention project into Year III. In Year I (1972-73), the pilot year, project activity centered on testing the feasibility of the project and ensuring credibility with local officials. In Year II (1973-74), juveniles referred to ADP were assigned to experimental and control groups in order to begin an assessment of project impact. In this year specific intervention techniques were not assigned to members of the experimental group. Year III (1974-75) project efforts, on which most of this replication manual are based, focused on assigning one of two intervention strategies to members of the experimental group in order to conduct a formal analysis of the intervention process.

Essentially, in Year III the research component was intended to assess the impact of the project on diverted youngsters using a non-treated control group. Juveniles were referred by the police to ADP in lieu of petition to juvenile court. If a youngster and his or her parents agreed to participate, the youngster was randomly assigned to either the experimental or the control group. Student volunteers were then matched with youngsters in the experimental group -- whenever possible, by sex, race, and personal interests. Members of the control group received no intervention services and were released to the community.

The youngster and assigned volunteer typically spent several weeks getting to know one another. Once the two had established a relationship, the volunteer assessed the needs and problems of the client and, with the help of peers and supervisor, developed a program using one or a combination of techniques known as behavioral contracting and child advocacy. Volunteers using behavioral contracting would monitor and mediate written contractual agreements between the youth and the parents concerning real-life issues such as privileges to be available to the child in return for complying with curfews; house chores; and personal appearance. Contracts with teachers were also frequently drawn up. The principle of a behavioral contract is that clearly detailed responsibilities must be fulfilled by the youngster as well as by the other participants in the contract.

The volunteers using child advocacy would personally act to secure the rights of their clients when the clients faced crises, such as suspension from school. Moreover, the advocate would introduce the child to available educational, welfare, health, mental health, and vocational resources that could be used on the child's behalf. In each of the intervention strategies, the students attempted to ensure that their clients could serve as their own monitors and advocates after the students' involvement in the project had ended.

A unique aspect of this project was the use of the educational pyramid, an innovative paradigm for training and research in community psychology (Seidman and Rappaport, 1974). As a model, the educational pyramid provides a means for understanding and evaluating the impact of community interventions at multiple levels of society, and a means for rigorous and systematic evaluation of human service programs. It is also extremely valuable for training future professionals and non-professionals in specific career goals. The model combines use of graduate students in program administration and training roles with undergraduates or other non-professionals (e.g., senior citizens, community volunteers) who serve as workers. The pyramid is usually headed by an experienced psychologist or professional person who acts as teacher and supervisor.

1.2 Results

The ADP researchers at the University studied the results of intervention and strived to explore and explain the intervention process itself. The goal was to determine which services work and why they work.

During the first year of study (1973-1974) the experimental and control groups were compared on police contacts and court petitions during project participation and in a two year follow-up period.

In 1974-1975, the ADP researchers refined this design by randomly assigning the two treatment modes to youngsters in the experimental group. Thus, three groups were studied in this latter year:

1. Children assigned to behavioral contracting.

2. Children assigned to child advocacy.

3. Children who received no services (outright release).

Group results were compared in terms of police contacts, seriousness of charges, petitions to court, school grades and attendance, and various psychological factors.

Comparative data were gathered before, during and after each respective intervention period. These data included juvenile bureau records, county juvenile court probation office records, and school records. Each police contact was weighted for seriousness, and both individual and group indices were calculated.

The results demonstrated that the Adolescent Diversion Project succeeded in three important areas:

1. *Reducing the number and severity of police contacts during and after the intervention period.* The experimental group fared significantly better than the control group in 1973-74. Similar results were found in comparing the combined experimental group and the control group in 1974-75. In this latter year, however, no significant differences were found between the behavioral contracting and child advocacy approaches within the experimental group.* Results for police contacts are displayed in Figure 1.

2. *Reducing the number and severity of court petitions filed during and after the intervention period.* The experimental groups again performed better than the control group in both years. Results for court petitions are given in Figure 2.

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* The two groups that received services will be discussed in detail in following chapters.

FIGURE 1

Average Number of Police Contacts Per Child

	Prior (one year)	During (5 months)	Follow-Up*
1973-1974			
Experimental Group (n=25)	2.00	0.32	0.76
Control Group (n=12)	2.33	1.67	1.75
1974-1975			
Combined Experimental Group (n=24)	2.21	0.46	0.08
Control Group (n=12)	2.25	2.25	0.50

* Follow-up was one year for the 1973-74 cohort and two months for the 1974-75 cohort. More extensive follow-up data (up to two years) which are consistent with these results are now available and are presented in Appendix D.

Similar results were observed when the police contacts were weighted for severity.

FIGURE 2

Average Number of Court Petitions Per Child

1973-1974	Prior (one year)	During (5 months)	Follow-Up*
Experimental Group (n=25)	0.17	0.04	0.17
Control Group (n=12)	0.17	0.42	0.58
1974-1975			
Combined Experimental Group (n=24)	0.13	0.08	0.00
Control Group (n=12)	0.25	0.75	0.25

* Follow-up was one year for the 1973-74 cohort and two months for the 1974-75 cohort. More extensive follow-up data (up to two years) which are consistent with these results are now available and are presented in Appendix D.

Again, the results were similar when court petitions were weighted for severity of charges.

3. *Improving school atendance.* All youngsters were enrolled in school at the time of their referral to ADP. In Year II, at termination 71 percent of the combined experimental group was still enrolled, in contrast to only 50 percent of the control group.

Why did ADP succeed in curbing delinquency? While there are a number of hypotheses, the answer is not clear. ADP researchers undertook an exploratory survey of the intervention process and studied the psychological impacts of intervention, but the measures used are only suggestive of specific causes of the favorable outcomes.*

Thus, the task for those who would replicate the ADP concept is not to emulate any single aspect of the Illinois experience, but to continue to explore the effects and consequences of intervention by applying academic resources to the pursuit of service-oriented research.

1.3 Guide to the Manual

In the following chapters of this manual, the operations, research design, and role of the University in the Adolescent Diversion Project are discussed in detail. In addition, future research needs and issues to consider in replication are examined.

Chapter 2 discusses the initial development of ADP within the University of Illinois. The organization, administration, and costs of the project are also included.

Based primarily on the 1974-75 experimental year, Chapter 3 describes the project's operations. Included are descriptions of referral and assignment procedures, pre- and post-testing of Project participants (both experimental and control subjects), and the behavioral contracting and child advocacy strategies (illuminated by sample case studies).

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* See Seidman, Rappaport, and Davidson, 1976; Appendix D.

Chapter 4 discusses the role of the Community Psychology Action Center of the University of Illinois in this study project. More than any other single component, it was the participation of the University -- with its supply of trained, skilled researchers and supervisors -- that made ADP possible.

The research design and the results of that research are described in Chapter 5, while directions for further research are outlined in Chapter 6. This is a key chapter for serious replicators, and, although it does not preclude future research possibilities, it may stimulate the kinds of thought which should precede a replication effort.

Finally, Chapter 7 addresses several nontechnical replication requirements -- university involvement, diversion prior to the point of arrest, and collaboration with local law enforcement officials.

CHAPTER 2
ADP ORGANIZATION, DEVELOPMENT AND COSTS

Two essential requirements of a successful ADP are the involvement of a university and a close working relationship between the police department and the university department conducting the project. It is relatively easy to organize a university-based program since there is a natural hierarchy of faculty, graduate students and undergraduates available to assume the roles of supervisors, researchers, and service providers. Winning the total confidence of law enforcement officials is less easily achieved. Yet the cooperation of police officials and juvenile officers in Champaign and Urbana was, in no small measure, pivotal to the project's success in meeting its diversion and research objectives. This chapter describes ADP's organization within the University and explores the project's developing relationship with local law enforcement personnel.

2.1 Background and Organization

For several years the University of Illinois Psychology Department had been involved in developing community services through course offerings and practicums. As a result, the ADP organization evolved from a solid base of previous experience in bringing University resources to the aid of the community. ADP, itself, was actually part of a larger research effort developed by the Community Psychology Action Center to study the effectiveness of using undergraduates as volunteer social service providers. The Community Psychology Action Center is a loosely structured faculty group within the Department of Psychology that has sponsored a number of community services and activities. Generally, the Center is a University-supported training program for both graduates and undergraduates and aims to serve the community through planning and participating in social programs, and providing students "real world" experience in their course work and research. Center proj-

ects have ranged from the establishment of a graphic arts center in a ghetto neighborhood to the publication of a neighborhood paper containing articles on the effects of social science on daily life.

Four different groups were served under the larger research grant which funded ADP operations:

- Youngsters in "legal jeopardy" (ADP);
- School children;
- Adult mental patients;
- Elderly nursing home residents.

The major goal of the larger project was to provide faculty and students the opportunity to practice the theory of psychology in the community, with undergraduates serving in the field. Both research and clinical methods were applied to the mutual benefit of community groups, undergraduates, graduate students, and department faculty. Research on ADP, for example, led to the doctoral dissertation of the program's project director.*

The organization of ADP (as well as that of the other three subprojects) was based on a learning model developed by the Community Psychology Action Center. The model uses a pyramid arrangement in which experienced psychologists (University faculty) supervise graduate students, who in turn supervise undergraduates.** The latter serve primarily as field workers. This model was modified somewhat for the Adolescent Diversion Project in 1974-75, chiefly to accommodate its relationships with the TARGET Outreach Program as well as additional paid staff supporting the research.

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* The Diversion of Juvenile Delinquents: A Study of the Processes and Relative Efficacy of Child Advocacy and Behavioral Contracting, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1975.

** The Educational Pyramid: a paradigm for research, training and manpower utilization in community psychology, American Journal of Community Psychology, 1974, 2nd, 119-129. Reprints available from the CPAC.

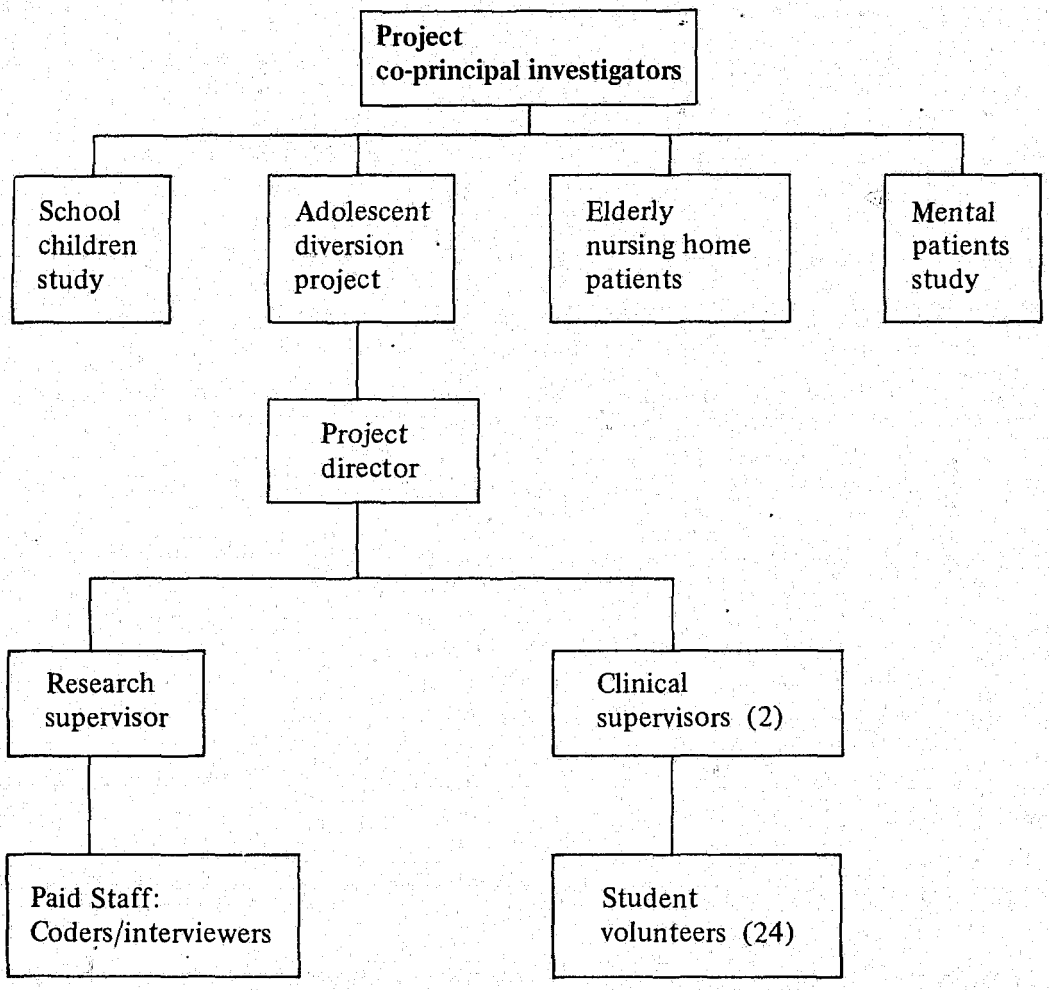
Figure 3 indicates the Adolescent Diversion Project's organizational structure within the larger research project. In the larger project, the two co-principal investigators -- faculty in the Department of Psychology -- assumed primary responsibility for the four subprojects. Working under the general direction of the co-principal investigators having primary responsibility for the ADP, the project director (an advanced graduate student) directed the day-to-day project operations. Working under the project director were two clinical supervisors and a research supervisor. The research supervisor and one of the clinical supervisors were graduate students; the other clinical supervisor was, and is currently, the Director of the TARGET Outreach Program. The research supervisor directed the activities of the paid research staff (coders and interviewers), and the clinical supervisors were responsible for training and supervising the undergraduates. Paid staff represented a supplement to the organizational structure described thus far. These individuals were part-time staff -- typically recent graduates in the social sciences who were not enrolled in a University graduate program.

Although the exact nature of organizational relationships may vary in replications of the Adolescent Diversion Project, several distinct functions emerge as central to any replication. These are discussed at greater length in Chapter 7.

2.2 ADP Development

Police street contact with youngsters was considered to be an ideal point of diversion, since it precedes formal arrest and booking. Thus, children referred to the program would not be subject to extensive processing and labeling that might occur if they were diverted at a later stage. To explore this source, the ADP originators arranged to meet with the Police Chiefs of the Urbana and Champaign Police Departments. The Chiefs were receptive to the diversion concept, and suggested that referral procedures be arranged with the Juvenile Officers in their respective departments. One of the prime tasks of these meetings was to persuade the Juvenile Officers that ADP would be able to deal effectively with youngsters in legal jeopardy.

FIGURE 3


Project
co-principal investigators
School
children
study
Adolescent
diversion
project
Elderly
nursing home
patients
Mental
patients
study
Project
director
Research
supervisor
Clinical
supervisors (2)
Paid Staff:
Coders/interviewers
Student
volunteers (24)

During the pilot phase as well as 1973-74, two different project directors met with the Juvenile Officers and assured them that the program would be able to handle potentially delinquent children, and even those with records of serious delinquency. They were able to convince the police that ADP was not being run by "ivory tower professors" but by people who knew and understood the problems of delinquent youth. For several months, the project director spent several days a week observing the daily operations of the Juvenile Officers, and eventually established a personal rapport with them. The project director emphasized that ADP offered the police a possible means of breaking the delinquency cycle and that the University intended to be firm in working with the youngsters, and assessing their results.

The ADP co-principal investigators have since emphasized the value of the time spent in establishing a personal relationship with the two police departments and in carefully explaining the intended operations and objectives of the program. They noted that the resulting mutual respect and commitment could not have been expected from a few meetings over a short period of time.

During this development period, the research design was formulated, training manuals for the undergraduates and data collection forms were prepared, and minimal-risk youngsters were assigned to undergraduates on a trial basis. The pilot phase made it possible for the project to develop its referral system and to gain credibility with the police and the community, so that children in serious legal jeopardy might benefit in subsequent years.

Following the pilot phase, the project ran under experimental conditions in the 1973-74 academic year. Having developed police confidence during the preceding year, referral conditions were relaxed to enable ADP to serve a higher risk clientele. At the same time juvenile officers agreed to the random assignment of these youth to experimental control conditions. Their cooperation with the requirements of the research design is a further tribute to the careful, thorough manner in which ADP was introduced. Throughout, project planners emphasized that adherence to the experimental design was essential to maintain the project's accountability and provide solid bases for future delinquency prevention programs.

During the first experimental year, twenty-four undergraduates were selected for enrollment in a practicum, which offered readings in the history of delinquency and intervention techniques, classroom instruction, examinations, and supervised work with ADP clients. Each undergraduate was assigned to work with one youth, although six undergraduates worked sequentially with two over the period. In all, 30 youth received the project's intervention services, while 12 others comprised the control group. Several intervention strategies were applied; the only common element required of each relationship was that specific goals be established. During this phase of the project, students were instructed to use any mix of the two major strategies they felt would best suit the needs of their assigned youngsters.

As the previous chapter reported, the outcomes of this experimental year were quite promising. In order to verify the results observed in 1973-74 and to examine the intervention process in detail, the experimental design was refined in the 1974-75 academic year. A different set of instruments was chosen to measure attitudinal changes, and two specific intervention strategies--behavioral contracting and child advocacy--were applied to equal halves of those receiving program services. Thus, three randomly-selected groups of 12 juveniles each were compared in this phase: two were the subjects of different intervention modes, and one was diverted outright with no intervention services. To determine the nature of intervention effects, extensive interviews after 4, 10, and 16 weeks of participation were conducted with the youngsters, their parents, the undergraduates enrolled in the practicum, and the supervisors.

Although the grant support for the Adolescent Diversion Project only covered its operations for three years, project administrators carefully planned the continuation of services in the community. The Community Psychology Action Center had been associated previously with a local program which provided counseling and residential facilities for juveniles. This proved to be an ideal vehicle for ensuring the continuation of ADP. The director of the local program was invited to serve as a clinical supervisor for the ADP practicum, in return for University training of volunteers used by the Outreach program. She was eager to expand services by absorbing ADP. Moreover, the agency's volunteers were used to a limited degree to supplement the work of students during summer vacations. Thus, when the grant and the research effort ended, the local agency continued to provide project services.

Currently, the training and supervisory duties of the undergraduates in the practicum are shared by the agency Director and a University graduate student funded through a local grant.

2.3 Project Costs

The explicit costs of the Adolescent Diversion Project are quite minimal. Operational costs for the year 1975-76 amounted to a $5000 stipend for the graduate student who serves as one of the clinical supervisors. The other clinical supervisor works in exchange for University assistance in the training of community volunteers for a local outreach program, and the faculty members who were previously involved with the larger research provide direction to the project as part of their faculty duties.

In the academic year 1974-75, explicit costs were substantially higher than in the succeeding year, due to the intensive research component of the project. In addition to the $5000 stipend, an estimated $22,000 was expended for research staff, including interviewers and data coders. This represents a proportional allocation of research funds among all subprojects of the larger research grant. As such, it may understate the actual amount by a small degree, since the Adolescent Diversion Project was researched in somewhat greater detail than the remaining projects.

Manpower provided by the undergraduate volunteers, who received no monetary payment to serve as intervention agents within the practicum (and in fact paid tuition in order to enroll in it), cannot really be perceived as opportunity costs.* Under this arrangement which in part defines the project, it seems fair to label these services "cost-free."

Taken together, explicit and implicit project costs are modest. The major requirement is the commitment of a university which can contribute service delivery resources in the form of an undergraduate student body, eager to apply classroom theory in a real-world environment.

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* Opportunity costs are the costs of resources that might have been used in other ways or on other projects.

CHAPTER 3
OPERATIONS

ADP intervention services were carried out by well-supervised university undergraduates who were expected to spend 6-8 hours a week with their clients, over a period of 18 weeks. Once the relationship was begun, the student volunteer developed a program for his client using either the *behavioral contracting* or *child advocacy approach*. During the first two years of operation a combined approach was used. Clients assigned to the control group were released outright and received no intervention services.

The type of community in which ADP operated, and the nature of the ADP client group, provide an important framework for considering the project's activities. In addition to providing this background, this chapter describes the procedures used for selecting, assessing, and assigning youth and discusses the principles and activities related to both the behavioral contracting and child advocacy intervention approaches.

3.1 The ADP Community and Clients

Urbana and Champaign are neighboring communities with a combined population of roughly 90,000 people. The University of Illinois is situated partly in Champaign and partly in Urbana. Because of the proximity of the cities and the indistinguishable mix of populations, the cities are referred to as Urbana-Champaign and are treated as a single unit.

The total juvenile population, which includes youths between the ages of 10 and 19 years, is 20,500. Approximately 1200-1500 of these youths come into contact with law enforcement officers each year. The majority of these contacts involve minor infractions

which are disposed of by patrol officers who simply "lecture and release" the youth. Roughly 10 percent of those contacted, however, are considered for court referral. These youths are considered for petitions to juvenile court. It was from this pool of youths in legal jeopardy that juvenile officers referred clients to ADP. For two academic years--1973-74 and 1974-75--a total of 78 youths residing in Urbana-Champaign were referred and accepted into the ADP project.

During the 1974-75 academic year, 36 local youths contacted by the juvenile divisions and considered for petition to juvenile court, were referred to ADP. The group contained 33 males and 3 females with a mean age of 14.5 years. In the 12 months prior to referral to the program, the group had an average of 2.22 police contacts. The mean seriousness of the type of offenses for which they had been arrested was weighted at 1.92, indicating that the majority of offenses were technically criminal rather than status offenses.*

The types of offenses for which the youths had been arrested ranged from curfew violations to attempted murder. The figure on the following page illustrates the nature of the youths' offenses immediately preceding referral to ADP. Subjects are listed by experimental conditions: behavioral contracting (N=12), child advocacy (N=12), and control (N=12).

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* Seriousness was measured according to the following scheme: status offenses were assigned a weight of 1; minor misdemeanors, a weight of 2; serious misdemeanors and minor felonies, a weight of 3; and serious felonies, a weight of 4.

FIGURE 4

Distribution of Charges for Which Youth Were Referred (1974-75)

Charge	Behavioral contracting	Child advocacy	Both	Control Group
Truant	1	0	1	2
Runaway	3	1	4	1
Incorrigible	0	3	3	0
Curfew	0	1	1	0
Disorderly	0	1	1	0
Possession of marijuana	2	1	3	0
Theft (bike)	1	0	1	1
Theft (< $50)	0	2	2	1
Theft (> $50)	0	0	0	2
Possession of stolen goods	0	0	0	1
Vandalism	1	1	2	0
UDAA	0	0	0	0
Arson	0	0	0	2
Assault	4	1	5	2
Attempted murder	0	1	1	0

Those youngsters whose referrals stemmed from relatively minor charges generally had a long history of such charges, which would have made filing a petition an appropriate action.

3.2 The ADP Intake Process

In Urbana-Champaign, the ADP intervention process lasted 18 weeks. It began with a seven-step intake process.

1. *Police contact.* The first step in screening for prospective ADP clients occurred when a youth who appeared to be violating a state statute or local ordinance was contacted by the police in the field. If the youth was identified as a minor, and the alleged offense was not automatically waived to adult jurisdiction (for example, armed robbery), the police officer recorded the incident on a "contact card." The officer then made the decision whether the youth should be:

> Arrested and detained;
>
> Scheduled for an appointment with a Juvenile Officer; or
>
> "Lectured and released."

2. *Referral by a Juvenile Officer.* Decisions made by the police were generally based on the nature of the alleged offense and previous number of contacts between the youth and local officers. If there were any questions regarding the appropriateness of the disposition--particularly with respect to lecture and release--an appointment was made for the youth to see a Juvenile Officer. The Juvenile Officer examined the youth's previous record for number of police contacts and juvenile court petitions. *Juveniles who had been previously accused or convicted of criminal or status offenses were considered for petitioning to court. In Urbana-Champaign, the Adolescent Diversion Project was offered as an alternative to petitioning. Needless to say, the desire of the Urbana-Champaign Police Departments to make use of an alternative to juvenile court was essential to ADP.*

3. *Agreement to participate.* When particularly suitable candidates for ADP were identified by the Juvenile Officer, he arranged for the project director to attend the normally-scheduled conference with him, the youth, and his parents. *The Juvenile Officer referred cases to ADP not knowing whether the youth would receive behavioral contracting, child advocacy treatment services, or whether he or she would be released with-*

out treatment. The Adolescent Diversion Project was explained to both the youth and the parents.

The youth and parents were told what to expect in each of the three program conditions to which the youth might be assigned.* Further, the planned assessments, which were to be used as part of the study, were described. It was explained that controls as well as experimentals were to be considered part of the study and that all youth would be reimbursed for their time in the assessment process of interviews and tests. Rates varied from year to year.

Those youths and their parents who were willing to participate in the project were asked to sign a participation agreement form,** agreeing to complete all phases and assessments of the project, whether assigned to an experimental or control condition. The youth was asked to name two close friends, one of whom would also be requested to participate in the assessment. Lastly, the parents and the youth were required to sign a form which authorized the release of school records for one year prior to, and one year following, the project.

None of the referred juveniles or parents decided against participating in the Adolescent Diversion Project. This was largely attributed to the realization on the part of both the parents and the youth that declining to participate might result in juvenile court proceedings since most referrals were serious enough to trigger such an action.

4. *Assessment*. After the participation agreement and release forms were signed, a second session was scheduled separately with the youth, a friend, and one of the youth's parents*** in order to complete four questionnaire-based measures: a Social Labeling Scale, the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale, the Gough-

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* In Years I and II there were only two conditions.

** Appendix A contains copies of all referral and release information forms.

*** Nearly one-half of the youths were from single-parent homes; of youths from two-parent families, a parent was selected simply on the basis of availability and interest in cooperating.

Peterson Socialization Scale, and the Admitted Offenses Sort.* These instruments were designed to measure certain personality traits and attitudes of the youth (Gold, 1970).

Pre-measures were administered within one week of the initial interview, prior to assignment to experimental or control groups. Post-measures were administered within one week prior to termination. Both the parent and the friend chosen by the youth responded to tailored versions of the pre- and post-measures asking about their perceptions of the youth.

5. *Data collection.* Police, court, and school records were searched for one year prior to referral and during the participation. Police and court records were also gathered for a one-year follow-up period in 1974-75 and for five months and two years in 1973-74, respectively. Data describing the intervention process were obtained through interviews with target youth and student volunteers.

6. *Group assignment.* Shortly following referral, assignments to the experimental and control groups were made. In Year II, every other youth referred was assigned to the control group. In Year III, however, youths were assigned according to a stratified random procedure which controlled for time of referral, sex, race, and referring Juvenile Officer. This procedure resulted in establishing comparable time frames for measuring post-referral contacts with police, petitions to court, and school performance.

The Urbana and Champaign Police Departments had agreed to divert (i.e., release) all participants--whether or not they were experimental or control subjects. Control subjects were therefore notified that no further involvement with either the police or the project would be necessary, but that they would be recontacted after 18 weeks for post-assessment. The experimental youths, on the other hand, were notified that they would soon hear from the University undergraduate student who would be assigned to them for the duration of the intervention period.

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* See Chapter 5 for a complete description of these measures.

7. *Student assignment.* ADP had no special criteria for "matching" students and youths. In general, however, an informal attempt was made to assign youngsters to students with similar stated interests, although student supply was a primary factor in making matches. In no cases, however, were male students assigned female youngsters.

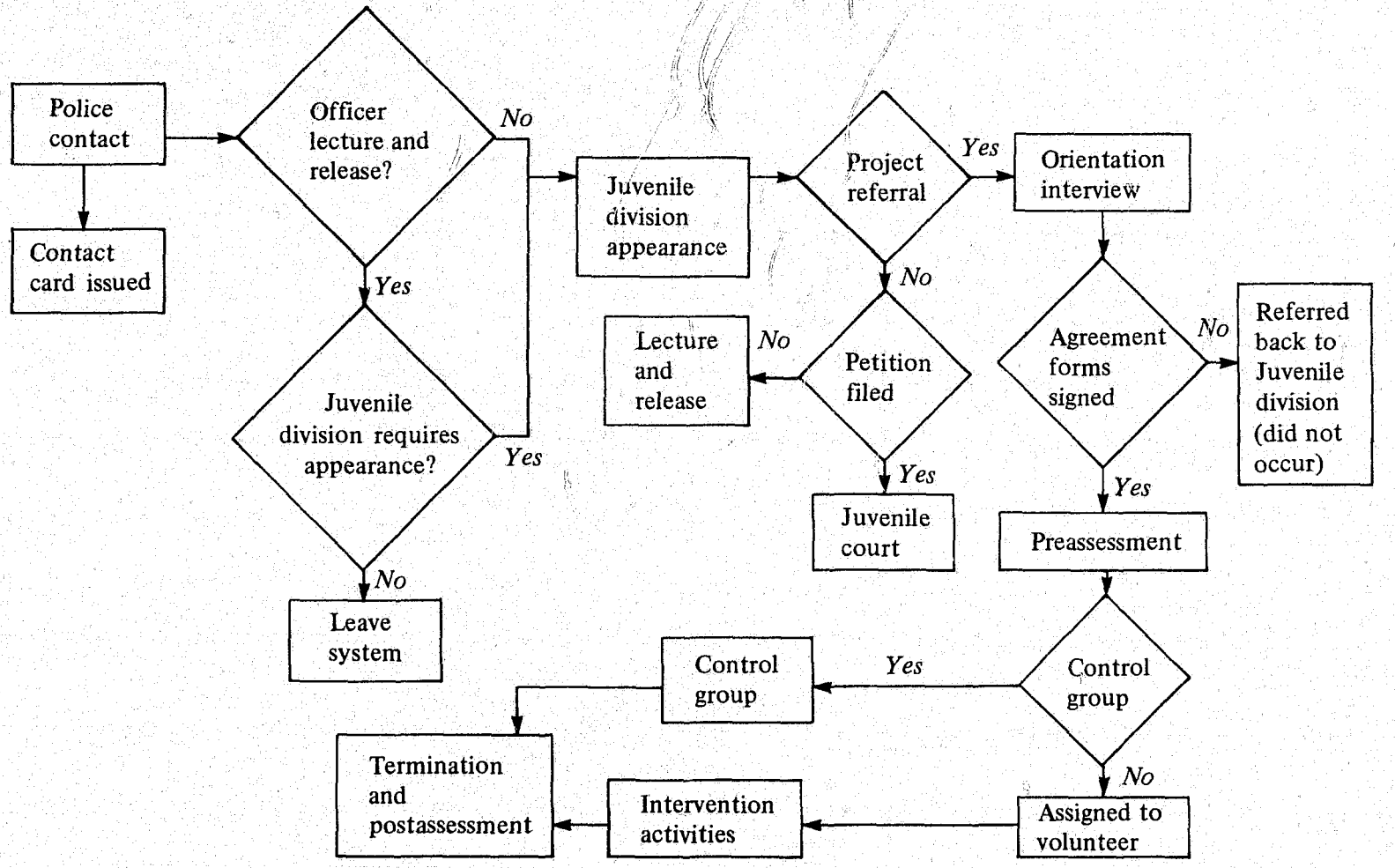
Figure 5 illustrates the flow of ADP cases. Since the Adolescent Diversion Project did not have a formal screening component, the type of youth referred to the project depended solely on the judgment and discretion of the Juvenile Officers. *Positive relationships with the Police Departments, the credibility of project staff who worked with the Juvenile Officers, and the reputation of the project as part of the University all helped make possible the referral of youths in the most serious legal jeopardy.*

3.3 Intervention Approaches

The activities of the students and their clients were largely dependent on the intervention approach. For example, a student serving as a child advocate would focus his time and efforts on helping the youngster to learn about and seek out desired resources--ranging from finding a part-time job to playing on a sports team. Nevertheless, before either approach could be implemented, it was important to develop a trusting and friendly relationship with the assigned youths. Typically, a student would call on the youth in his home several times a week in the first few weeks. Since the students and youths were only several years apart in age, it was relatively easy to establish such common grounds of interest as sports, rock music, or automobiles. Most of the time was spent getting to know one another in recreational settings.

Generally, the youngsters were fairly receptive to the students' attentions. Many students felt that they really "hit it off" after a couple of meetings. A few found their youngsters hostile and disinterested and were forced to spend most of the intervention period trying to overcome these barriers. During this "getting-acquainted" period, the student was able to assess the youth's family and peer relationships and learn about any school or neighborhood problems the youth was experiencing. This

FIGURE 5: ADP Caseload



knowledge would enable him or her to develop appropriate helping strategies when the actual intervention approach was established with the youngster.

A few of the assigned youngsters had additional police contacts within a few weeks of referral to ADP. This generally forced the student to divert his or her attention to the client's immediate needs rather than to the development of longer range plans. In fact, some students saw their roles as helping and sympathetic friend more important than rigorously adhering to the guidelines of the specific intervention model. However, every effort was made to follow the model of the intervention strategy. Since the results of ADP research did not indicate significant differences in the effects of either model, the role of a sympathetic friend and companion may be, in itself, important as an intervention technique and worthy of consideration in future ADP designs.

Each of the two treatment conditions included a variety of activities which were categorized as training, practice, and supervision. Students were expected to devote eight to ten hours weekly to the project. Two of these hours were required for the training and supervision sessions; the remainder of the time was spent working with assigned youth. (Chapter 4 discusses the training practice and supervisory requirements in detail.)

In Year III, the total intervention period was set at 18 weeks. The 18-week time span was selected to provide students with adequate time to establish rapport and to implement one of the intervention techniques without producing too great a reliance by the youth on the student. Toward the end of the intervention period, the students were expected to begin encouraging their clients to initiate the basic steps in the intervention technique themselves, thus making the process somewhat self-sustaining. Since the 18-week involvement terminated a few relationships well ahead of the end of the second semester of course work, some students were assigned a second round of youths. These, however, were not included in the research. Students then worked with their new clients, and if necessary, the local program assumed responsibility for continued intervention services. If a student could not be reassigned at least four weeks before the end of the second semester, he or she continued to contribute to classroom discussion

of the unterminated cases.*

Figure 6 illustrates the basic differences in the goals and methods of the two intervention approaches. The subsequent discussions of these approaches are each followed by case studies that highlight the effect of the intervention on the activities of the student and the youth to whom he or she was assigned.

3.3.1 Behavioral Contracting

The specific behavioral contracting approach taught to students was based on a conceptual and technical model outlined by Stuart (1971). Delinquent behavior, under this theory, is seen as the product of a number of environmental factors within the youth's life--family, friends, and school. Briefly, the delinquent behavior is seen as a result of:

Family

- Reinforcement of antisocial behavior and a lack of approval and support for positive behavior

Peer

- Reinforcement of the youth's antisocial behavior and a lack of approval and support for positive behavior

School

- Reinforcement of negative actions by the youth's teachers and a lack of approval and support of positive actions

* Two University vacation periods account for a slight interruption of service delivery. The Christmas vacation corresponds to a two week period of no intervention, and the semester break accounts for approximately one week (students were asked to remain through the end of the exam period and to return the first day of registration). Neither interruption appears to have had a detrimental effect on intervention relationships.

FIGURE 6

Domain	Behavioral contracting	Child advocacy
1. Explanation of delinquency	Interpersonal relationships which reinforce inappropriate behavior and fail to support desired behavior	Lack of necessary community resources
2. Focus of intervention	Modification of interpersonal relationships by focusing on producing positive behavior within a reciprocal format	Target community individuals in control of needed resource
3. Mode of intervention	Written contracts specifying each party's privileges and responsibilities	Persuasion strategies ranging from convincing to threats or action
4. Role of student	Contract mediator	Advocate for youth in locating necessary resources
5. Goal of intervention	Increase the balance of significant interpersonal relationships toward a positive return for performance of desired actions Instruction of target individuals in negotiation skills	Increase the quantity and quality of resources provided youth Teach youth Teach youth to gain access to needed resources.

Students were urged to direct the statements of the agreements in positive, rather than negative, terms (i.e., what should be done, not what should be stopped) and to make them highly specific and focused only on the most important changes for the individuals involved. For example, a contract might contain the terms of an agreement between the youth and parents for the youth's curfew hours to be liberalized if he or she came home on time for some specified time period. The students filled the role of facilitator, performance monitor, and mediator in any disagreements that arose over the performance specified in the contract. The behavioral contracting method stressed "the inherent principle of reciprocity." Each negotiated contract involved a direct exchange of responsibilities and privileges between the agreeing parties. One individual's responsibilities are the other person's privileges, and vice versa. The student was charged with insuring that this proper balance was maintained.

Contract renegotiation represented another important concern in successfully implementing the behavioral contracting approach. Since the time of contract renegotiation is of critical importance, several general guidelines were set forth for students:

- Renegotiation should not be considered until at least four weeks following implementation of the initial agreement.
- The same procedures should be followed in renegotiation as established in the initial contract agreement.
- All parties, including the supervisory group, should have input to the renegotiation process.
- Renegotiation should be based on information gained from execution of the initial contract.

The desire to renegotiate a contract may reflect a lack of commitment on the part of either or both parties (in which case contract renegotiation would be an easy out) or may imply that appropriate reinforcers were not identified and employed. If the terms of a contract are unrealistic in terms of either party's obligations and rewards, it is important that this be detected at an early stage. If renegotiation involved augmenting contractual agreements, students were cautioned to maintain an equitable balance of responsibilities and privileges.

In sum, the behavioral contracting model involved the following activities on the part of the student intervention agent:

- During the first two weeks of contact the student attempted to build rapport with the youth and began to assess areas of interpersonal conflict. Attention was focused on the home and school and on selection of behaviors to be modified and critical persons to be involved.

- The following week the student involved the youth and those persons with whom he or she had a "dysfunctional relationship" in a process of specifying the behaviors or attitudes each would like changed.

- Sometime near the fourth week, the student "negotiated" the written agreement between the parties. The contract specified what each person would change in the relationship and what each could expect.

- Throughout the intervention, the student functioned as a mediator, assisted in the renegotiation of the contract, as necessary, and helped the parties achieve satisfactory results from the process.

- Approximately four weeks prior to termination, the student attempted to instruct the youth and other persons involved in the contract in how to maintain an ongoing process of behavioral contracting. After instruction and sufficient practice, student involvement was terminated.

The following case study highlights the principles, activities, and anticipated outcomes of the behavioral contracting method of intervention.

Behavioral Contracting Case

Joe was a sixteen-year-old who had come to the attention of the juvenile division for possession of marijuana and violation of the municipal curfew laws. Prior to the referral to the Adolescent Diversion Project, Joe had had five contacts with the police, including possession of controlled substances, truancy from school, and curfew violation. Joe lived in a middle-class area of Urbana-Champaign and both of his parents

were employed. His father worked as a maintenance department supervisor and his mother was a salesperson in a local store. During intake and pre-assessment Joe had expressed a sports interest and was assigned to a male student volunteer who had a similar interest.

After being assigned to Joe, the student called Joe at home and set up a time for them to get together. Joe invited the student to his house for the following evening. At that initial meeting, the student explained the project briefly to Joe and his parents. He and Joe were then left alone by Joe's parents. Conversation was initially difficult, and the student had to carry the conversation for the first hour by talking about such day-to-day things as what he was taking at the University, what life in Chicago (student's home town) had been like, and the student's intramural football team. Although Joe had been rather quiet initially, particularly in the presence of his parents, he gradually began to discuss his own situation.

Joe indicated that he was in high school but was pretty turned off to the whole school situation. He said that he skipped whenever he got the chance. He talked of his interests in sports, particularly the Babe Ruth baseball team he pitched for and the Sunday afternoon football group he hung around with. In discussing his home situation, Joe said that he didn't really mind it at home, but that "I spend as much time as possible away from home, with the guys or my girlfriend." The initial contact ended with Joe and the student making plans for the upcoming weekend, either to go to a football game or to play football together. Two days later, Joe called the student and invited him to play football on Sunday with Joe and his friends. In the words of the student, "As he put it, it's tackle and it's rough --Somehow I have the feeling this was my first test...The game was pretty tough, but it was good..."

During the remainder of the initial two weeks Joe and the student went to a movie, played football again, had dinner together and talked on the phone several times. During this time the student had some difficulty getting in touch with Joe but each time they talked, the student stated that "he's genuinely glad to hear from me."

Following the initial "get acquainted" period, the student began to work on assessing Joe's situation more specifically in order to initiate a contract between Joe and his parents. The student proceeded by setting up two somewhat more formal sessions with Joe and his parents. These sessions were held at Joe's home. The student began by explaining the idea of behavioral contracts, and what was required by both parties. This initial "contracting session" resulted in a consensus on the general areas of change desired by both Joe and his parents. Joe's parents thought Joe should show more responsibility around the house, keep better hours, and improve his appearance. Joe wanted to get his parents off his back and get a component stereo set. At the conclusion of this session, the student asked both Joe and his parents to specify these changes in greater detail prior to the next meeting.

At the next meeting the parents specified some agreements they would like to exact from Joe. They felt he should: (1) inform his parents where he was after school and return home before 5:00 p.m.; (2) make his bed and clean his room daily; (3) put out the garbage on Wednesday and Fridays; (4) set the table for dinner each night; (5) mow the lawn or shovel the snow as needed; (6) cut his hair; (7) improve his grades in school. Joe specified for the contract that he (1) be allowed to earn at least $5.00 per week toward the stereo he wanted; (2) be allowed to go out four week nights and two weekend nights; (3) be allowed to choose his friends without interference or harassment from his parents.

On the basis of this information, the student drew up a tentative agreement between Joe and his parents. During the two week period required to initiate the contract the student also spent about two hours each week talking with Joe's parents about their several concerns. At the beginning of the sixth week the following contract was implemented.

Joe agrees to:	Joe's parents agree to:
1. Call home by 4:00 p.m. each afternoon and tell his parents his whereabouts and return home by 5:00 p.m.	1. Allow Joe to go out from 7:30 to 9:30 Monday through Thursday evenings and ask about his companions without negative comment.
2. Return home by 12:00 midnight on weekend nights.	2. Allow Joe to go out the subsequent weekend night.
3. Make his bed daily and clean his room daily (spread neat; clothes hung up).	3. Check his room each day and pay him $.75 when cleaned.
4. Set table for dinner daily.	4. Deposit $.75 per day in a savings account for Joe.

Bonus

If Joe performs at 80% or above #1 through #4 above, his parents will deposit an additional $3.00 in his account for each consecutive seven day period.

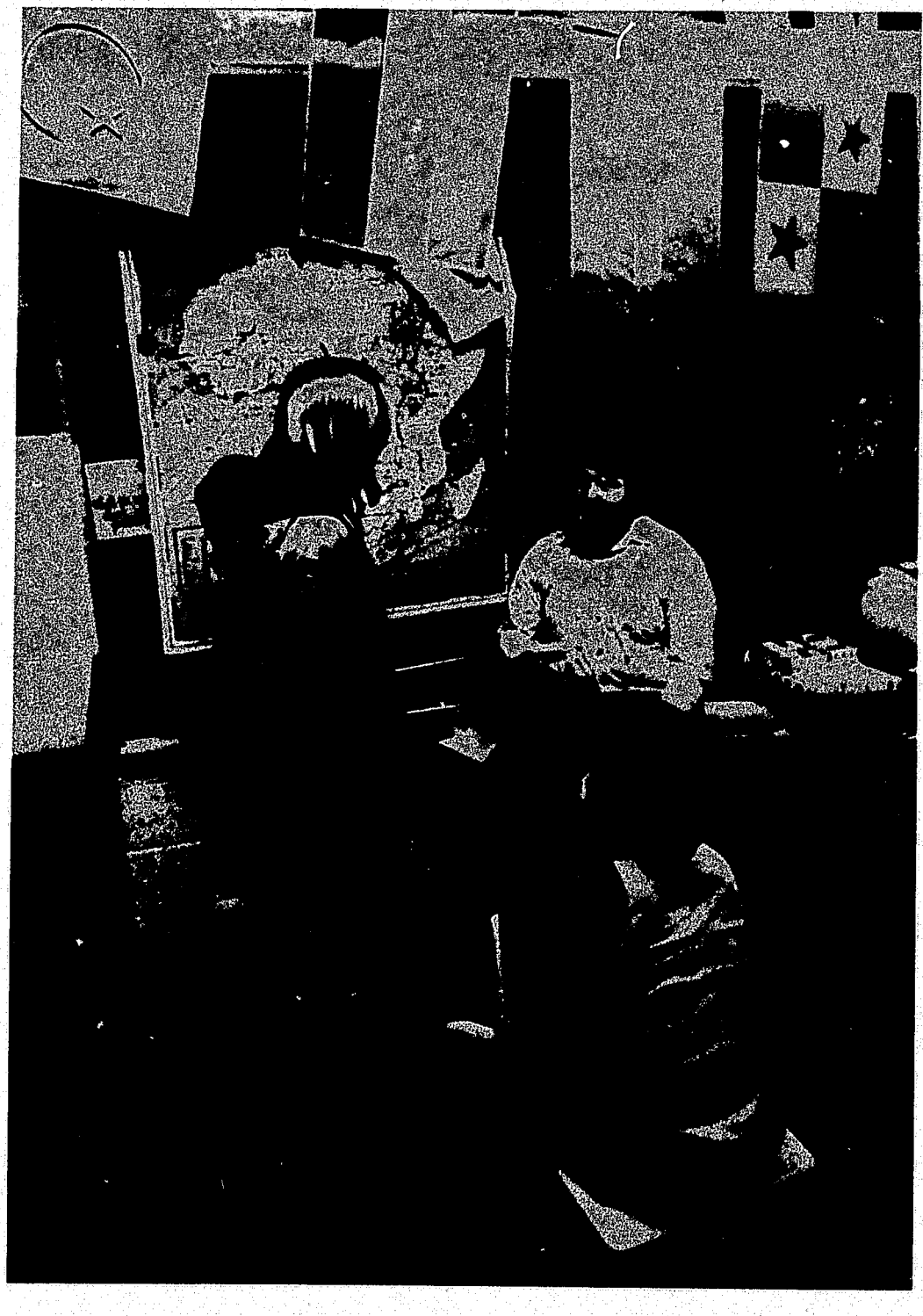
Sanction

If Joe falls below 60% in #1 and #2 above in any consecutive seven day period, he will cut two inches off his hair.

At this time the student also set up daily checklists on each of the terms of the contract to be jointly used by Joe and his parents to record each other's performance.

Following the implementation of the initial contract, the student began meeting with Joe and his parents on a weekly basis to go over the checklists on the contract specifications. In addition, the student and Joe spent three to five hours per week in various recreational activities. These included sports events, a party at the student's house, and riding around in the student's car.

Joe's performance on the contract was consistently 90% or above. However, two weeks after it began, Joe received grades for the term. Although the student's earlier visit with Joe's teachers



had indicated that they were "completely satisfied with Joe's performance," he received an F, two D's, one B, one C and two incompletes. This report card created considerable controversy between Joe and his parents. The student held an extra meeting with Joe and his parents in which he suggested that school performance be included in the contract.

The result was the combination of the household responsibilities (bed making, table setting) into a single responsibility with payment on a weekly rather than daily basis. Daily checksheets were established with Joe's teachers and he was able to earn additional savings towards his stereo. During the same time period, Joe had located a part-time job doing maintenance work and the use of his earnings had become a heated domestic issue. A further addition was made to the contract whereby Joe agreed to save $15/week in return for the use of his parent's family room for his friends on one weekend night.

Within two weeks, Joe was consistently performing at a 100% level on all contract items and both he and his parents reported to the volunteer that they were more satisfied with the situation. In addition, Joe had been in no further difficulty with the police, and his next report card contained one A, one B, and three C's.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth weeks, the student held two final sessions with Joe and his parents. These sessions focused on a general discussion of the contracting approach and its use on an ongoing basis. They role-played negotiations of several situations that had become troublesome in the past and the student coached them in specifying what each party wanted, stating requests in terms of positives, negotiating reciprocal agreements, and monitoring the contract. The student explained that his involvement with them had come to an end since they had made some real gains and that they should use the procedures in the future when difficulties arose. The student reported that they parted on a very friendly basis and that he had heard from Joe spontaneously several times before leaving the University.

3.3.2 Child Advocacy

The underlying rationale for the child advocacy approach is that youth have the right to community resources. The needs of the youth are met by adapting the community resources to the individual youth rather than by specifying which resources are needed by all youth and making them generally available. The intervention focuses on individual rights and the assessment of individual needs.

The advocate's role can be broadly construed, as "...his client's supporter, his advisor, his champion, and, if need be, his representative in his dealings with the court, the police, the social agency, and other organizations that affect his well being..."* Or the conception can be a narrower one in which advocates primarily supply their clients with information about their environment and youths eventually become their own self-advocates (Davidson and Rupp, 1976).

In either case, the advocate serves the essential function of opening up opportunities to "legitimate means" of attaining desirable goals--education, the acquisition of skills leading to a decent job, a certain minimum of material and psychological well-being. In child advocacy theory, delinquent behavior is less a function of individual personality than a product of available social and community resources. The thrust of the child advocacy approach, then, is to secure the rights of the child with respect to generally available community resources and to open access to opportunities which otherwise may have been beyond the reach of the child. In comparison with behavioral contracting, intervention under the child advocacy approach assesses the youth in terms of unmet needs that result because personal or community resources are unavailable or unexplored, rather than because interpersonal problems exist. Mutual identification of resources for change (individuals who have power over the delivery of personal and community resources) provides the basis for advocacy intervention.

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* National Association of Social Workers, report of the AD HOC committee on Advocacy, 1969, p. 17.

The range of strategies available to the student employing the child advocacy approach may begin with simply convincing a community agency to provide resources to meet a specific need of the referred youth. A more radical strategy would employ media exposure or pressure on political figures or persons with substantial community influence to convince existing agencies to deliver resources to the youth. Provision of information to a critical individual about an unmet need of the youth, without direct involvement in that intervention, represents a somewhat passive strategy. Obviously, the choice of a strategy is highly dependent on the degree to which the advocacy-based intervention acts for the youth, rather than instructing that youth to take such actions himself.

Taking educational resources as an example of the range of advocacy strategies, in a case involving unmet educational needs a number of targets for change are possible. At one end of the continuum, the student could "plead his case" to the individual teacher(s) involved with the youth in question. A middle-ground strategy would involve attempting to change educational resources by consulting a school principal. At the top end of the continuum, the student could take the case to the local board of education or superintendent of schools. Individual strategies for cases are selected jointly by the student, the youth, and the supervisors on the basis of previous knowledge about the persons involved, about the prospects of success with a particular approach, and about previous attempts relevant to the specific case. In sum, the child advocacy model for ADP involved the following activities on the part of the student intervention agent:

1. During the first two weeks of contact, the student attempted to get to know the individual youth and began to determine with the youth the problem areas and targets for change.

2. The student became involved in manipulating resources for the youth, applying a variety of advocacy strategies.

3. Sometime around the third month of intervention the student instructed and encouraged the youth to initiate his or her own advocacy actions.

4. During the last month of the intervention, the student prepared the youth further for his or her own advocacy role and for the termination of formal intervention by the student. The student assumed a passive role, limited to consulting the youth while the youth carried out his or her own advocacy efforts.

In the following two case studies, the conceptions and techniques of the child advocacy intervention approach are illustrated.

Child Advocacy Case #1

Don was a twelve-year-old who had had four previous contacts with the police. His previous contacts included arson, theft, and incorrigibility. Don was in the seventh grade and an A and B student in school. Don's father worked as a municipal employee and his mother as a secretary. At the time of referral, Don was being charged with theft from his neighbor's house. Following intake and pre-assessment, Don was assigned to a student volunteer.

The student made the initial contact with Don by phone, explaining that he was with the University's Adolescent Diversion Project and that he would like to get together with Don. By the student's report, Don sounded rather disinterested, but "a very intelligent kid." Their initial meeting was at Don's home, and the student met Don and his parents. He and Don talked for an hour about the project and the student's activities at the University. They spent the remainder of the initial contact playing catch in the backyard and parted by agreeing to get together on the following Saturday. The remainder of the initial two-week period was spent in a variety of activities. Don and the student spent two days on the campus attending fraternity soccer games, going to the University museum, and having lunch at a campus restaurant.

The student also met with Don's parents. They were quite intent on "explaining" Don's problems in terms of his early childhood experiences resulting from a previously broken marriage. They felt that such early trauma had left irreparable effects on Don which were responsible for the current delinquency.

At the beginning of the third week, the student initiated his meeting with Don by explaining the general principles of child advocacy. He expressed to Don that they needed to be concerned with ways in which Don would be able to obtain the kinds of things he wanted. He went on to explain that these might involve programs, activities, or employment that Don felt would be useful. He further suggested that what he and Don might do together could be included. This precipitated a series of discussions surrounding Don's interests and the activities he would enjoy. Don and the student continued their activities over the next two weeks, attending an intramural football game and going on a "nature hike" while still discussing Don's needs. These discussions culminated in an agreement between Don and the student to focus on the following activities:

1. Earning his own money;

2. Joining an ice hockey club;

3. Getting involved in a recreational group, particularly those involving swimming and gymnastics;

4. Joining a nature study group.

During the fifth week of the project, Don and the student set about determining what community resources existed for meeting their objectives, what strategy they would follow in obtaining each, and which of them would take the responsibility for following through with each. They went together to the University library to look through the county directory of social services. The student also called the local park department and the Boy Scout agency. After determining the availability of the needed programs and activities, Don and the student then constructed the following set of strategies and responsibilities:

1. Employment. Don and student discussed the realities of a 12-year-old gaining employment legally. They realized that more informal ways of earning money would have to be sought and decided that Don would circulate among his neighbors a flyer indicating his availability for odd jobs (gardening, leaf raking, garage cleaning, window washing, etc.). This would be followed up by personal contacts with each family on his block.

2. Ice Hockey. The student took the responsibility for contacting the head of the local youth hockey club, for additional information and determination of eligibility requirements, time commitments, fees, etc.

3. Gymnastics. Their earlier search for information had indicated that the local YMCA had a weekly gymnastics instruction program Wednesday after school. Don agreed to go and sign up. The student agreed to ask Don's parents for the $10 registration fee.

4. Swimming. Don agreed to sign up for the Saturday swimming program at school.

5. Nature. Don and the student were to go together to an organizational meeting for the neighborhood Boy Scouts Troop.

Although Don indicated that he had been interested in these activities for some time, his parents had been more interested in his staying around the house.

The student set up a meeting with the parents and explained to them the rationale for involving Don in these activities and how the activities were selected. According to the student's report, the parents were very supportive of the plan and offered to provide transportation and additional fees when needed.

Don and the student were successful in accomplishing each of their stated goals except the ice hockey which wouldn't start for two months. Don worked up his "small business" to where it kept him occupied two afternoons per week; by the end of the project he had even opened a savings account. He was also involved on a regular basis in the other activities. His mother reported "he's been extremely responsible lately."

About midway through the project, Don's family decided that they would be moving out of state after the first of the year. Don and the student turned their attention in that last month to preparing for the move. This took the form of having Don get information from his new community about the potential for similar activities there and planning strategies for how he would involve himself in the new community. According to the student's

report, Don was even to the point of having written a plan of action for himself after receiving information about the new community in the mail. They spent their last two sessions together with Don's parents explaining the importance of the advocacy strategy for future situations.

Child Advocacy Case #2

Mike was a sixteen-year-old who at the time of his referral was facing charges for attempted murder and aggravated assault. This was Mike's first offense in the local community since moving here from a large urban area five weeks earlier. Mike lived with his mother who was employed as a surgical aide in a local hospital. Before coming to the local community, Mike had been deeply involved in gang activity. He had been on probation in his previous community. After intake and pre-assessment, Mike was assigned to a student volunteer.

By the student's report, Mike was very quiet during that first meeting. The student said that "He called me 'Sir,' and I freaked out." After a rather uncommunicative hour, the volunteer asked Mike what he would like to do, and he indicated an interest in shooting pool. As a result, they went to the University Union and talked and played pool. Their next two weeks together involved mostly recreational activities. They attended a University basketball game, had dinner at the student's house, and shot pool. Before the first two weeks were up, the project was informed that the prosecuting attorney's office intended to file a petition on the attempted murder charges even though the police had agreed to divert Mike to the project. Mike received a five-day notice to appear in court for a preliminary hearing. He called the student and asked him what he should do. The student suggested that they go to the preliminary hearing together, and that the first step should be to request an attorney.

Mike, his mother, and the volunteer attended the preliminary hearing and, at the volunteer's suggestion, Mike remained silent except to request an attorney. A continuance was granted for two weeks to allow for a court-appointed attorney to be involved in the case.

Two days after the initial court hearing, Mike went to the student's house and initiated a discussion of what they should do next. According to the student, this was the first time that he had any indication that Mike was interested in actively participating in the project. A lengthy discussion followed in which the student explained the whole notion of advocacy and that they would have to "have their case together" if they were to convince the court that severe action was unnecessary. He explained that it would be important that they be able to convince the judge that the project provided a positive alternative to probation or placement away from home.

During the next two weeks, the student and Mike talked on the phone three times per week and continued their recreational activities. They discussed various community programs and activities which would interest Mike. Mike expressed a particular need to do this since he was new to the community. Because the shooting incident in question involved some of the "prominent" kids in his neighborhood, he was pretty much a loner socially.

Together they identified the following needs and community programs:

1. Department of Vocational Rehabilitation. Mike was considerably behind in school and was interested in part time employment. He was behind to the point that he was unable to read and continuing to attend regular ninth grade classes was of little potential benefit.

2. Junior varsity basketball team. Mike was a good basketball player but had not gone out for the basketball team because he was not aware of when and where practice and tryouts occurred.

3. Recreational activities. Mike felt that he needed additional activities to meet other youth in the community.

Mike and the student discussed the need for developing a strategy to gain access to the desired programs. They spent an afternoon going over a catalogue of programs in the local

community and determining who was going to take responsibility for making the necessary contacts. The student agreed to set up a meeting with Mike and his school counselor so they could get more information concerning the vocational program available through the school. Mike agreed to approach the basketball coach, explain his situation, and request permission to try out. They agreed to go together to look into several recreational programs available through the Boy's Club and the park district.

Mike's scheduled court hearing was postponed for a month due to the absence of the presiding judge. Mike's attorney indicated that they would request a further continuance, to give them time to demonstrate that formal court supervision was not necessary for Mike.

Mike was successful in gaining permission to try out for the basketball team and started playing regularly. Gaining access to the vocational resources proved more difficult. A number of pre-assessment screenings were necessary for Mike to enroll in the school district's vocational rehabilitation program. The meeting with the school counselor culminated in an appointment for physical and psychological testing. The actual testing was delayed on two occasions, however. Finally, the student confronted the school counselor and vocational rehabilitation coordinator for an explanation for the delays. They indicated that Mike had been missing school on several occasions, and they weren't sure he was a "good risk." The student next went to the district director of the program and demanded that Mike be admitted to the vocational and work study program, threatening intervention by Mike's attorney. Within two weeks Mike was enrolled in half-day vocational classes and participating in work/study employment the other half day.

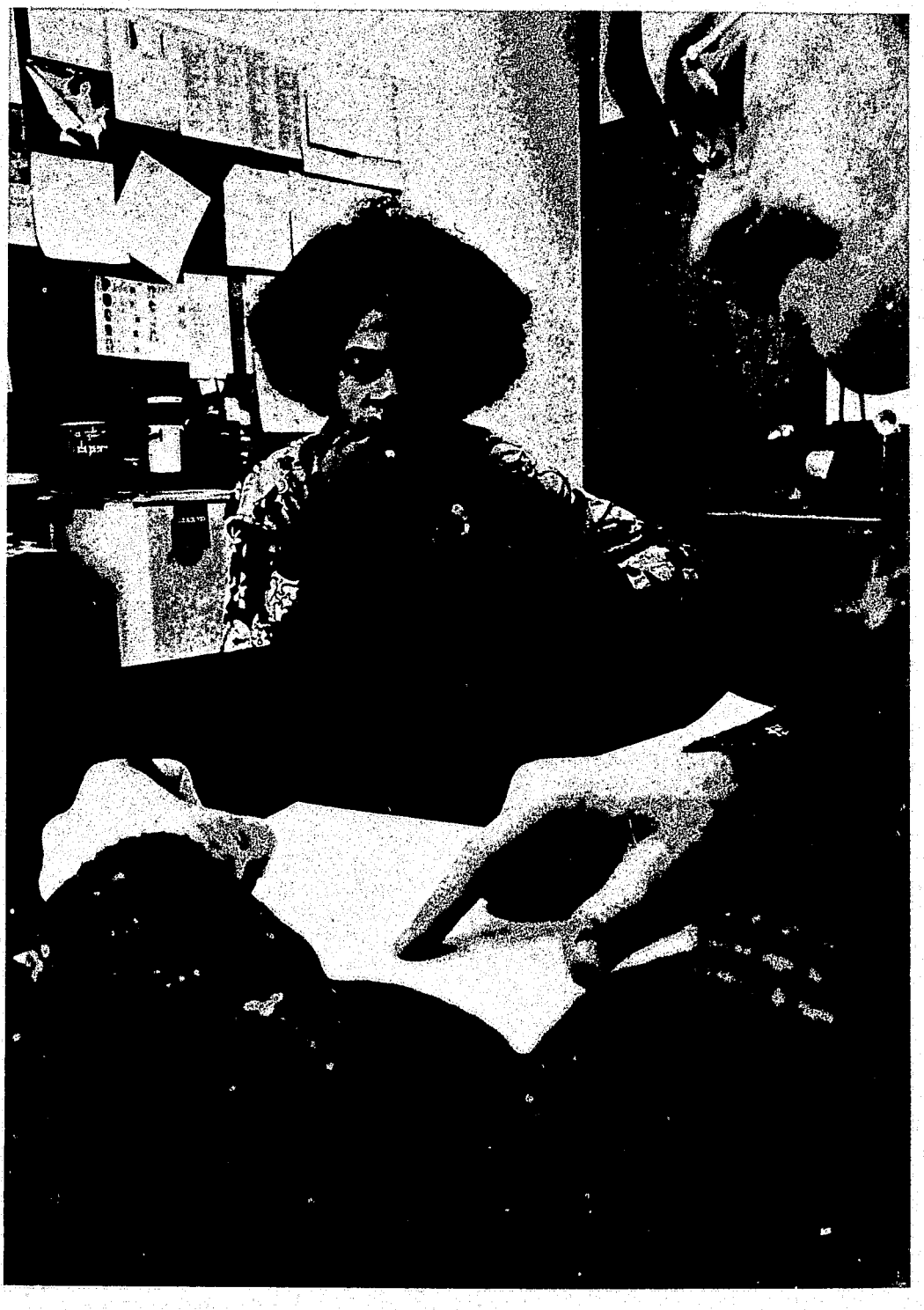
When the formal court hearing was finally held (three months after referral), the student and Mike's attorney were successful in convincing the judge that formal intervention by the court would be counterproductive. An informal review was scheduled in 60 days, but Mike was not formally adjudicated. At this point, the student began reviewing the principles of advocacy with Mike. Unfortunately, however, two weeks prior to his termination, Mike was arrested for theft (shoplifting) and was formally placed on probation at his review hearing.

CHAPTER 4
THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

The University of Illinois Psychology Department succeeded in attracting highly-motivated individuals as ADP change agents. One incentive for the undergraduate volunteers was academic credit. Their participation corresponded to enrollment in a practicum for which they received grades and four credits in each semester. A second incentive was the challenge of volunteering itself. Undergraduates rarely get the chance to become involved in actual social service while doing their regular course work. Still a third motivational spark was the closeness in age between volunteers and target youth--a closeness that promoted empathy and commitment. This chapter discusses the recruitment, selection and training of ADP's student volunteers.

4.1 Recruitment and Selection of Student Volunteers

Students were recruited for the practicum in much the same way as they would be solicited for any elective course at a university. Printed announcements were posted on bulletin boards or read in class prior to spring preregistration (for the following fall semester) to advertise the availability of the course. The announcement described the larger research project and the possibility of involvement for four hours' credit in each of the two academic semesters. Student advisors were also an excellent means of identifying interested and well-qualified applicants. The uniqueness of the practicum--providing a mix of theory and practice in a "real-world" environment--carried a considerable amount of appeal for students aspiring to be either theorists or clinicians in psychology, sociology, and related fields.

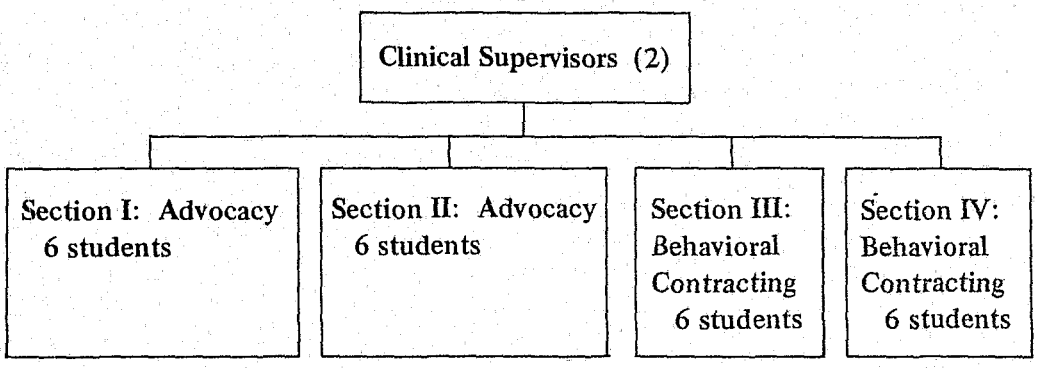


Interested students were invited to participate in an organizational meeting prior to the end of the spring semester to obtain more information about the project. Those who attended (limited to 200 students) were told about the nature of the course, classroom and field expectations, and the grading criteria. Those still interested after the organizational meeting (approximately 150) were asked to sign a contract with the Community Psychology Action Center. The written agreement did not guarantee enrollment but required that each student participate in six to eight hours of individual assessment on a variety of personality, attitudinal, and interpersonal attributes, all to be administered prior to the end of the spring semester. The students were also asked to participate in a similar assessment the following spring, whether or not they were eventually enrolled. Those who were not permitted to enroll served as a control group in yet another component of the larger research effort that examined the impact of project participation on students' attitudes. Those students who failed to be randomly assigned to the project (controls) were promised a payment of $20 for the completion of the pre- and post-assessments.

Of the 150 students who signed contracts, 50 were assigned to a control group (enrolling in other elective courses), and the remaining 100 were enrolled in the practicum. Twenty-four students were then assigned to the ADP, based on their own preferences. The ADP was the first choice of all students eventually assigned to that project. All of ADP's student volunteers were juniors or seniors, and all but two were psychology majors. At the beginning of the fall semester, the twenty-four ADP students were randomly assigned to the behavioral contracting or the child advocacy section of the practicum. There were fourteen male and ten female students involved in the ADP in 1974-75.

4.2 Training of Student Volunteers

The Adolescent Diversion Project course was scheduled to meet once a week for two hours. Regular attendance was required. The course was divided into four groups of six students each. The two clinical supervisors both had responsibility for two groups of behavioral contracting students and two groups of child advocacy students, as shown below. *Note that during the 1974-75 research year students were not trained in both techniques but were required to concentrate solely on one approach.*



The training and supervision of students in the two intervention approaches involved three distinct but interrelated components: (1) a didactic component; (2) a practice component; and (3) a supervision component. These components were designed to make the students' interaction with youths more structured (and hence more effective) and to ensure proper monitoring of the intervention process. The major commitment of time for each student was spent in working with the youths. Together, the classroom and field aspects of the practicum generally involved the students for eight to ten hours per week.

Thus, participation in ADP required that students assume more responsibility than is required for a more traditional course. Students had to promote the best interests of their clients, assure absolute confidentiality of information, admit freely to mistakes and failures, and involve themselves actively in group discussions with fellow ADP students. The differences in the training conditions were the content, conceptions, and techniques taught and supervised.

The course-related activities of ADP, therefore, offered students instruction in both the theory and practice of intervention. The major components of the training program are discussed below.

4.2.1 Didactic Component

The ADP organizers felt it was vital that each student have a strong background in the approaches being taken within the program. *The didactic component of training, therefore, comprised most of the first six weeks of the course and was designed to enable everyone to gain a mastery of the concepts and principles of the techniques.*

The first week of classroom training consisted of an explanation of the course content, an outline of the expectations for supervision sessions and assessment, and a description of the intervention approach. In the second week, a series of reading assignments and class discussions began. For the next five weeks, reading material was combined with lectures and in-class discussions to provide each student a conceptual base for developing the specific intervention approach.

The classes in weeks two through six were intended to ensure that students had mastered the reading materials and that they were gaining an understanding of the relevant techniques. The first five to ten minutes of each class were spent answering students' questions about the assignment. During the next 20 minutes, the students were asked to answer (in writing) three short essay questions covering that week's assignment. The next half-hour was spent discussing the reading assignment. The class was then divided into two groups of three students and one supervisor. The supervisors asked six questions in a discussion format. Each student was given three minutes to answer each of two questions. If a student answered both questions adequately, and each of the three written questions at 85 percent or better accuracy, an "A" was received for that week's training. If a question, written or oral, was not satisfactorily answered, the student was required to write on an additional question within the next three class days. If the make-up questions were answered satisfactorily, with 85 percent or better accuracy, a "B" was received for that week's training. If a question still was not answered to the supervisor's satisfaction, the student was scheduled for an individual session with the supervisors for additional reading and discussion.

The major content areas covered in behavioral contracting sessions drew heavily from the general behavior modification literature and the work of Stuart (1971) in contracting. Material covered in the child advocacy component was somewhat more diverse; students learned the environmental resources conception of human behavior and then were instructed in how to apply this conceptual knowledge to utilize local community resources for a client's benefit. This didactic component also considered the principles of community organization. A bibliography of the reading required for the behavioral contracting and the child advocacy sessions is contained in Appendix C.

4.2.2 Practice Component

During the second hour of the first six classes, students became involved in the practice component of training. In fact, practice in various techniques relating to behavioral contracting and child advocacy was carried out throughout the course as the need arose. However, during the first six weeks the practice segments of class were more general in their orientation.

For students of behavioral contracting, the initial practice sessions centered around demonstrations and role plays of material covered in that week's assigned readings and discussions. Areas covered included situations commonly encountered in getting to know a youth, involving parents or other key individuals in the youth's life in the contracting procedures, techniques to set up monitoring arrangements, and instructing the appropriate individuals in continued use of the techniques once the formal intervention had ended.

Practices in the child advocacy approach focused on the relevant local community resources that youngsters could potentially use. Demonstrations and role plays were conducted, based on weekly reading content and field situations encountered in early cases. The students observed and then practiced the sequential phases of the advocacy approach. These phases included getting to know the youth, assessing his lack of interactions or his problems with school, employment, or social welfare situations, directly attempt-

ing to effect changes, involving the youth in the observation of and instruction in such techniques, and finally, encouraging the youth to become his or her own advocate.

4.3 Supervision Component

The referral process began in about the third week of the semester. Thus there was some degree of overlap between the practice and supervisory components. This generated actual case material for discussion in the practice session, and demonstrated the nature of case supervision to students who had not as yet been assigned targets. In general, students who demonstrated the best understanding of the initial study materials were those given the earlier assignments.

The supervision component for behavioral contracting consisted of the weekly classroom sessions and individually scheduled sessions conducted by the two co-supervisors. The focus of supervision was on the development of plans and interventions for the specific youth to whom students were assigned. Each student presented detailed weekly reports of case progress. The statements of progress included written summaries stating goals for the individual case, activities for the week, and an evaluation of case progress. More importantly, each student presented a verbal summary of case progress for group discussion and problem-solving. That report reflected the phase of the contracting intervention, beginning with getting to know the youth and critical individuals in his/her environment, working through the phases of contract negotiation, monitoring, renegotiation, planning for termination, and termination. The students in the behavioral contracting group also brought to supervisory sessions copies of contracts, monitoring systems, and weekly summaries of progress toward contract compliance. Similar assignments were made and carried out with students involved in the advocacy approach.

The supervision component for child advocacy also consisted of weekly sessions. The same two co-supervisors who were responsible for the behavioral contracting supervision conducted two groups each week in the advocacy condition. Following the initial six weeks focusing on training, supervision sessions became concerned with the student's actions with, and on behalf of, the youth assigned. Each student followed a sequential advocacy model begin-

ning as the active advocate and gradually becoming a "coach" for the youth's self-advocacy.

The advocacy supervision sessions also included weekly detailed reports, written and verbal, of progress in each case. Students in the advocacy condition were expected to present a detailed description of their goals with the youth, a statement of the activities and contacts, and their assessment of progress in the case for discussion and problem-solving in group supervision sessions.

In short, the supervision component of the practicum consisted of outlining the goals or problem areas for each case, the alternative solutions available, the potential costs and benefits of each alternative, and the selection of a course of action. Each student was also expected to keep a weekly log of activities, which contained a highly detailed account of each meeting of student and target.

Since the approaches to intervention assumed by ADP were of a generally structured nature, and all of those involved (students, children, parents, police) were aware of the "experimental" nature of the program, problems in the relationships between participants were minimized. Nonetheless, occasional difficulties did arise.

For example, the "special" schools which exist for children who have problems in the regular school system occasionally resisted accepting youths who were repeatedly in trouble with the law. As a result the students to whom these youths were assigned encountered difficulty in executing the child advocacy approach. For those students using the behavioral contracting approach, difficulties were encountered in both negotiating and arbitrating contracts between parents and children. However, these types of problems provided students and ADP as a whole with exactly the kind of experience that the academic community can use in applying theory in a real-world environment.

Course Termination

The final phase of intervention in the Urbana-Champaign Adolescent Diversion Project centered around the assessment of intervention goals and the preparation of a termination report. Once the stu-

dent had completed the initial six weeks of "basic training," a list of goals which were to be achieved by the end of the 18-week service delivery period was required. The goals were established in conjunction with the client and the student's supervisory group. Over the course of intervention, each student's list of goals was to be molded into a carefully formed plan or individualized program of action with each youth. Part of the plan was to transfer gradually to the youth the capability to apply child advocacy or behavioral contracting techniques.

The final task required of the students was the preparation of a final termination report. This report incorporated all of the material from weekly case evaluations, activities, logs, and goal achievement assessments. The report consisted of the following sections:

- statement of goals: a summary of initially-set and re-defined goals for the target youth, and a justification of these goals on the basis of the youth's needs, problems and life situation;

- techniques: a description of the manner in which intervention was conducted, centering on the specifically-tailored application of behavioral contracting or child advocacy approaches for the target youth;

- evaluation: an assessment of the extent to which goals were accomplished and an explanation of how the techniques used led to results. Problems encountered and shortcomings of the particular intervention were also delineated here.

CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

The Urbana-Champaign Adolescent Diversion Project represents one of the few truly rigorous experiments applied to the question of selecting rehabilitative treatment strategies for juveniles in legal jeopardy. The experimental structure used was extremely simple, but it is this very simplicity which makes interpretation of the findings clear and conclusive. Briefly, the results of the Urbana-Champaign experiment indicate the existence of at least one treatment mode which is more effective in reducing delinquent behavior than no treatment at all. Subjects of each of the two experimental treatments studied had significantly fewer and less severe police contacts than did subjects who were simply diverted from the juvenile justice system.

A wide range of alternative treatment strategies has emerged in the literature of juvenile corrections over the past decade. Compared to the variety of approaches advocated, the supply of hard data on which to base a reasoned choice among the strategies has been limited and often inconclusive. The ADP experiment can be seen as a step toward reducing the uncertainty associated with this choice. Two issues emerged for examination during the third year of the project's operation:

- Could reproducable differences between pure diversion and diversion with services be measured, and
- Could the experiment distinguish between the effects of different treatment philosophies?

These two questions led to the formulation of an experimental design which first contrasted services with no services, and then employed two contrasting models of service delivery--behavioral contracting and child advocacy--in order to look for differences between their effects.

In addition, because the diversion experiment took place in the context of a group of four volunteer projects, the research design included measurements of the ways in which project staff (student volunteers) perceived and were influenced by their experiences.

5.1 Research Model

Controlled experiments are a rarity in criminal and juvenile justice literature. The importance of the outcome to the subject and the structure of the traditional judicial mechanisms combine to impose ethical and political bounds within which researchers must be able to confine their work. Too often it has been assumed that studies can be conducted within these limits only by sacrificing random assignment or some other essential of experimental design. The general consequence of this assumption has been the inability to distinguish genuine treatment effects from biases due to non-random assignment. The experimental method by which the effects of the Adolescent Diversion Project were measured is thus of special interest both as a demonstration of the feasibility of controlled experiments and as an example of their rewards.

The ADP study is a classic experimental analysis of variance. There are three levels of treatment (diversion only, child advocacy, and behavioral contracting). Thirty-six children were randomly assigned to one of these three treatments, with twelve in each group. Once randomization had taken place, no change in assignment or exclusion from the study on any grounds was allowed. All members of all groups were measured at the time of referral, at the end of treatment, and two months later on a series of preselected variables (school attendance, further police contact, self-reported acts of delinquency, and a psychometric battery).

In an additional attempt to provide explanatory information, children and their peers and parents were interviewed periodically to elicit observed changes which might be related to developments under treatment.

The data on which this discussion is based were drawn from clients who entered the project during 1974-75, the third year of operation. The first year was devoted to establishing the political viability of adolescent diversion in Urbana-Champaign. No rigid experimental design was imposed. Having ascertained that a project of the kind envisioned could be run, the research team began collecting impact data (police contacts, school attendance) during 1973-74. No process data were collected. Again the results were encouraging. Significant differences in police contacts between the two groups were found. The initial set of measurements provided convincing evidence that there was indeed a phenomenon to be measured. The stage was now set for the crucial year of the experiment, in which the full instrument battery was used to attempt to interpret the causes of the experimental clients' avoidance of further contact with the police.

5.2 Pre-Post Measures of Intervention Effectiveness

A number of indices were used to assess progress and outcomes of intervention. Most of these measures were derived from the delinquency literature but were tailored to meet the specific requirements of the project. Two others were developed by the project director for application to the project. The interested reader should refer to his dissertation and to works cited in the bibliography for discussion of the properties of these instruments.

Archival Measures

Three record sources were employed to provide archival data on each youth referred. Relevant data were obtained for the twelve-month span prior to referral to the project, for the referral-to-termination interval, and for a two-month follow-up period.*

1. *Police contacts.* From juvenile bureau records, data were obtained for each youth on alleged offense incidence, alleged offense frequency, and the eventual disposition of each contact.

* The project design also called for one- and two-year follow-up information (see Appendix D). Only the 2-month data were available at the time the project was selected for this publication.

Each contact was rated for seriousness according to a delinquency scale, yielding both individual and group indices.

2. *Court contacts.* The local county juvenile court probation office furnished data on: frequency of petitions to court, offense charges of offenses alleged in the petitions, and disposition of the petitions.

3. *School performance.* School records provided the ADP researcher with attendance rates and classroom grades.

Questionnaire-based Measures

Each questionnaire was administered by "blind" research assistants unaware of the group membership of the particular youth taking part. Pre-measures were taken within one week after the initial interview, and post-measures were taken the week prior to termination of the student intervention agent.

1. *Social Labeling Scale.* To examine the role of labeling, eight items were specifically devised for this project. They measured the degree to which the juveniles sensed that significant persons labeled them "troublemakers" in school, home, the justice system, and at work.

2. *Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale.* The Nowicki-Strickland scale (1973) contains 40 items measuring the degree to which a person believes that reinforcements he or she receives in life are contingent upon his or her behavior, and not due to fate, luck or the control of others.

3. *Gough-Peterson Socialization Scale.* This device, devised by Gough and Peterson (1952), was used to measure each ADP youth's level of socialization relative to predominant cultural norms.

4. *Admitted Offense Sort.* Each youngster was asked to indicate (in confidence) the delinquent acts he or she had committed in the three-month period prior to referral and the three-month span prior to

termination. The sort was scored for offense frequency and seriousness using the scale developed by Gold (1960).

Those eventually assigned to the control condition (diversion only) had the same measures taken at a comparable interval.

5.3 Process Assessment Devices

In addition to studying outcomes, the research attempted to develop an understanding of the process of events in the youngster's lives, the intervention procedures, and the training and supervision sessions. These processes were examined through a series of three interviews (conducted 4, 10, and 16 weeks after referral). The three surveys employed were the Life Domain Survey, the Intervention Survey, and the Supervision Survey. Each is discussed below.

1. *Life Domain Survey*. The Life Domain Survey contains 18 domains that rate salient features of the youths' lives and their interaction with relevant social systems:

   - Family involvement and activity--the degree to which the youth spends time at home and engages in activities with his parents
   - Active parental control--the degree to which the parent tries to control the actions or conduct of the youth
   - Involvement with siblings--the extent to which the youth interacts with brothers and sisters
   - Positive change in the home domain--the degree to which the youth exhibits more desirable behavior in the home
   - Attribution of change in the home domain to the volunteer--the degree to which the parent or youth attributes any change at home to the volunteer's efforts
   - Involvement in the school system--school attendance, performance, and attitudes

- Positive change in the school domain--the degree to which the youth exhibits more desirable behavior in school
- Attribution of school domain change to the volunteer--the degree to which the parent or youth attributes any change at school to the volunteer
- Involvement with peers--a measure of the amount of time the youth spends with his friends
- Positive change in the use of free time and peer activity--a measure of the changes in the use of free time by the youth
- Attribution of peer activity change to the volunteer--the extent to which the youth attributes free time and peer activity changes to the volunteer
- Employment--amount of time the youth devotes to work
- Positive change in the employment domain--a measure of improvement in job performance
- Attribution of change in employment to the volunteer--the degree to which the youth credits employment changes to the volunteer
- Juvenile system involvement--number of contacts with the police or juvenile court
- Positive change in involvement with the juvenile justice system--frequency and seriousness of contacts with the justice system
- Attribution of change to the volunteer--the extent to which the youth perceives the change to have been effected by the volunteer
- Parent impact on school (parents only)--the degree to which the parents tried to intervene in the school domain

In sum, the Life Domain Survey attempted to identify pertinent changes in the youths' lives, the social institution or group with reference to which the change occurred, the value of the change, and whether the change was in whole or in part perceived to have been caused by the student volunteer.

2. *Intervention Survey*. The Intervention Survey focused on thirteen dimensions of the intervention process itself, rather than on specific outcomes:

   - Lack of complaints/positive involvement--the extent to which the student volunteer and the client youth get along with each other
   - Volunteer/target involvement--the frequency of contact between the volunteer and the youth
   - Parental involvement--the extent to which the parents are included in the intervention process, and the relationship is established between the volunteer and the parents
   - School: Focus on changing youth--the extent to which intervention activities focus on the school behavior of the youth
   - School: Focus on changing school--the extent to which the volunteer engages in activity aimed at bringing about improvements in the school area, with the efforts directed towards the school staff rather than the youth
   - Job-seeking--the extent to which the intervention attempts to obtain employment for the youth
   - Family: Focus on changing youth--the extent to which the intervention attempts to bring about changes in the family area
   - Family: Focus on changing parents--the extent to which the intervention attempts to get the parents to do things differently
   - Recreational activity--the extent to which recreation is a part of what the volunteer and youth did together
   - Peer involvement--the extent to which the friends of the youth are included in the intervention process
   - Legal system involvement--the extent to which the volunteer becomes involved in the juvenile justice system as part of the work with the youth
   - Advocacy activities--the extent to which advocacy takes place as a result of the volunteer's intervention

- Contracting activities--the extent to which contracting occurred as a consequence of the volunteer's intervention.

The Intervention Survey, in conclusion, attempted to assess the processes provided by the student volunteer in intervention.

3. *Supervision Survey*. A third device was created to assess the supervisory component of the Adolescent Diversion Project. This contained five scales measuring:
   - Participation by volunteers in the weekly supervisory sessions
   - Interaction between volunteers during the sessions
   - Relationship of volunteer with supervisors
   - Volunteers' views of the training process

The administration of these instruments is diagrammed in Figure 7. Parallel instruments were given to clients and their parents, and to volunteers and their supervisors to provide both reliability checks and the advantage of different perspectives on the same phenomena. The baseline and outcome data collected at referral and termination, respectively, were supplemented by official records from police courts and schools covering predetermined intervals in the youth's career: the year before referral, an eighteen week period roughly corresponding to program participation, and the two months thereafter.

FIGURE 7

Measures Used in Research

Data Source \ Time	Referral	Weeks 4, 10, and 16	Termination	Two Months after termination	12 Months & 2 Years after termination
Target youth and parents	Social Labeling Locus of Control Socialization Self-reported offenses	Life Domain Survey Intervention Survey	Social Labeling Locus of Control Socialization Self-reported offenses		
Nominated peer	(same as above)		(same as above)		
Volunteer student and supervision		Intervention Survey Supervision Survey			
Police and court records	Number of contacts and petitions in preceding year		Number of contacts and petitions in preceding 18 weeks	Number of contacts and petitions in preceding two months	Number of contacts and petitions in preceding 12 months & preceding 2 years
School records	Grade point average Attendance		Grade point average Attendance	Grade point average Attendance	

5.4 Program Impact

As a result of the random process by which youths were assigned to the experimental and control groups, there were no significant differences between the groups in any of the measures at the point of referral. The number of youths experiencing at least one police contact during the project period and two-month follow-up period, and the number receiving at least one petition to juvenile court during the 18-month participation period, are shown in Figure 8, which compares the combined experimental group (n = 24) with the control group (n = 12). Statistically significant differences at the one percent level were found between the combined experimental group and the control group for police contacts during both time intervals. A significant difference was found at the 2.5 percent level in petitions to juvenile court. There were no significant differences found between the two experimental conditions--child advocacy and behavioral contracting--on these measures. The project's research objectives were thus only partially achieved: a conclusion about the superiority of diversion with services over pure diversion is confidently supported, but no basis for choice of type of service is provided.

The latter portion of this result comes as no surprise. Only two of many possible models were tested, and then with only twelve subjects in each. Such a small number of cases renders the probability of detecting subtle differences almost zero. Only the very largest differences (between service and no service) are likely to emerge. Because in this case those differences were of overwhelming magnitude, the small sample size was sufficient to detect them. More importantly, the fact that the groups had been randomly composed frees us from doubt about whether the differences reflect previous inequalities among the subjects. We know (within calculated probabilities of error) that the only possible cause of the difference in police contacts was in the treatment assignment. The data do not indicate whether the behavior change took place in the clients, the police, or both. They do not assure us that such effects would happen in other locations or with other kinds of services. They do indicate, however, that in at least one place and time a decisive impact was possible.

The number of police contacts per person, the average seriousness of these contacts, and the number of court petitions per person are presented in Figure 8 for each of the three groups (two experimental and one control) for each of three periods. These values are comparable among all three groups for each criterion in the year prior to project participation. During the intervention period both experimental groups do better on both police contacts and their seriousness, and on court petitions than the control group, while differences between the two experimental conditions are small. During the two-month follow-up, differences are less pronounced, but they remain apparent for police contacts and their seriousness. Again, for these two measures differences between the two experimental conditions are smaller than the differences between each experimental group and the control group.

There were no significant changes in grade-point average among the three groups. Intervention, however, did seem to have some effect on school attendance rates. Control subjects' attendance dropped from 60 percent for the year prior to 25 percent during the two-month follow-up period, while experimentals dropped only from 75 percent to 65 percent.

Similarly, the results of the three Life Domain Surveys taken during participation showed few significant results. On none of the 18 scales did a youth's participation in an experimental group have a demonstrable relation to his or her scale scores. While experimentals did evidence less contact with the juvenile justice system, the Life Domain Survey is not an indicator of the reasons for decrease in contacts.

The results of the Intervention Survey indicate that membership in a particular project group was related to job-seeking behavior. However, members of the control group were more likely than project group members to seek a job during the interval. The two family scales--"Focus on changing youth," and "Focus on changing parents"--were affected by experimental participation. This effect was anticipated, for behavioral contracting in particular emphasized improving home interactions.

FIGURE 8

Summary of Group Means for Police Contacts, Seriousness of Contacts, and Petitions to Court

Group	One-year pre	During project	Two-month follow-up
	Number of contacts per person		
Contracting	2.17	0.25	0.17
Advocacy	2.25	0.67	0.08
Control	2.25	2.25	1.08
	Average seriousness of contacts		
Contracting	1.72	0.33	0.417
Advocacy	1.86	0.33	0.083
Control	2.19	2.08	1.71
	Number of petitions per person		
Contracting	0.00	0.00	0.167
Advocacy	0.25	0.17	0.00
Control	0.25	1.00	0.167

On the scales of Social Labeling, Locus of Control, Socialization, and Admitted Offenses, ADP researchers found no significant differences either before or after treatment among the three groups.

* More extensive follow-up data (up to two years) is presented in Appendix D.

Peer involvement was also related to membership in an experimental group. It was found that experimental group children spent more time with friends and others than did control group children. Again, however, no specific causal relation between intervention per se and increased peer involvement could be established.

In general, survey results could not explain why intervention was successful in reducing clients' contacts with the juvenile justice system, beyond demonstrating that the two intervention strategies were being implemented. Exactly why the interventions worked, and to what extent the two strategies alone accounted for the results recorded in the data, remain unanswered questions.

5.5 Conclusions and Questions

The project director (Davidson, 1975) concluded that intervention approaches employed in the Urbana-Champaign Adolescent Diversion Project were effective in reducing subsequent police and judicial encounters. Moreover, school attendance was stabilized.

The Adolescent Diversion Project has thus clearly established a part of its goals: it has been able to construct and operate two distinct treatment modes which result in significantly fewer legal contacts than does the comparison procedure of no service at all. The goals of distinguishing between the effects of the two contrasting models, or explaining the mechanism through which treatment effects change in subject behavior, were more elusive. Furthermore, the question remains whether the role of a sympathetic and helping figure in the youth's life may have created any positive changes rather than the student's application of a specific counseling technique.

It is therefore not possible to isolate those elements of the models which are required for successfully reproducing the benefits of ADP, nor is it known what changes in the models are appropriate for similar service delivery projects. In the light of this uncertainty ADP must continue to be viewed as an experimental effort. The next section outlines a series of issues around which further research efforts might be organized in an effort to build on the foundation established by ADP and to answer some of the questions arising from these early research results.

CHAPTER 6
FUTURE RESEARCH NEEDS

Neither of the intervention strategies implemented by ADP is unique or even especially unusual in the field of juvenile diversion. What does distinguish ADP from other similar programs is the spirit of inquiry in which the project was conceived and the precision and rigor with which that inquiry was executed. There is a growing level of public demand that human service programs in general present some form of tangible evidence of their effects and consequences. The pressure to show results is becoming particularly insistent in juvenile justice, as problems become more severe and service programs routinely fail to satisfy public expectations.

In such a context the careful evidence accumulated by ADP has far more than mere local significance; it is in the context of national information needs that replications of the Urbana-Champaign program can have the widest impact and serve the greatest range of youth. ADP has provided evidence on the most basic of intervention questions: does anything we do make any difference? Although further affirmative support on this question is always to be welcomed, the next steps consist of refining this question to: what treatments have what effects on which kinds of children? To make exploration of this issue more than a trial-and-error venture, more rigorous and quantitative knowledge of the underlying mechanisms of juvenile behavior is required. While any comprehensive statement of such broad goals is clearly beyond the scope of this brief chapter, several specific questions can be outlined to guide future research efforts.

6.1 Questions for Further Study
ADP vs. Traditional Juvenile Justice

Of most direct policy utility for communities contemplating change in their juvenile justice systems is the comparison of the ADP service models to those services traditionally dispensed by the juvenile justice system. The reader will recall that the positive outcomes of the two treatment groups were experienced in comparison to a control group who were simply released with no formal or informal legal involvement of any kind.

The expansion of the experiment to include a group of diversion candidates who are in fact not diverted but are returned to the juvenile division for "normal" processing will clearly enhance the policy utility of the research. For assessing ADP's impact on the juvenile justice system, the first question to be resolved with the aid of such a procedure is whether ADP clients are indeed the kind of children who would otherwise be treated by the juvenile courts. This traditionally treated control group also will supply information about the amount and kind of resources society has been willing to devote to such children. Finally, it is crucial to know whether the police contacts of juvenile court cases more closely resemble those of uncounseled children or of those who receive the 100 hours of ADP services. With such information at hand, serious judgments can begin to be made about the suitability of modifying general juvenile proceedings to incorporate increased formal diversion and more regular ADP service.

Differential Treatment

A question of less immediacy but of long-term practical value has to do with the similarity of results obtained under what were thought to be two different intervention strategies. Do they both "work?" Is any treatment as good as any other? Are there underlying common elements shared by the two models which account for the similarity of results? A test of this latter hypothesis can be provided by the introduction of a "no-model model" in which a similar group of volunteers is assigned to a randomly selected portion of the client population with no specific behavioral contracting, child advocacy, or other instructions. This group would simply spend time with the children, provide them a possible role model, and let them know that someone cared about what they did (all features which the two tested models share). Results from this group would help to isolate the "active ingredient" in the ADP services.

Finally, the logic which led to the selection of child advocacy and behavioral contracting as the two experimental models by no means compels the exclusion of other approaches for testing. Practitioners in the field will be readily able to supply alternative models.

Matching Clients and Staff

Two additional issues for research are raised in the project director's discussion of his findings. The first is a problem to which increasing attention has been devoted in recent corrections research: that of matching clients to treatments, or more specifically in this case, matching divertees to student volunteers. There are both intuitive and empirical reasons to believe that different client situations call for different responses from the rehabilitative system. Careful experimentation to develop the relevant background measures and determine the interactions between client background and service type is necessary for the preparation of useful diagnostic instruments and the proper choice of clients for treatment and treatments for clients.

A second question which cuts deeply into the underlying conceptual basis of diversion deals with the labeling of juveniles as "delinquent" or "predelinquent." It has been argued that the adjudicatory process automatically attaches a "label" to a child. Once society identifies him as a delinquent, pressure increases for him to make that identification of himself, and to behave in conformity to the label. Diversion to informal treatments is supposed to avoid such stigmatization, but whether it does so is often questionable, given the depth to which the divertee has already penetrated the system and the imprecise distinction between legal and paralegal treatments. ADP has moved to circumvent much of the labeling by recruiting its clients directly after police contact and before any further juvenile justice system involvement. Nevertheless, it is feared that significant labeling has already taken place from the mere fact of police contact and participation in a program presented as an alternative to court. Future study of the extent to which labeling effects may be discerned in clients and the ways in which labeling might be avoided--by earlier (nonpolice)* referral, modified police behavior, or positive program efforts--

* Nonpolice (early) referral, however, runs the risk of "over-identification" of children who would not have further difficulty. The question of ideal referral time is complex and cannot simply be resolved by making it "earlier."

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1 OF 2

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may make a significant contribution to the development of future programs. Interviews and testing to determine the extent of client labeling perceptions and the sources of those perceptions may suggest policy changes to minimize future labeling problems.

6.2 Measures

The measures outlined in the preceding chapter are described in detail in project documents which are available to those seeking further information. Exact duplications of the instruments used in the Urbana-Champaign experiment are neither required nor especially useful, since the results of the first experience permit some refinement of the battery.

In particular, experimental results from the first years of data collection failed to reveal any significant effects on any of the following psychometric instruments:

- Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale
- Gough-Peterson Socialization Scale
- Social Labeling Scale

Neither the reasons for lack of effects on these scales nor the choice of alternative instruments which are more likely to detect project effects is clear. What is clear is that further theoretical work on the mechanism of intervention is required.

In the initial studies, results of psychometric tests were generally unrevealing. At least three possible explanations may be posited for this lack of findings:

- There were no psychological impacts of participation;
- There were impacts, but the instruments measured the wrong domains;
- There were impacts in the domains measured by the instruments, but the measurement error imposed by having only 12 cases per treatment group totally obscured any true effects.

Each of these conjectures has some plausibility. The last can be partially substantiated by mathematical computation. To produce a difference of two standard errors of the mean (95 percent confidence) would require individual changes averaging one-half standard deviation, which would represent massive psychological shifts on nearly any of the commonly used scales. Evidence of rehabilitation generally comes in the form of far weaker signals and must therefore be measured with far greater precision than was possible in the Urbana-Champaign experiment.

Although the arrest data used did provide significant findings, a refinement of the legal system contact measures is appropriate. The 1974-75 data reflect only a two-month follow-up period.* Although 1973-74 data provided similarly significant results after a one-year follow-up, the persistence of ADP intervention effects is worth investigating by using a longer follow-up period (a year at minimum, and the longer the better), broken into panels of short (e.g., two or three months) duration. As ADP recognized, any experimental replication of this project should use data from at least one and perhaps two years after contact. These data may then be analyzed as a time series to attempt to determine whether the amelioration observed in Urbana-Champaign is a persistent one or diminishes after the termination of program supervision.

In summary, replication of the research component offers the opportunity for substantial contribution to knowledge in an area where more and better information can be expected to have immediate policy implications. This chapter has outlined several areas of inquiry that can be expected to lead directly to policy formation decisions, as well as to more theoretical knowledge. Local programs should not feel constrained to explore only these questions. The needs are far-reaching, and every piece of careful research helps to meet them.

* As this paper goes to press, one-year data substantially confirming earlier findings have been released by the project.

CHAPTER 7
REPLICATION ISSUES

The ADP concept presents a threefold challenge to potential replicators: to provide a social service to the community; to prepare future generations of clinicians and researchers; and to find out more about the "whys" of delinquency and its treatment. Beginning with a discussion of defining project features, this chapter addresses nontechnical issues that are likely to be faced in replicating the Adolescent Diversion Project.

7.1 Defining Project Features

Although it is in theory possible to replicate individual elements of the Adolescent Diversion Project--its intervention strategies, its research design, or its volunteer service agents--replication of the overall effort is desirable for several important reasons.

- First, expectations associated with partial replication are unknown. The claim is not being made that these are ideal strategies. Moreover, the research design is intended as a model and can be tailored to the specific interest of replicators.

- Secondly, replication of the overall effort is encouraged to increase the knowledge base for understanding the effects of different treatment modes and perhaps even for better understanding some of the underlying causes of delinquent behavior. Here, the contribution that can be made to that pool of knowledge is believed to be more significant if it stems from a rigorous experimental approach, in contrast to the kind of quasi-experimental approach commonly used.

- Finally, the association of the project with a formal educational and training component in the form of an undergraduate practicum (through which services are delivered) represents an efficient and far-sighted application of academic resources. Although a similar approach has been tried in other fields (e.g., education) and at the graduate level (e.g., medical school), it is relatively new to the psychology of delinquent behavior.

Because both the university and the justice system play decisive roles in ADP, obtaining cooperation and support from these quarters is crucial. In the university, faculty members, graduate students, and undergraduates must all participate. Approval for academic credit and for any financial and other resources required must be negotiated with the university, which is the source of project staff and volunteers. The police, as the source of clients, are an equally crucial institution whose support must be secured. Pre-arrest diversion through the exercise of police discretion to formal community programs is a more systematic strategy that will require a specific effort to present the program to law enforcement officers as a potential alternative for dealing with youthful offenders.

In replicating the Adolescent Diversion Project, therefore, three defining project features should be recognized:

- Offering intervention services through a university or college practicum;
- Designing and executing a rigorous experimental plan;
- Diverting juveniles prior to the point of formal arrest (or other formal entry into the juvenile justice system).

Adherence to these three features permits considerable flexibility in the actual operating procedures, the choice of intervention strategies, and the design and purpose of the experiment. The third feature--diversion prior to arrest--is essential to replications of the project because it represents a set of circumstances entirely different from those which would be present for post-arrest diversion. Moreover, it is clear that randomization to experimental and control groups would be considerably more difficult to achieve if client selection required further screening by judges

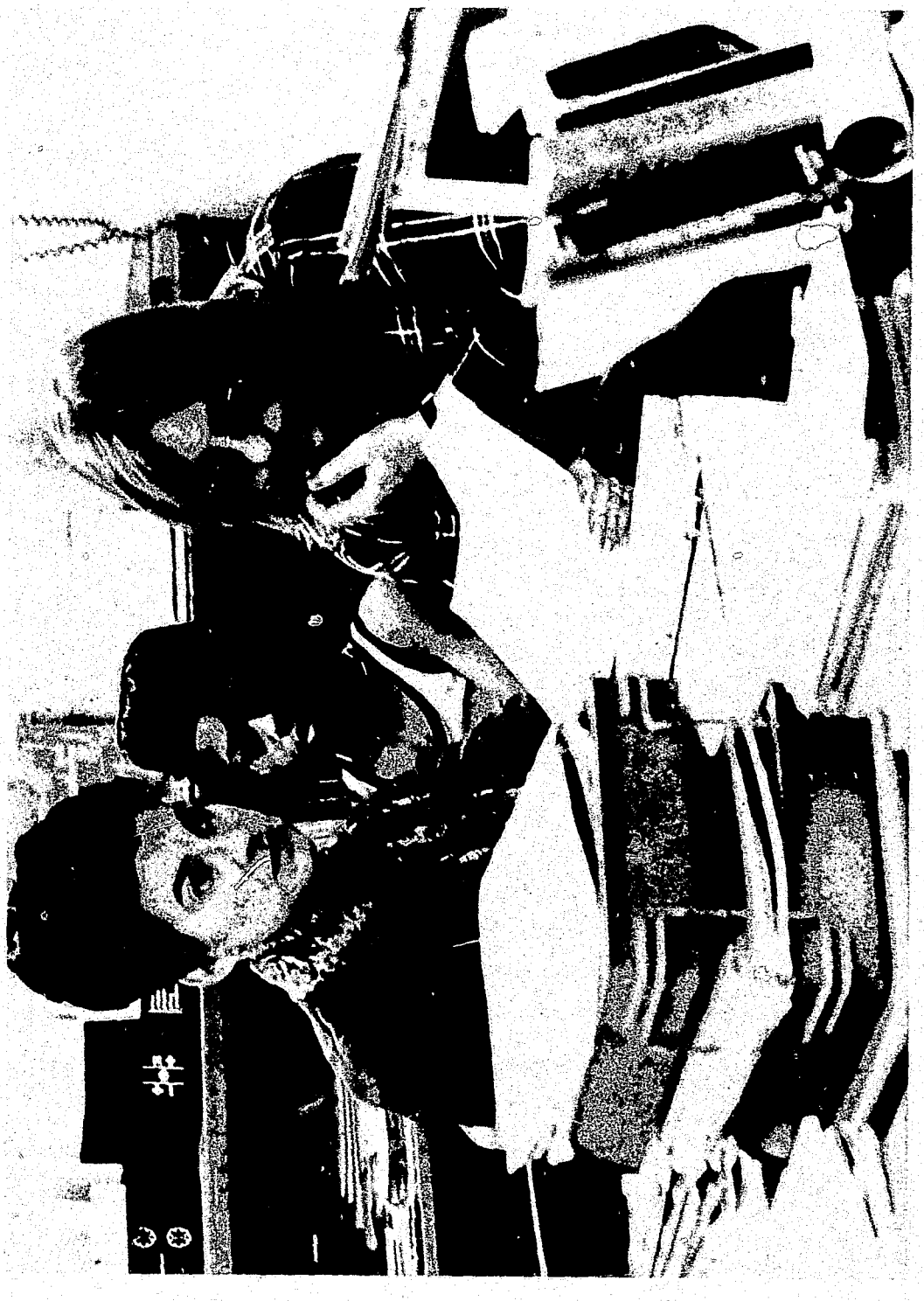
or prosecutors, as it would if formal legal proceedings had been initiated.

The University

In Urbana-Champaign, the Adolescent Diversion Project was initiated within the Department of Psychology at the University of Illinois, by a faculty group interested in combining service to the community, field applications of the principles of research and clinical psychology, and training of students in psychology. Most replications of the project can be expected to occur in this manner, and the faculty members who initiate such a replication will have to comply with procedures in their own schools to establish the practicum around which the project is developed. Depending upon administrative policy, some resistance may arise to the involvement of students (particularly undergraduates) with persons --however young--who are involved with the justice system. In such cases, it will be necessary for replicators to provide some degree of assurance as to the personal safety of students who will come into contact with project participants. For this reason, youths charged with offenses involving personal violence may have to be excluded. However, there were no such problems encountered in the Urbana-Champaign project.

For replicators who are not directly affiliated with a university, but live in communities which have ready access to university resources, the presence of qualified faculty to design and develop the project must first be determined, and interest in running such a project will have to be solicited.

With regard to the responsibilities in the project of faculty, graduate students, and persons not directly affiliated with the university, a number of possibilities exist. As indicated in previous chapters, the project was designed as part of a larger study by faculty members who were responsible for oversight of the project and for making general management decisions. Day-to-day operations were managed by an advanced graduate student. The two were jointly responsible for the research design as part of the latter's doctoral research in the later phases of the study. Other graduate students served in supervisory positions for the research and clinical components of the project, and paid research staff were drawn from among previous students still living in the community. Of course, undergraduates enrolled in the practicum served as intervention agents as one of the project's defining features.



Replications of the project need not involve a doctoral dissertation. Although this certainly represents a convenient manner of providing a researchable topic, conceivably the research component could be the full responsibility of a faculty member with limited support from graduate students. On the clinical side, graduate students could be used to instruct, train, and supervise the undergraduates, or social service professionals could be brought in from community youth service programs (as was the case with one of the two clinical supervisors in Urbana-Champaign). The exact nature of such an arrangement would vary from one replication to the next. In Urbana-Champaign, the clinical supervisor from the TARGET Outreach Program received no monetary compensation for her service. Instead, compensation was in the form of University input to improving TARGET's own operations.

Law Enforcement and Juvenile Justice Agencies

The response of local law enforcement and juvenile justice officials to a replication of the Adolescent Diversion Project in their community is certainly one overriding factor affecting its feasibility. Even given general approval of the notion of formally diverting certain types of cases in lieu of arrest, it remains to tailor referral procedures and data collection to meet requirements imposed by existing agency procedures. Whereas the cooperation of the local law enforcement agency is clearly necessary to support a project of this type, the tacit approval of the juvenile court and the chief prosecutor may also be indirectly required.

Since implicit "screening" for the project is performed by law enforcement field personnel (typically patrol officers) and the juvenile officer (or equivalent), existing options for the disposition of cases brought to the latter's attention must be determined, and the feasibility of the new options offered by the project will have to be explored. In order to have a significant impact on the justice system, the project must seek referrals who would not ordinarily be informally diverted anyway (e.g., warned and released).

Assuming that the project itself could gain sufficient credibility with the appropriate law enforcement officials, the disposition of control group members is likely to be a sensitive issue. In Urbana-Champaign, youngsters who were assigned to the control group

were released after fulfilling their pre-assessment commitments. In the preceding chapter it was argued that comparison with regular juvenile processing was of equal interest. The extent to which the project is at liberty to assign youths to control treatments outside the jurisdiction of project staff depends on obtaining the cooperation of the control service providers both to accept clients and to provide data on them. The experiment can function with any selected control treatment. It would not be acceptable, however, for the law enforcement agency to use its discretion to assign one disposition to some central subjects and another disposition to others, as this would invalidate comparisons made using the control group as a whole.

Replicators may have to use considerable tact to communicate the importance of adherence to the experimental design, so long as it does not represent a threat to the community. A pilot phase to gain the confidence of law enforcement officials is one approach which may be acceptable to those who would be reluctant to support a fully developed project. This approach was used successfully in Urbana-Champaign and resulted in enthusiastic support in later years from Police Departments in both cities.

Patrol officers and the juvenile officers must also play an important role in preserving the integrity of the experimental design by uniformly handling experimental and control subjects in subsequent contacts. Although the project can be designed to limit the dissemination of information stating who is in the experimental and control groups to juvenile officers (in the form of progress reports on participants), this information is likely to be within the reach of an interested patrol officer, and there may be a differential handling of repeaters in the field. The likelihood of this occurrence, however, is reduced as the population of the jurisdiction increases.

Although pre-arrest diversion occurs prior to any court contact, replicators should consider briefing judicial officials about the purpose, nature, and operations of the project. Regardless of the type of relationship which exists between law enforcement and the judicial agencies in a given area, it is important to apprise the courts of any activities which might affect juvenile court operations or caseloads. Since a diversion project of this type recognizes a formal discretionary decision-making power on the part of juvenile officers, the relationship of that power to the project

should be clarified with court officials at the outset. Future misunderstandings might then be avoided.

Other Considerations

The scale of operations of the ADP is limited by two major considerations, both of which would exist in replication efforts. First is the fact that the project is by nature a social experiment requiring a high level of operational control and careful monitoring of the manner in which intervention strategies are implemented. This suggests the necessity to limit the scale of the experiment to a manageable size.

Another major consideration relates to the use of a practicum for instruction, training, and supervision of student intervention agents. This limits the number of volunteers available, both through the number of students who chose to enroll in the course and the capacity of faculty members to provide supervision and instruction. The individualized nature of the practicum requires that the class be conducted in relatively small sections, and thus that ample faculty time be available for each student.

Finally, the types of communities in which universities are located tend to have common crime problems which are different from non-university communities. As examples, runaways are often attracted to the university scene; students tend to be relaxed about dormitory or other housing security; bicycles (and hence bicycle theft) abound; and illegal drugs (particularly marijuana) frequently find their way into the university environment. Moreover, special agreements may exist between local and university police, which may affect jurisdiction over university controlled areas.

In sum, the basic elements for replication of the Adolescent Diversion Project are:

- A community which recognizes a need for juvenile intervention services;
- Accessible and interested university resources;
- Cooperation from law enforcement and juvenile officials.

Although this combination of conditions may be restrictive, the assumption is that the most promising approach to identifying strategies that "work" in the justice system lies in the application of the scientific method. The Urbana-Champaign ADP was neither service nor research, but service-oriented research--a function ideally suited to a university in collaboration with local law enforcement agencies.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPATION CONTRACT AND FORMS

APPENDIX B: PRE/POST DATA FORM

APPENDIX C: BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX D: ONE- AND TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP INFORMATION

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPATION CONTRACT AND FORMS

We the undersigned, hereby agree to participate in the programs for youth of the Community Psychology Action Center of the University of Illinois and to provide them accurate and honest information about the programs. We understand that the Community Psychology Action Center is evaluating the effectiveness of its programs and that the information we provide will be an important part of the evaluation. This contract affirms our intention to participate in the following: 1. to answer a set of questionnaires within the next week; 2. to be interviewed three times in the next three months; 3. to answer a set of questionnaires at the end of the next three months. We understand that all information and answers from the questionnaires and interviews will be used confidentially and that no individual names will be attached to or used in connection with any of the information. Further the Community Psychology Action Center agrees not to release any information concerning individual youth or their families to any party. We therefore agree to provide honest and accurate information to the best of our abilities.

The Community Psychology Action Center hereby agrees to pay _____ $2.00 per hour for participating in the interviews and questionnaires. Both _____ and his/her parents agree to participate in the interviews and questionnaires before payment will be received.

_____/_____/_____ _____

Youth's signature

_____ _____

CPAC representative Parent's signature

_____

Witness

School Records Release Agreement

The Community Psychology Action Center of the University of Illinois is examining the effectiveness of the volunteer project for local youth. In order that the Community Psychology Action Center may complete their evaluation, I hereby give permission for them or their appointed agent to examine and record the attendance records and quarterly, semester, and yearly grade records of _____. I fully understand that such information will be only used confidentially and that no individual names will be used in connection with it. This permission includes school years 1973-74, 74-75, 75-76, 76-77.

____/____/____ _____

Student's signature

_____ _____

Witness

Parent's signature
Guardian's signature

Name _____ ID _____ IBM ID _____

'73-'74

Final only ☐

School-grade Subjects	Grades 1 2 3 4	Citizenship 1 2 3 4	___/___ Abs./enrolled Absences 1 2 3 4	'73-'74 Comments
1. _____				
2. _____				
3. _____				
4. _____				
5. _____				

'74-'75

School-grade Subjects	Grades 1 2 3 4	Citizenship 1 2 3 4	Absences 1 2 3 4	'74-'75 Comments
1. _____				
2. _____				
3. _____				
4. _____				
5. _____				

PROPOSED WEEKLY ADOLESCENT CONTACT SUMMARY FORM

Student's Name	Volunteer	Week of / /	Report No.

I. Goals (specific)--where are we going with this student and why

A. Long-range:

B. Immediate:

II. Strategy--what has been done this week towards meeting our objectives:

III. Progress (specific)--how well are we currently doing in meeting our objectives:

IV. Termination--what do we want to accomplish with this student before we can end our involvement and some estimate of when:

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

I. _____ _____
Name Parent's name

_____ _____
Address Address

_____ _____
Phone Phone

_____
Alternative Contact

II. _____ _____
School of attendance - Grade Other schools in last year

III. Educational level of parent(s)

Mother - 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 G

Father - 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 G

IV. Occupation of household _____

V. Interests

VI. Peers

_____ _____

_____ _____

VII. Job - Yes No _____

APPENDIX B

PRE/POST DATA FORM

Pre/Post-Data Form

_____ _____/_____/_____

Name Date Referred

_____/_____/_____ to _____/_____/_____

I. Police (Champaign, Urbana, and County)

A. ____Number of contacts. What for, frequency and disposition

B. ____Number of petitions. What for, frequency and disposition

II. Probation office--Juvenile court

A. ____Number of petitions. What for, frequency, and disposition

B. ____Current status:

____Probation ____MINS ____Neglected Dependent

____TARGET ____F.H. ____Own home

____Correctional Institution

III. School

A. ____In-school ____Dropout ____Suspension

B. ____Attendance Rate

C. ____G.P.A.

D. ____Number of suspensions. What for and frequency

E. ____Achievement Test Scores

Date	Test Name	Score(s)

APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX D

ONE- AND TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP INFORMATION

ADOLESCENTS IN LEGAL JEOPARDY: INITIAL SUCCESS AND REPLICATION OF AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM[1,2]

Edward Seidman[3] Julian Rappaport William S. Davidson, III[4]

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Before I begin to explicate the details of our efforts to divert adolescents in legal jeopardy from further involvement in the criminal justice system, I would like to place this research in its larger context. For the past several years we have been examining the systematic use of college student nonprofessionals as human service deliverers in several social systems. The larger program included four sub-projects aimed at developmentally representative target groups, i.e., school children, emotionally disturbed adults, and senior citizens residing in a nursing home, in addition to adolescents in legal jeopardy. Each sub-project involved college student change agents as the mode of service delivery. The college students are paired with target individuals

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1 Invited presentation on receipt of first prize in the 1976 National Psychological Consultants to Management Watson-Wilson Consulting Psychology Research Award competition. Presented at the American Psychological Association Convention, Washington, D.C., September, 1976. A more detailed version of this research is now in preparation.

2 This work was supported for the most part by Grant No. MH 22336 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and to a lesser extent by a grant from the University of Illinois Research Board and Law Enforcement Assistance Administration administered through the Law and Society Program at the University of Illinois (title LEAA 75NI-99-0077 FIR).

3 Paper requests should be sent to: Edward Seidman, Community Psychology Action Center, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois, 61820.

4 Now at Michigan State University.

on a one-to-one basis. The total set of four projects has been directed at questions such as who works best with whom, using what training techniques (Kiesler, 1966, 1971; Paul, 1969). In line with this overall goal, more specific project endeavors addressed the questions of volunteer selection, volunteer training, supervision strategies, resultant changes in the volunteers per se, resultant changes in the respective target populations, and the impact of the projects on the social service systems in which they were embedded.

We have recently described the specific method of operation used in the program as a whole in a paper entitled The Educational Pyramid: A Paradigm For Research, Training and Manpower Utilization in Community Psychology (Seidman & Rappaport, 1974). In brief, each sub-project operated according to a triadic organizational model. Each was "staffed" by two principal investigators who supervised two graduate students, who shared or split responsibility for training/supervision of the nonprofessional change agents and the project specific research. Each year the two graduate student co-directors were responsible for direct supervision of undergraduate student change agents. The research reported here is based on one of the four sub-projects which was aimed at diversion of alleged adolescent offenders from the criminal justice system.

Our work is predicated on several specific values and related objectives (Fairweather, 1972; Rappaport, 1977). First of all, a major concern is intervening as early as possible to thwart an individual's envelopment by "rehabilitation" systems that are often detrimental to human welfare. We are committed to avoiding, or at least minimizing, the effects of "disculturation" (Goffman, 1961), isolation, pushouts, etc. Similarly, we endeavor to avoid "blaming the victim" (Ryan, 1971; Shur, 1973) or focusing his/her deficits, but instead we attempt to identify and build upon an individual's assets and strengths (Rappaport et. al., 1975; Rappaport, 1977). We try to avoid placing the individual in a client or patient role. Instead, we try to foster self-sufficiency by enabling the person to become his/her own advocate (Davidson & Rapp, 1976; Sarason, 1976) and/or to learn critical negotiation skills in dealing with significant individuals and/or agencies in their particular social support networks. Finally, we are concerned that we have an impact on the relevant social system, in this case, the juvenile justice system, so that the system itself may be more likely to prevent or minimize the exacerbation

of difficulties for future entrants. In short, our efforts are directed at experimental social model building rather than exclusively the individual level of assessment or change.

As most of you know, the field of juvenile delinquency prevention has been and is experiencing an unparalleled search for alternative intervention strategies. Although enthusiastic adherents for various approaches can be found, there is little basis for strong belief in the relative efficacy of contemporary approaches when compared to each other or when compared to more traditional strategies. While some community based programs have indicated promising results (Palmer, 1971; Palmer, 1975; Shore & Massimo, 1973), most of these programs are poorly evaluated and the majority continue to be operated out of highly traditional corrections facilities (Griggs & McCume, 1972).

From our prior experiences in the local juvenile justice system as well as the relevant research literature it was apparent to us that the point at which a youngster reaches the probation stage is not the most ideal point in the system at which to intervene, since at that time the child is already deeply entangled in the system. Consequently, we attempted to gain the cooperation and participation of the police officers responsible for alleged juvenile offenders in two adjacent midwestern American cities (joint population - 90,000), as well as the county police department.

Over the course of a pilot semester and summer we worked in close collaboration with the relevant police officers in an attempt to develop an alternative that was sensible and potentially beneficial to the youth with whom we would be involved. In developing these relationships, a good deal of "sizing up" of each other occurred. It became apparent that we did share a common concern with the juvenile officers of the two city police departments centering on the apparent ineffectiveness of the typical juvenile court and probation intervention methods.

After an initial role negotiation phase, more attention was paid to specific plans for actual project initiation. The plans for referral procedures, pre and post assessment, random assignment, insuring volunteer involvement on the part of referred youth, specification of our intervention methods, and detailing of our

plans for community continuation of the project following cessation of the NIMH funds were all discussed. This phase was critical in order to adequately work out the "bugs" in both the measurement and referral procedures and to get to know each other.* After a period of negotiation, we decided that the decision to refer a given youth would be left to the discretion of the juvenile officer, with the following agreed upon guideline:

> Since the project does not want to become involved with youth who have been involved in only a single minor offense and are not likely to find themselves in further legal difficulty, only refer youth for whom court referral is being seriously considered.

This agreement is crucial to our thinking. Unlike the youth service bureau approach, we did not wish to be involved with children who were not likely to be recidivists. They could much more reasonably be dealt with by the policeman's "warn and release procedures." We are also aware that such children, if they are overidentified, might even have problems created rather than alleviated (e.g., Fo & O'Donnell, 1975). On the other hand, we did want to identify the child for whom the police officer was ready to file a petition for court referral, and thus to divert him/her from the system.

First Year of Research

Following formal referral of 37 youths by the juvenile officers of the two metropolitan police departments, an interview was held with the youth and one of his or her parents. At that time a staff member explained the program to them, reviewing their constitutional rights and their rights as voluntary subjects; participa-

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* An interesting example of a "bug" occurred during the pilot semester. The police opened an envelope to determine the youths' random assignment to the experimental or control condition. We discovered that with certain youth the officers would continue to unseal envelopes until they found what they considered to be the appropriate assignment. Obviously, we altered the procedure to protect against such bias prior to our first full academic year of operation.

tion agreements and confidentiality agreements were signed at this time. There were no refusals. Following the introduction, the interviewer separately administered four assessment instruments to the youth and the parent. These instruments were the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (1963), utilized to assess the positive description of one's behavior, a 16-item version of Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (1966), revised specifically for the project to more adequately accommodate the reading level of the youth, a social labeling scale developed specifically for this project to assess the degree to which a youth identified him/herself as having been labeled delinquent or deviant by significant others in his/her life, and a 15-item behavioral checklist of commonly committed offenses designed to assess self-reported illegal activities in the prior three months. In addition, at the end of the interview, the youth was asked to nominate a close friend who would also be asked to complete the same assessment procedures, all of which asked questions about the referred youth. Nominated peers were interviewed within 48 hours of initial referral and paid $5 for their time. Following pre-assessment, the youth and his or her parents were informed as to whether they would be assigned to the program or whether they would be asked only to complete the post assessment approximately four months later. In other words, the pre-assessment was completed with the interviewed blind to eventual experimental condition.

In summary, pre-assessment consisted of youth, parent and youth-nominated peer verbal reports on analogous forms of four assessment instruments, all pertaining to the youth's behaviors and perceptions. At the time of termination, the four interview-based measures were re-administered to all three sources. Both the youth and the nominated peers were paid, by prior agreement, $5 for completing the post assessment instruments. In addition, police, court, and school records were searched, covering the time periods one year prior to, and throughout the duration of the program; police and court records were also gathered for a two-year follow-up period.

In each case, referral to the program was accomplished as an alternative to a juvenile court petition being filed. The youths referred to the program had the following characteristics: 28 were males, 9 were females; 28 were white and 9 were black; the age range was 11 to 17 years with the mean age being 14.1 years; an average youth was in the eighth grade; the mean number of police

contacts in the year prior to referral was 2.16. The 37 youths were randomly assigned to the experimental program or a control group. More specifically, randomization followed a procedure resulting in two-thirds of the youths being assigned to the experimental condition with stratification for sex, race, police department, and order of referral. Since goals for a given youth might be accomplished at any time during the program, it was expected that date of termination of contract between the college students and their referred youth would vary on an individual basis. In order to insure a consistent pre to post interval for experimental and control groups, control youths were randomly yoked with experimental youths, and each member of the experimental-control pair was evaluated over the same time interval.

The college students were assigned to youths following the completion of pre-assessment. Every effort was made to match student and youth on the basis of mutual interests, race and sex. The student initiated the contact by phone and thereafter was involved working with and for the youth six to eight hours per week for an average of four and one-half months (range three to five months). Intervention duration was determined by a goal attainment procedure (Kiersuk & Sherman, 1968) whereby behaviorally specific goals were established for each case one month after assignment and termination was completed when the specified goals were accomplished or closely approximated.

Strategies used by students can best be described as a combined effort involving the ingredients of relationship skills, behavioral contracting and child advocacy. The contracting component involved the assessment and modification of the interpersonal contingencies in the life of the youths, (e.g., with parents, teachers). The specific methods employed involved the establishment of written interpersonal agreements between the youth and significant others, as mediated by the student, according to the procedures outlined by Stuart (Stuart, 1971; Stuart & Lott, 1972; Stuart & Tripodi, 1973). In addition the enhancement of specific behavioral changes on the part of the youth and significant others in his or her life, it was necessary in most cases to mobilize needed community resources for the youth in order to insure durability of desired change, and to provide legitimate avenues for attainment of the youth's goals. The strategies employed have recently been labeled child advocacy and involve the targeting of community resources such as educational, vocational, or recreational programs for change. The specifics of these pro-

cedures have been reviewed by Kahn, et. al. (1973) and further detailed in a recent paper by Davidson & Rapp (1976).

Results

There were no statistically significant changes on any of the verbal report measures from the adolescent's, his/her parents', or his/her peers' perspectives. An apparently dramatic program impact on the youths involved was evidenced primarily by police and court records and an isolated trend in school records.

Police and Court Records

Figure one depicts the differences between experimental and control subjects during the year prior to referral, during the intervention interval, and during the first and second year follow-up intervals since termination. During the one year period prior to referral, there were no significant differences in the number of police contacts, seriousness of police contacts (accomplished by a scheme developed by Sellin & Wolfgang (1964) modified to accomodate uniquely juvenile offenses), or the number of petitions filed with the court. As you can see from Figure 1, all of the differences during the intervention, first and second year follow-up intervals favor the experimental group, in that they have fewer contacts of lesser severity and fewer petitions filed than the control subjects. Most of these differences are significant at conventional levels, although a few only exhibit a trend. When we collapse across the approximately 27-month interval from time of referral through a two year follow-up period, the number of police contacts, severity of police contacts, and the number of petitions filed strongly corroborate the efficacy of the experimental program (see Figure 2). Controlling for prior level of "difficulty" of the youths by employing the severity of police contacts during the year prior to referral as a covariate leaves the results unaffected.

FIGURE 1. POLICE AND COURT RECORD DATA FOR FIRST YEAR OF RESEARCH

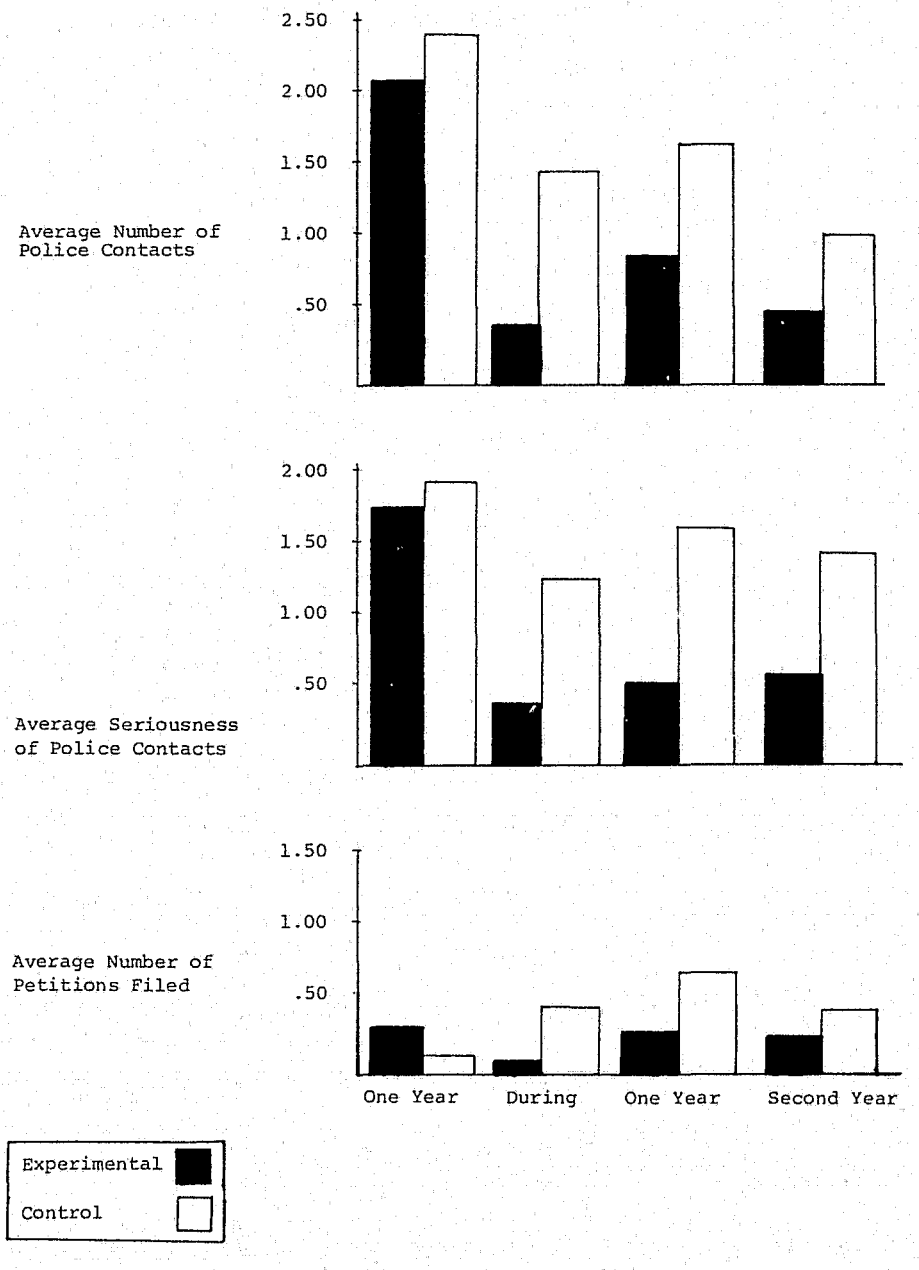
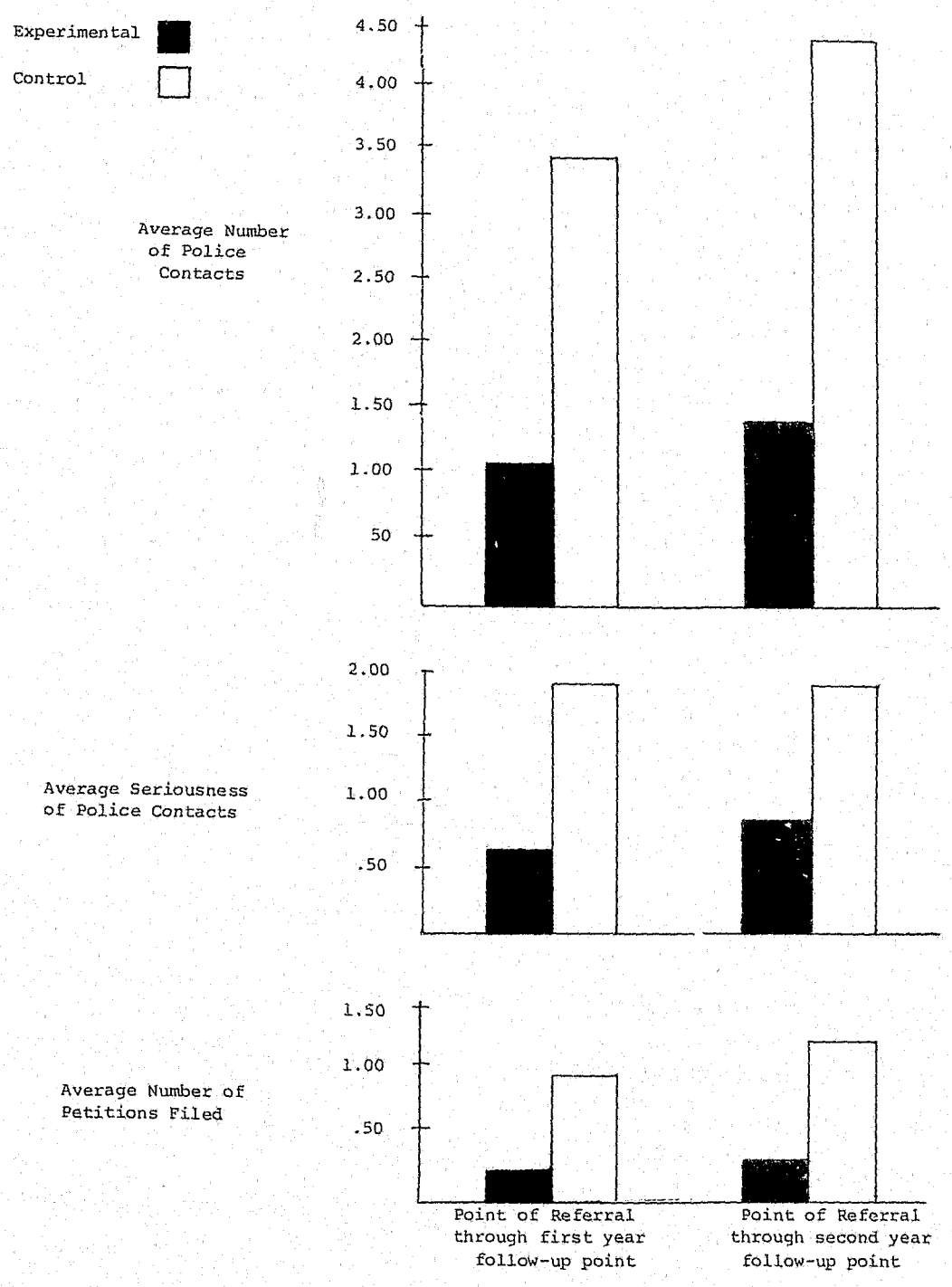


FIGURE 2. POLICE AND COURT RECORD DATA FOR FIRST YEAR OF RESEARCH FROM REFERRAL THROUGH FIRST AND SECOND YEAR FOLLOW-UP POINTS



If we stringently define a success as no further contact with the police and a failure as one or more contacts (no matter how trivial) with the police, we again find the results to be quite powerful, despite the time interval (see Table 1). While an increasing number of experimental subjects have further contact with the police, you will recall that there was no substantial increase in the average number of contacts, severity of contacts or petitions filed with the passage of time.

School Records

Grade-point averages achieved by youths for the pre-period (one year prior to referral) were not detectably different. There were no differences in grade-point averages calculated for the period spanning the program's operation for youths in the experimental and control groups. Attendance records were similarly lacking in positive results.

An encouraging trend in the school data involves the percentage of youths still enrolled in school at termination. All youths were enrolled at the time of referral; 71% of youths in the experimental group were still enrolled at termination while only 50% of the control group remained in school. The remainder of both groups had either voluntarily dropped out or were extruded through suspension procedures. This trend, however, did not achieve conventional levels of statistical significance.

Juvenile Justice System

The total number of cases in which court petitions were filed by the police on any juvenile (regardless of program referral) were recorded on a month-by-month basis for the year prior to program implementation and during the months of program operation. The mean proportion of cases in which petitions were filed during the program operation was less than that of a corresponding period the previous year.

TABLE 1

Success[a] and Failure[b] of Experimental and Control Subjects
During Several Time Periods Subsequent to Referral
(First Year of Research)

	During Intervention Interval	Point of Referral to First Year Follow-Up Point	Point of Referral to Second Year Follow-Up Point
	S	F	S	F	S	F
E	20	5	16	9	13	12
C	4	8	0	12	0	12
	$X^2_{cor.} = 5.79$, $p < .025$		$X^2_{cor.} = 11.05$, $p < .001$		$X^2_{cor.} = 7.47$, $p < .01$	

[a]Success (S) = no further police contacts

[b]Failure (F) = one or more additional police contacts

During program operation, from September, 1973, to March, 1974, only 11% of all juvenile cases investigated involved the filing of petitions. This is in contrast to the parallel period during the year (September, 1972, to March, 1973), when 16% of all cases investigated resulted in petitions filed. This occurs at a time when yearly averages were on a steady rise. An analysis of variance for time series designs (Gentile, et. al., 1972) was performed utilizing the two successive years of September to March monthly means as data points. The results were significant (F = 8.41, df = 1/10, $p < .01$).

Second Year of Research

When we began our second academic year of operation, we were only aware of the reduced recidivism rates and the failure to achieve internal attitudinal changes during the intervention interval in the prior year. With the hope that we would replicate our efficacy on the so-called "hard" recidivism data, we made one major addition in an effort to more clearly understand some of the processes related to this success. These issues are presented in detail in Davidson's dissertation (1976). First, we separated the training and supervisory orientations of behavioral contracting and advocacy. We went from three small training/supervisory groups with a conglomerate orientation to two sets of two small groups with each set exclusively receiving either a behavioral contracting orientation or child advocacy orientation. While all groups had the same pair of co-supervisors, the college students were exposed to distinctively different training manuals, mastery evaluations, and content of supervision. Supervisory behavior was monitored weekly. Obviously, this separation was intended to feret out differential effects of behavioral contracting, child advocacy, and "treatment as usual" conditions. The pre/post interval for all groups was 18 weeks. A second major foci was to gain a detailed monitoring and understanding of the critical components of events in the lives of the youth, the components of the intervention approaches, and the salient features of the training and supervision sessions. Given the previously uncharted nature of this particular endeavor, it was also necessary to assess the outcroppings of these processes in a very exploratory fashion. The goal of this component of the research design was to both provide behaviorally specific data about these domains and to allow sufficient breadth in scope of the events assessed to provide ecological validity for the results.

Process interviews were conducted at four, ten, and sixteen weeks after referral with the target youth, their parents, the volunteer student (experimentals only), and the student's supervisor (experimentals only). A rational empirical strategy was employed to construct 33 process scales reflective of critical life events, perceptions of change, characteristics of the interventions, and performance in training and supervision.

Several changes in the pre-post measures were made. First, the Gough-Peterson (1952) Socialization Scale was used as an indicant of socialization. Second, the recently developed Nowicki-Strickland (1973) Locus of Control Scale was used as a measure of Rotter's notions of internal-external locus of control. Third, the card sort procedures developed by Gold (1970) were used as a measure of self-reported delinquency. Fourth, the social labeling scale described earlier was maintained. All questionnaire based measures were administered to the target youth, one of his/her parents, and a peer nominated as a close friend in the second interview following the referral.

Thirty-six youths were referred to the project (33 males and 3 females). The mean age was 14.5. Twenty-one of the youth were white and fifteen were black. In terms of the social characteristics of the youth's families, all youth came from lower to lower-middle class families. On the average, the group had 2.22 police contacts in the year prior to program referral. The type of offenses for which they had been arrested literally ranged from curfew violations to attempted murder. Following the completion of pre-assessment the youth were randomly assigned (according to similar procedures outlined for the 1973-1974 project) to one of three conditions: behavioral contracting, child advocacy, or "treatment as usual" control.

Results

In brief, the results of the pre-post experimental component of the design provide a pattern very similar to the data from the 1973-1974 project. Namely, the verbal report data regardless of instrument or source failed to yield any significant findings for condition, time, or the interaction term.

Police and Court Records

As you will note in Figures 3 and 4, the results of the 1973-1974 project are strongly replicated at each time interval (i.e., through a first year follow-up point, to date) and on all recidivism and severity of recidivism variables. Furthermore, there do not appear to be any significant differences between the two experimental conditions--behavioral contracting and advocacy. Again, controlling for prior level of "difficulty" of the youths by employing the severity of police contacts during the year prior to referral as a covariate leaves the results essentially unaffected.

Again, stringently defining failure as one or more further contacts with the police following referral as a failure, we find the results quite powerful during the intervention interval. There does appear to be some deterioration at the first year follow-up point, but the experimental conditions taken together still exhibit significantly less recidivism than the controls ($X^2_{cor.} = 6.30$, $p < .05$). However, advocacy subjects compared with controls manifested only a trend toward less recidivism ($X^2_{cor.} = 3.23$, $p < .10$).

School Records

Turning to school records, while analysis of grade point average failed to yield any significant results, analysis of attendance rates indicated a maintenance of school attendance among both experimental groups across time and a highly significant decrement at a two-month follow-up point in the control group.

FIGURE 3. POLICE AND COURT RECORD DATA FOR SECOND YEAR OF RESEARCH

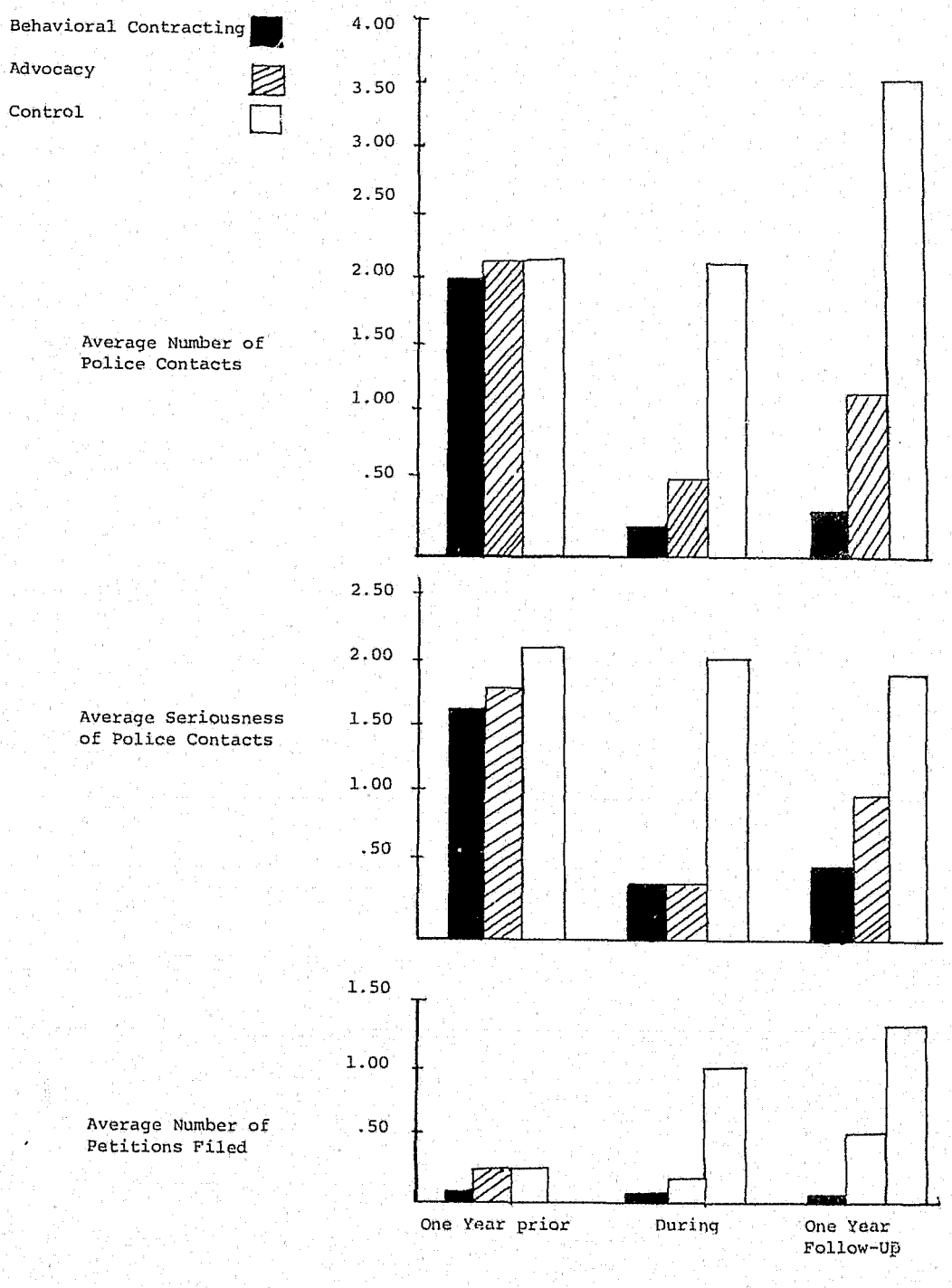
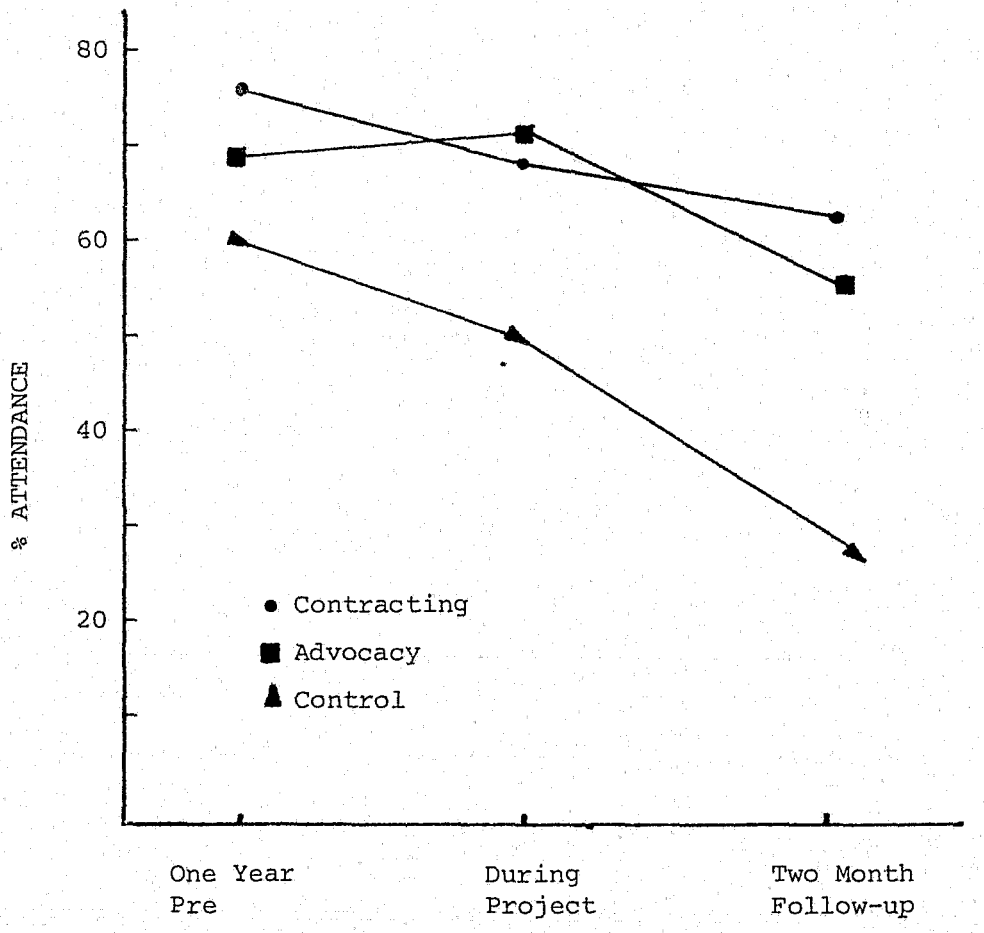


FIGURE 5
Percentage of School Attendance
Second Year of Research



Process Analyses

The basic design used to analyze the process dimension data was a three by two by three analysis of variance with repeated measures. The three factors included were condition, success versus failure, and the three process time periods. A success-failure criteria was determined for all youth by categorizing any youth who had one or more further police contacts and/or attended school less than an average of two days per week as a failure. Youth who remained out of trouble and stayed involved in school to some extent were categorized successful.

Table 3 presents a summary of the findings of the process and outcome data. These results lead to the beginning formulations of multiple contingency model of program operation and impact. First, for all conditions it was apparent that the success-failure criteria was closely related to what has been described as socially acceptable or sanctioned role involvement. The youth who end up in further trouble with the police and completed un-involved in school are characterized by low levels of involvement at home, with the school system, and with the employment market. Second, two of the intervention scales were specifically constructed as checklists of the model intervention conditions to assess the compliance of the volunteers in carrying out the prescribed intervention. Both experimental groups were assessed on the advocacy and contracting scales. The results strongly indicate that the two interventions were distinct. In other words, those in the contracting condition carried out their interventions according to the contracting model and not the advocacy strategy and vice versa.

Most striking, however, was the differential pattern of interventions displayed by different success and failure groups in both conditions related to the events in the youth's life. Youth who were more involved in socially approved roles received interventions focusing on multiple life domains. In addition for successful youth the intervention more closely followed the prescribed model. The interventions of those groups were characterized by higher levels of various intervention dimensions following from their intervention models. The contracting success group was observed to focus on the family and on the youth's behavior in school. On the other hand, the successful advocacy group focused on employment, the youth's friends, and changes in the school per se.

TABLE 2

Success[a] and Failure[b] of Behavioral Contracting, Advocacy and Control Subjects During Two Intervals Subsequent to Referral (Second Year of Research)

During Intervention Interval

	S	F
B.C.	9	3
Adv.	10	2
Cont.	3	9

$X^2_{E^{C}vsC_{cor}} = 7.73$, $p < .01$

Point of Referral to First Year Follow-Up Point

	S	F
B.C.	8	4
Adv.	6	6
Cont.	1	11

$X^2_{EvsC_{cor}} = 6.30$, $p < .025$

$X^2_{B.C.vsC_{cor}} = 6.40$, $p < .025$

$X^2_{Adv.vsC_{cor}} = 3.23$, $p < .10$

[a] Success (S) = no further police contact

[b] Failure (F) = one or more additional police contacts

[c] Combined experimentals = behavioral contracting and advocacy youths

TABLE 3

Relationships of the Multiple Contingency Model
(Second Year of Research)

	Behavioral Contracting	Child Advocacy	Control
Success	1. Involved in socially approved roles. 2. Stability on Change Dimensions. 3. Initiating contracting model. 4. Working on changes in the family area. 5. Working on changes in the youth's school performance.	1. Involved in socially approved roles. 2. Stability on Change Dimensions. 3. Initiation of advocacy model. 4. Working with the youth's friends. 5. Working on changes in the school system.	1. Involved in family and school. 2. Stability on Change Dimensions.
Failure	1. Uninvolved in socially approved roles. 2. Deterioration on Change Dimensions. 3. Initial trouble initiating contracting model. 4. Responding to juvenile justice system. 5. Attempting to get youth employed. 6. Family intervention focused on youth per se and minimal school intervention.	1. Uninvolved in socially approved roles. 2. Deterioration on Change Dimensions. 3. Initial trouble initiating contracting model. 4. Responding to juvenile justice system. 5. Attempting to get youth employed. 6. No family and minimal school intervention.	1. Involved in job seeking. 2. Deterioration on Change Dimensions.

The contracting group which failed to meet with success, tended to focus on changing the youth within the family across time. In the school area, the intervention of the contracting group started with an intense effort which quickly desists. Since they showed increases over time in employment interventions and legal interventions, it is most likely that they began reacting to the demands of the justice system directly. These events coincided with the time the youth get into further official trouble with the police. In addition, they further responded to the quick failure on the school area indirectly through attempts at employment. In other words, they remained relatively focused on the youth in the family throughout. Their attempts at school intervention were replaced by an unproductive search for employment. In addition, they began responding to the juvenile justice system's need for information, reports, etc., when the youth becomes reinvolved in the justice system.

The advocacy failure interventions showed a somewhat different pattern in response to similar patterns of life events. Namely, the target youth in this group were reinvolved in trouble almost immediately (by Wave I process assessment) and consequently the intervention was characterized by responses to these legal problems. This took the direct form of engaging in interventions in the justice system as well as intensifying efforts towards obtaining a job for the youth. Essentially, the advocacy failure group included no intervention in the family domain and only minimal school intervention. In other words, the advocacy failure interventions focused from the beginning, both by actual life events and the prescriptions of the advocacy model, on responding to the justice system.

It is apparent then that the outcomes observed in the experimental and control youth were related not only to group assignment but to an apparent set of critical events. Given that the relationship of the youth to important social systems showed some deterioration following referral to the project, successful outcomes are unlikely to result. These patterns of interaction were observed much more frequently in the case of controls. When the interventions of the experimental youth met with initial success both in terms of their impact on the youth and the degree to which they can get things going in multiple areas of the youth's life, the program provides a stabilizing influence.

Conclusions and Future Directions

Our alternative to the traditional juvenile justice system has demonstrated efficacy in reducing the rates and severity of official delinquency in two successive years with two independent groups of youngsters. Presently, these changes have endured through a two and one year follow-up point for the first and second set of participants, respectively. In the most recent phases of this intervention we have been concerned with dissemination of the project to local agencies, and have involved local professionals whom we have trained in the supervision of the college students. As this program continues, cooperation has developed between police and the new program professionals such that the local community now has a viable alternative to court actions on youthful offenders.

Providing alternatives which avoid the entanglement of youth in the legal system, it will be recalled, was a major motivation for this work from its onset. Although we can no longer justify randomly assigning some adolescents to a "treatment as usual" control group, we have arranged with the local agency now responsible for program administration for a continual monitoring of the results of the intervention for youth who participate. This should provide on-going feedback about success and failure, and enable continual readjustment of procedures, rather than program stagnation.

Before the program can be disseminated to other locations it is necessary for other interventionists to compare experimental and control groups in their own locale; in order to test its efficacy in communities different than our own (e.g., those of varying size, differential police procedures, and community resources).

There remain a number of unanswered questions. Prime among them is "Why does it work?" What are the necessary ingredients for an effective intervention of this nature? For example, are college students (or college age people) necessary, or can similar programs operate by using older community volunteers? How crucial are the various contingencies contracted for in such a program? How salient is the intensity and format of training and supervision? What occurs in the lives of the youth and

their social support networks one or two years following referral that maintains their continued non-involvement with the juvenile justice system? While we have a variety of hunches about these and other questions, we are continuing our attempts to explore and unravel the answers to these questions as systematically as possible. We hope many others will join in the quest to develop, implement and systematically evaluate similar innovative social programs designed to reduce the negative impact of the criminal justice system on young people. In this regard, we might add, not incidentally, that while programs such as the one described here may be of value for some youth, at least part of the answer to problems of delinquency will need to consider proposals for the elimination of uniquely juvenile status offenses from the realm of crime (c.f. Schur, 1973). It is only through multi-level interventions which combine such institutional changes with the kind of treatment alternatives suggested here that we can hope to have a significant impact on the problem of delinquency.

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