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METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES IN JUVENILE
DIVERSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR EVALUATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Diversion is a term used widely in the field of corrections. As it is the case with many other terms there is some ambiguity and confusion regarding the exact meaning of the concept. Diversion means many different things to many different people. (Cressey and McDermott, 1973:7)

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals uses the term "diversion" in reference to:

formally acknowledged and organized efforts to utilize alternatives to initial or continued processing into the justice system. To qualify as diversion, such efforts must be undertaken prior to adjudication and after a legally prescribed action has occurred.

According to this definition all those efforts which try to handle offenders in a way that will halt further official processing after the first encounter with formal agencies (police, or community organizations) would qualify as diversion. These practices are predicated under the assumption that the existing system often brings to negative (destructive) results among the offenders, and they are not very efficient in affecting and/or reducing existing crime rates either.

Even so, that the general objectives of diversion seem to be widely accepted by people in the field of juvenile corrections there are some problems and criticisms leveled against them. In a recent work, Morris (1974) expresses his concern regarding attempts at diversion which may result in an increase in the number of people

brought under social control, since policies which keep our offenders from correctional institutions may at the very same time extend control by formal agencies. Morris, predicts that the guilty are going to be convicted while the innocent will be diverted and supervised. Concerning juvenile justice he points out that:

... the juvenile court itself was a diversionary program, aiming to reduce the impact of the criminal law on the young offender and to divert him to less primitive, rehabilitative controls. However, it had swept more children within the ambit of the criminal law than if the State had not gone coercively into the business of child saving by means of statutes ill defining delinquency. (Morris, 1974:11)

Probation seems to have the same results, namely the reduction of the extent of incarceration especially among the juveniles, but at the same time increase the total number of youngsters under the control of the criminal justice system (Platt, 1969). Likewise, that is the case with coercive diversion programs devised for drug addicts and alcoholics. Many of the juveniles participating in the diversion programs are status offenders, thus many believe that they should not have been handled by the juvenile justice system in the first place.

In addition, diversion programs are usually based on the therapeutic ideal, with supervision by a supervisor-treater. This role is exposed to opposing demands, and often the supervisory role supersedes the treatment role, and might become a coercive role, losing obviously from its therapeutic value. Diversion programs also can be easily slanted toward the "medical model" of corrections by keeping juveniles under "treatment" until they progress well enough to be released--instead of being in a program for a determined period of time. This practice can provide a wide

discretionary power to be the administrative and treatment staff. The discretionary power of each individual staff member tends to increase which in turn tends to decrease the uniformity in the handling of cases. At the same time the "sick role" is attributed to the participants.

While, diversion seems to be an effort to mitigate the adverse affects of processing through the formal social control system, it still might result in defining the person as a deviant or delinquent. This reaction includes the public and private attitudes toward him and often culminates in "secondary deviance" by acquiring a delinquent self-concept which determines the person's future career and life style. (Lemert, 1951; Becker, 1963).

The current proliferation of diversion programs in the field of juvenile justice warrants that more efforts will be placed in their constant evaluation. As a matter of fact to be able to assess correctly these programs and to be able to derive the maximum benefits from them there is a need to devise the programs in a way that evaluation will be an integral part of them.

The Present Study

This present study is based on a more detailed evaluation of the Behavioral Assessment and Treatment Services Center (Berg, 1975) which was established and implemented during 1972 in Orange County, California. The major objectives of the (ATSC) project were:

1. To provide a multi-disciplinary resource for the police to refer emotionally distrubed and/or behaviorally disordered juveniles for assessment and/or treatment and in addition to divert them

from the juvenile justice system.

2. To develop a model intake process within the regular juvenile probation system which will maximize diversion from the juvenile justice system at the point of intake.
3. Identify needed service resources and develop appropriate community based and funded service facilities which will provide service outside of the juvenile justice system.

Virtually all of the referrals received by the ATSC were from the over twenty law enforcement agencies operating within the county. Assessment appointments were arranged for all referrals as the initial intake mechanism. Assessment resulted in release, referral to other agencies or the development of a treatment plan. Parents were encouraged to participate in assessment as well as treatment if necessary. Table 1 provides a summary of the dispositions resulting from referral to the ATSC for these cases selected into the evaluation sample.

(Table 1 about here)

The evaluation of the ATSC attempted to establish the extent to which the program was able to accomplish it's stated objectives; which of course requires the translation of these objectives into measurable criteria (Glaser, 1973:16; Weiss and Rein, 1971:293). The goals set forward in the ATSC project proposal serve as a good example of the kind of problem which results when the objectives of a project fail to be clearly articulated.

Objective 1 for example, as stated in the project proposal, failed to make reference to any explicit anticipated accomplishment. The fact that a resource was provided and that its existence became known to law enforcement agencies, who in turn referred juveniles to the program, is obvious. Consequently the operationalization of this objective was based on the assumption that the primary aim of any diversion program is ultimately the reduction of delinquent behavior and the rehabilitation of those who were involved in lawbreaking activity; and that this goal is to be accomplished by avoiding the involvement of the juveniles with the formal sanctioning system.

Methodology

The ATSC program did not lend itself to easy evaluation. As is the case with most criminal justice programs, random sampling and randomization were impossible. Thus, the design choice for this study was the pseudo-experimental or quasi-experimental design where in:

... a treatment process is evaluated by means of information on a treatment group and a 'comparison' group. The latter is chosen in a way that makes it 'similar' to the treatment group. (Adams, 1975:60).

In the present study an effort was made to overcome the problems resulting from the failure to randomize through sample selection procedures and statistical controls in an attempt to conform to the "all else being equal" dictum of science. The following measures were taken: (1) in choosing the control population, a select subset of all probation referrals were defined in a way that the resulting set of individuals would approximate

the referral characteristics of those who would have been eligible for diversion to the ATSC, thus it included only initial referrals. (Custody referrals and probation violators were not eligible to participate in ATSC). (2) In a further effort to isolate the affects of differential treatments (ATSC vs Probation), several variables (e.g., sex, age and previous referral record) were statistically controlled.

The total experimental population included all referrals to the ATSC between September 1, 1972 and February 28, 1974--an eighteen month period, 1305 cases. The starting date was selected as a result of the limited data available on the 277 cases processed prior to this time, i.e., during the first three months of the programs operation. The latter date was selected to ensure the availability of at least one year of follow-up information on all cases in the sample.

A systematic random sampling procedure was used whereby every even numbered referral to ATSC was selected into the sample, excluding re-referrals. This procedure resulted in the selection of a fifty percent random sample of 651 juveniles.

The control group was selected from all initial non-custody referrals received by the Orange County Probation Department during the same period. Restricting the control group to only initial non-custody referrals was an attempt to insure that the type of cases selected were those which would have been eligible for diversion to the ATSC. Every tenth relevant entry in the probation log books was selected into the control group. This procedure resulted in a ten percent systematic random sample of 1,008 initial non-custody intake cases referred to probation during the eighteen

month period of study.

A wide range of data was collected on the cases referred to the ATSC. These data included detailed personal information, psychological tests results, behavioral assessment at the beginning--during and at the end of the participation in the program, and a termination form completed at the end of treatment--detailing the nature and conditions under which termination took place.

The data on the control group were taken from the probation files, and included personal and family data and information pertaining to the actions taken on the referrals, such as, disposition at intake, disposition at court and the dates of intake and termination.

Evaluation Measures: Major Criteria

A variety of procedures were selected for summarizing the subsequent behavior (juvenile justice contact) data. By using several outcome measures, varying aspects of the extent and severity of subsequent behavior could be articulated. Outcome measures included:

- (a) The percent of cases having at least one subsequent application for petition.
- (b) The percent of cases having at least one subsequent wardship, which is the most serious disposition recorded for each case.
- (c) The average number of subsequent referrals.
- (d) The average level of severity measured by the assignment of a weighted severity value to each terminal disposition, (Berg, 1975:17) summed up and divided by N.

ANALYSIS

Selection Bias

The first step of the evaluation was to ascertain the extent of similarity, on the basis of demographic attributes, between the experimental and the control group. This step was instrumental in establishing the comparability of the two groups on basic personal characteristics, thus being able to isolate the possible effects of differential correctional treatment.

The comparisons on the two basic demographic variables sex (Table 2) and age (Table 3) indicate some significant differences between the two groups. A significantly greater percent (.001 level) of females were assigned to the ATSC (40.6 percent) than to Probation (24.4 percent). The ATSC cases were found also

(Table 2 about here)

to be significantly younger than the probation group (on the .001 level). While more than half of the probation sample cases were over 15 years old, only 26.9 percent of the ATSC cases were in that age.

(Table 3 about here)

There was also a significant difference between the two groups in ethnic composition (Table 4). The figures indicate that while the proportions of minority group youngsters were relatively low

(Table 4 about here)

in both programs (ATSC - 5.3 percent, probation - 13.6 percent) this difference was statistically significant, at the .001 level of significance.

The selection process was also investigated in regard to the history of delinquent involvement, namely prior probation referrals. Table 5 contains information concerning the number of prior probation referrals of the participants in both samples within a two year period prior to the referral, as well as, the extent of the most serious prior referral. In both the number and the nature of referrals the findings point out that the two populations were significantly different in their prior juvenile justice contact history.

(Table 5 about here)

In the ATSC sample 91.5 percent of the juveniles did not have previous referrals, while in the probation sample this figure was 77.3 percent. In terms of the seriousness of prior referrals 7.5 percent of the probation sample sustained a prior wardship, while only 1.2 percent of the ATSC cases had similar experience.

These findings indicate that there was a systematic bias in the selection of participants to the ATSC program. There was a clear tendency to select younger juveniles, more girls, more whites and youngsters with fewer and less serious prior delinquent involvement into this program. These findings might seriously question whether or not the ATSC program fulfilled a truly diversionary function? In other words, the question is how many of the juveniles who were referred to the ATSC would have been otherwise placed indeed on probation? There is a good chance that many of them would have been released back to the community without any further processing, or would not be contacted in the first place. Thus it can be assumed that

ATSC often used as an "insertion" device (Klein, 1976:74), i.e., a way to introduce juveniles into the system.

ANALYSIS OF OUTCOMES

Subsequent Referrals

When the date of referral is taken as the starting point of comparison, it is seen (Table 6) that within twelve months from this date 31.0 percent of the ATSC cases and 34.8 percent of the probation sample had at least one subsequent application for petition filed with the probation department. This difference is not significant on the .05 level.

Within eighteen months of the date of referral the difference between the percent of ATSC cases and probation cases had grown to 9.6 percent (32.8 percent versus 42.4 percent). This difference is significant on the .02 level.

(Table 6 about here)

The major reason for the significant difference between the percent of re-referrals after eighteen months was the large difference among males with no prior history of probation referral. Among the ATSC cases this group had 28.9 percent subsequent re-referrals while in probation 44.3 percent from this group had at least one subsequent petition--this difference is statistically significant on the .01 level. However, when age was controlled for, no significant differences were encountered. Generally, within each age category the ATSC males with no priors had a lower rate of re-referrals than those on probation.¹ The differences

¹ This might be due also to the ability of law enforcement agencies to differentiate among the youngsters whom they referred to the two programs.

tended to increase with age (below 13-2.0 percent, 13-15 - 8.2 percent, over 15 - 24.4 percent). Due to the small sample size, even the 24.4 percent difference was not large enough to be statistically significant on the conventional .05 level.

In the other major categories where the sample size was sufficient to make comparisons; males with prior probation experience and females with no prior referrals, the ATSC cases tended to have somewhat higher but not significant rates of re-referral.

Re-referral rates were the lowest in the youngest age group with no prior history of referrals regardless of sex, treatment; age, and follow-up time. The rates were highest for those with prior records regardless of all the other variables. Male ATSC cases on the whole tended to have lower rates than their probation counterparts while for females the opposite was true.

Level of Recontact

In comparing the two samples on the percent of cases upon which a petition was filed, significant differences are apparent at the end of both the twelve and the eighteen month follow up periods (Table 7). By the end of twelve months, the date of referral, 22.2 percent of the ATSC and 28.1 percent of the probation cases were petitioned to juvenile court at least once. This difference is significant on the .02 level. By the end of eighteen months these figures were 23.1 percent and 35.9 percent respectively--a difference which is significant on the .001 level.

(Table 7 about here)

If personal attributes age and sex and previous contacts with law enforcement agencies, are controlled--only the difference between males 13-15 years old without prior referral to probation is found to be significant--16.7 percent less ATSC boys in this category were returning than boys who finished probation--this difference is statistically significant at the .01 level. The overall female comparisons were slightly favorable for the ATSC program but no real substantive differences emerged.

Generally, the patterns of re-referrals tend to be better for the younger age groups, and worse for those with priors, especially among males.

Wardship

Within eighteen months of the date of referral 19.5 percent of the ATSC and 30.6 percent of the probation cases were declared wards of the court (either under supervision, or in juvenile institutions) Table 8. These figures indicate a statistically significant difference between the two samples at the .001 level. Also, the general pattern described in the analysis of petitioning rate exists in the case of wardship comparisons. In all cases

(Table 8 about here)

a lower percent of the ATSC graduates were sent to juvenile institutions. Generally, the percent of cases with at least one wardship within eighteen months of the date of referral were lower for the ATSC among all males regardless of prior history. Females, with and without prior referral showed some favorable differences for the ATSC, while when age groups were compared the graduates of the Probation Department seem to have a slightly more favorable record.

Re-referrals and Severity

Concerning the number of re-referrals it is found that twelve months after the date of the referral--an average of .63 applications per case were field in the ATSC group while .68 in the probation group (Table 9). This difference is not significant. Males with prior referrals have the highest average (1.3 ATSC, 1.2 probation) while the second highest is for females with prior referrals (.90 ATSC, .91 probation).

(Table 9 about here)

This figures in accordance with the patterns found in other studies, namely that there seems to be an emergence of a core group of delinquents who are getting involved with the social control agencies at a relatively early stage in their life time and many of them tend to continue this involvement and develop a delinquent and later a criminal career.

The only category in which there is a significant difference between the two groups is among females without a prior record in the age group of 13-15 where unexpectedly the ATSC "graduates" indicate a significantly higher re-referral rate on the .01 level than their counterparts in the probation group. Within 12 months of the date of referral the average severity of the new charges is the lowest among boys under the age of 13 who do not have prior referral record in both groups--somewhat lower in the probation group. The scores are highest among boys 15 years old and older with prior referrals, also in this category the ATSC group has a higher average severity score than the probation group. The only significant difference, however, between the two groups on the severity scores is found among females 13-15

years old without prior referrals. The girls from ATSC tend to be charged with more serious infractions than girls who were on probation.

Discussion

The primary concerns of the current evaluation can be summarized in two questions:

(1) Were the cases referred to ATSC, cases which would have otherwise been referred to probation?

(2) Is the affects of the ATSC treatment on the individuals any different than that which would have resulted if those cases had indeed been referred to probation?

It is hard indeed to arrive at a conclusive answer to these questions on the basis of this study mainly because of the problems of initial design, namely as mentioned, the unequal selection process into ATSC vs. probation. However, an attempt can be made to try to derive some logical conclusions which might have implications for the formulation of further treatment policies.

As has been pointed out earlier, what constitutes diversion is both ambiguous and relative. It has been stated that "diversion occurs only when use of the customary process is warranted, but not actualized." Determining when the customary process is warranted is itself a major and contraversial problem. Compounding this problem is the great latitude of discretion in the decision to refer juveniles to different programs among the various law enforcement agencies (Klein, 1976). Granted, if it is important to establish that each referral to the ATSC did in fact constitute a diversion--some criteria of verification should have been established from the onset. Unfortunately, as it was pointed out,

no such criteria were set up.

There is a good possibility that not all the referrals to the ATSC were diversions in the strict sense of the word. For example, during 1973-74--260 (14.4 percent) from the total referrals of 1801 to the ATSC were referred on an informal basis, i.e., no specific code violations were indicated. It is feasible, that at least a part of these cases would have been handled informally if the ATSC had not been available. This is quite a widespread phenomenon (Morris, 1974; Lincoln, 1976) as it was mentioned before.

At the onset of the program police were asked to refer emotionally disturbed youngsters and/or those who had some behavior disorder problems, to the ATSC. Obviously, these guidelines are very general and almost all juveniles contacted by the police might fit into this broad category. This gives to the police a wide-scale discretion in this matter. At the time of the evaluation process there was no way of assessing whether or not those who were referred to the ATSC were any different on the emotional disturbance/behavioral disorder dimension than those who were referred to probation. (In fact it is not clear whether this dimension was ever uniformly defined for the various agencies). Without reliable data on this matter, there is no way to establish a meaningful comparison group (referred to probation) against which the subsequent behavior of ATSC referees can be compared.

Taking all these limitations into consideration, this study has compared the subsequent behavior of a sample of ATSC cases with that of a sample of initial non-custody probation referrals. The results of these comparisons generally did not indicate any

systematic differences between the two groups.

In the evaluation of the ATSC program, when all the referrals are concerned, the group of referrals who failed to keep their assessment appointments showed the poorest pattern of subsequent behavior, i.e., within 18 months of the referral 27.0 percent of this group became the wards of the juvenile court at least once, while among the assessed the comparable figure was 17.2 percent.

The matriculation of cases through the ATSC tends to follow a pattern of positive selection, i.e., those ingressing further into the program generally showed a "better" outcome. Probation, on the other hand, indicates an opposite trend, namely, the deeper is the ingression into the formal juvenile justice system, the higher is the probability of recidivism. This finding should be pursued by additional studies--since it might indicate real differences in the treatment impact or it might be mainly an outcome of the selection process to the different programs. It also may indicate that there are different meanings of early termination in the two programs, i.e., in ATSC this might mean that those youngsters drop out early from the treatment program who would most need it, since the great flexibility of the program, while in probation where the regulations are stricter, those youngsters are getting out early who are the best risks anyway.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the evaluation presented in the present study it is hard to arrive at clear-cut conclusions. To a large degree ATSC appears to be no better no worse than its counterparts in the juvenile justice system. This is obviously not a very positive and optimistic statement about this program, and it begs the question about its worthwhileness. It seems to be, that some of the results probably have been more positive would the selection process to the program be improved. The two immediate steps that should be taken to make ATSC probably a more viable alternative to probation and for sure a better object for evaluation purposes should be: (a) a rigorous clarification of who the program is for, and (b) developing better referral guidelines and the development of some kind of cooperative effort among the law enforcement agencies to keep up with these guidelines.

This study, besides focusing on the main subject of comparing the outcome of various treatment programs also highlighted some of the actual research problems which might emerge in their evaluation. While it is known that descision-makers frequently fail to use the conclusions of evaluation research (Weiss, 1972), it is still hopes that at least some of the problems of design which emerged in the ATSC Project will be addressed by administrators of juvenile diversion programs.

TABLE 1

ASSESSMENT AND TREATMENT SERVICES CENTER CASE-
LOAD DISPOSITIONS FOR REFERRALS RECEIVED BETWEEN
SEPT. 1, 1972 AND FEB. 28, 1974

<u>Referral Dispositions</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Total Percent</u>	<u>Subgroup Percent</u>
Referrals	639	100.0	-----
Failed to show for assessment	65	10.2	10.2
Assessed	574	89.8	89.8
Found not in need of treatment .	71	11.1	12.4
Dismissed with ATSC followup .	39	6.1	54.9
Treatment not needed	32	5.0	45.1
Found in need of treatment	503	78.7	87.6
Referred to other agency	66	10.3	13.1
Treatment not obtained/other .	41	6.4	8.2
Treated at ATSC	396	62.0	78.7
Early Terminations	91	14.2	23.0
Violations	28	4.4	7.1
Mutual/normal treatment	277	43.4	69.9

TABLE 2
SEX BY TREATMENT

<u>SEX</u>	<u>ATSC</u>		<u>PROBATION</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Male	379	59.4	749	75.6
Female	259	40.6	242	24.4
Total	638	100.0	991	100.0

$\chi^2=47.69, df=1, p < .001$

TABLE 3
AGE BY TREATMENT

<u>AGE</u>	<u>ATSC</u>		<u>PROBATION</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Under 13	121	19.2	56	5.7
13 - 15	340	53.9	405	41.5
Over 15	170	26.9	516	52.8
Total	631	100.0	977	100.0

$\chi^2=135.90, df=2, p < .001$

TABLE 4
 ETHNICITY BY TREATMENT

<u>ETHNICITY</u>	<u>ATSC</u>		<u>PROBATION</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
White	536	94.7	815	86.4
Spanish	20	3.5	92	9.7
Black	6	1.1	21	2.2
Other	4	.7	16	1.7
Total	566	100.0	944	100.0

$\chi^2=26.5, df=3, p < .001$

TABLE 5

PRIOR APPLICATIONS FOR PETITIONS BY TREATMENT:
NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS AND MOST SERIOUS PRIOR

<u>Number of Prior Applications for a Petition</u>	ATSC		PROBATION	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
None	561	91.5	675	77.3
One	42	6.9	128	14.7
Two	8	1.3	45	5.1
Three or More	<u>2</u>	<u>.3</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>2.9</u>
Total	613	100.0	873	100.0

$\chi^2=55.66$, $df=3$, $p < .001$

<u>Most Serious Prior</u>				
None	561	91.5	675	77.3
Dismissed at Intake	30	4.9	89	10.2
Dismissed at Court	15	2.4	44	5.0
Field Supervision	3	.5	52	6.0
Institutional Placement	<u>4</u>	<u>.7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>1.5</u>
Total	613	100.0	873	100.0

$\chi^2=58.75$, $df=4$, $p < .001$



TABLE 6

Percent of Cases Upon Which an Application For Petition Was Field With Probation,
Twelve and Eighteen Months From Date of Referral by Sex, Prior Referral History,
Age and Treatment

	TIME FROM DATE OF REFERRAL ¹									
	TWELVE MONTHS					EIGHTEEN MONTHS				
	ATSC		PROBATION			ATSC		PROBATION		
	N	Percent	N	Percent	Δ %	N	Percent	N	Percent	Δ %
ALL CASES	562	31.0	663	34.8	-3.8	329	32.8	337	42.4	- 9.6*
MALES ONLY	342	30.7	497	37.0	-6.3	205	32.2	246	47.2	-15.0*
NO PRIORS	310	28.4	394	33.0	-4.6	187	28.9	210	44.3	-15.4*
UNDER 13	93	12.9	37	16.2	-3.3	68	16.2	22	18.2	- 2.0
13 - 15	165	35.2	228	36.0	-0.8	101	37.6	142	45.8	- 8.2
OVER 15	52	34.6	129	32.6	2.0	18	27.8	46	52.2	-24.4
PRIORS	32	53.1	103	52.4	0.7	18	66.7	36	63.9	2.8
UNDER 13	4	75.0	12	41.7	---	2	50.0	7	42.9	---
13 - 15	13	53.8	45	60.0	-6.2	12	83.3	20	70.0	13.3
OVER 15	15	46.7	46	47.8	-1.1	4	25.0	9	66.7	---
FEMALES ONLY	220	31.4	166	28.3	3.1	124	33.9	91	29.7	4.2
NO PRIORS	210	30.5	143	25.2	5.3	120	33.3	76	25.0	8.3
UNDER 13	24	16.7	2	0.0	---	14	7.1	1	0.0	---
13 - 15	142	33.1	95	22.1	11.0	88	33.0	58	22.4	10.6
OVER 15	44	29.5	46	32.6	-3.1	18	55.6	17	35.3	20.3
PRIORS	10	50.0	23	47.8	2.2	4	50.0	15	53.3	---

¹Difference between proportions: *p=.05, **p=.01, ***p=.001

TABLE 7

Percent Of Cases With At Least One Subsequent Petition Filed Within Twelve
And Eighteen Months From Date Of Referral By Sex, Prior Referral History,
Age And Treatment

	TIME FROM DATE OF REFERRAL ¹																																										
	TWELVE MONTHS					EIGHTEEN MONTHS																																					
	ATSC		PROBATION			ATSC		PROBATION																																			
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	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td> UNDER 13</td> <td>93</td> <td>8.6</td> <td>37</td> <td>10.8</td> <td>-2.2</td> <td>68</td> <td>11.8</td> <td>22</td> <td>13.6</td> <td>-1.8</td> </tr> <tr> <td> 13 - 15</td> <td>165</td> <td>24.8</td> <td>228</td> <td>29.8</td> <td>-5.0</td> <td>101</td> <td>24.8</td> <td>142</td> <td>41.5</td> <td>-16.7**</td> </tr> <tr> <td> OVER 15</td> <td>52</td> <td>25.0</td> <td>129</td> <td>24.0</td> <td>1.0</td> <td>18</td> <td>27.8</td> <td>46</td> <td>41.3</td> <td>-13.5</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>										UNDER 13	93	8.6	37	10.8	-2.2	68	11.8	22	13.6	-1.8	13 - 15	165	24.8	228	29.8	-5.0	101	24.8	142	41.5	-16.7**	OVER 15	52	25.0	129	24.0	1.0	18	27.8	46	41.3	-13.5
UNDER 13	93	8.6	37	10.8	-2.2	68	11.8	22	13.6	-1.8																																	
13 - 15	165	24.8	228	29.8	-5.0	101	24.8	142	41.5	-16.7**																																	
OVER 15	52	25.0	129	24.0	1.0	18	27.8	46	41.3	-13.5																																	
PRIORS	32	40.6	103	42.7	-2.1	18	61.1	36	52.8	8.3																																	
	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td> UNDER 13</td> <td>4</td> <td>50.0</td> <td>12</td> <td>33.3</td> <td>16.7</td> <td>2</td> <td>50.0</td> <td>7</td> <td>28.6</td> <td>21.4</td> </tr> <tr> <td> 13 - 15</td> <td>13</td> <td>46.2</td> <td>45</td> <td>53.3</td> <td>-7.1</td> <td>12</td> <td>75.0</td> <td>20</td> <td>60.0</td> <td>15.0</td> </tr> <tr> <td> OVER 15</td> <td>15</td> <td>33.3</td> <td>46</td> <td>34.8</td> <td>-1.5</td> <td>4</td> <td>25.0</td> <td>9</td> <td>55.6</td> <td>-30.6</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>										UNDER 13	4	50.0	12	33.3	16.7	2	50.0	7	28.6	21.4	13 - 15	13	46.2	45	53.3	-7.1	12	75.0	20	60.0	15.0	OVER 15	15	33.3	46	34.8	-1.5	4	25.0	9	55.6	-30.6
UNDER 13	4	50.0	12	33.3	16.7	2	50.0	7	28.6	21.4																																	
13 - 15	13	46.2	45	53.3	-7.1	12	75.0	20	60.0	15.0																																	
OVER 15	15	33.3	46	34.8	-1.5	4	25.0	9	55.6	-30.6																																	
FEMALES ONLY	220	22.7	166	23.5	-0.8	124	21.8	91	23.1	-1.3																																	
NO PRIORS	210	22.4	143	21.7	0.7	120	21.7	76	19.7	2.0																																	
	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td> UNDER 13</td> <td>24</td> <td>16.7</td> <td>2</td> <td>0.0</td> <td>16.7</td> <td>14</td> <td>7.1</td> <td>1</td> <td>0.0</td> <td>7.1</td> </tr> <tr> <td> 13 - 15</td> <td>142</td> <td>23.9</td> <td>95</td> <td>17.9</td> <td>6.0</td> <td>88</td> <td>20.5</td> <td>58</td> <td>17.2</td> <td>3.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td> OVER 15</td> <td>44</td> <td>20.5</td> <td>46</td> <td>30.4</td> <td>-9.9</td> <td>18</td> <td>38.9</td> <td>17</td> <td>29.4</td> <td>9.5</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>										UNDER 13	24	16.7	2	0.0	16.7	14	7.1	1	0.0	7.1	13 - 15	142	23.9	95	17.9	6.0	88	20.5	58	17.2	3.3	OVER 15	44	20.5	46	30.4	-9.9	18	38.9	17	29.4	9.5
UNDER 13	24	16.7	2	0.0	16.7	14	7.1	1	0.0	7.1																																	
13 - 15	142	23.9	95	17.9	6.0	88	20.5	58	17.2	3.3																																	
OVER 15	44	20.5	46	30.4	-9.9	18	38.9	17	29.4	9.5																																	
PRIORS	10	30.0	23	34.8	-4.8	4	25.0	15	40.0	-15.0																																	

¹Difference between proportions: *p=.05, **p=.01, ***p=.001

TABLE 8

Percent Of Cases With At Least One Subsequent Petition Resulting In Wardship, Twelve And Eighteen Months From Date Of Referral By Sex, Prior Referral History, Age and Treatment

TIME FROM DATE OF REFERRAL¹

	TWELVE MONTHS					EIGHTEEN MONTHS				
	ATSC		PROBATION			ATSC		PROBATION		
	N	Percent	N	Percent	Δ%	N	Percent	N	Percent	Δ%
ALL CASES	562	18.1	663	24.4	-6.3**	329	19.5	337	30.6	-11.1**
MALES ONLY	342	17.8	497	25.2	-7.4*	205	19.5	246	33.7	-14.2**
NO PRIORS	310	17.1	394	21.6	-4.5	187	17.1	210	31.4	-14.3**
UNDER 13	93	6.5	37	5.4	1.1	68	8.8	22	13.6	-4.8
13 - 15	165	21.8	228	25.9	-4.1	101	23.8	142	35.3	-11.4
OVER 15	52	21.2	129	18.6	-2.6	18	11.1	46	28.3	-17.2
PRIORS	32	25.0	103	38.8	-13.8	18	44.4	36	47.2	-2.8
UNDER 13	4	25.0	12	24.0	---	2	50.0	7	28.6	---
13 - 15	13	30.8	45	51.1	-20.3	12	50.0	20	60.0	-10.0
OVER 15	15	20.0	46	30.4	-10.4	4	25.0	9	33.3	---
FEMALES ONLY	220	18.6	166	22.3	-3.7	124	19.4	91	22.0	-2.6
NO PRIORS	210	18.1	143	20.3	-2.2	120	19.2	76	19.7	-0.5
UNDER 13	24	16.7	2	0.0	---	14	7.1	1	0.0	---
13 - 15	142	18.3	95	16.8	1.5	88	18.2	58	17.2	1.0
OVER 15	44	18.2	46	28.3	-10.1	18	33.3	17	29.4	3.9
PRIORS	10	30.0	23	34.8	-4.8	4	25.0	15	33.3	-8.3

¹Difference between proportions: *p=.05, **p=.01, ***p=.001

TABLE 8

Percent Of Cases With At Least One Subsequent Petition Resulting In
Wardship, Twelve And Eighteen Months From Date Of Referral By Sex,
Prior Referral History, Age and Treatment

	TIME FROM DATE OF REFERRAL ¹									
	TWELVE MONTHS					EIGHTEEN MONTHS				
	ATSC		PROBATION			ATSC		PROBATION		
	N	Percent	N	Percent	Δ %	N	Percent	N	Percent	Δ %
ALL CASES	562	18.1	663	24.4	-6.3**	329	19.5	337	30.6	-11.1**
MALES ONLY	342	17.8	497	25.2	-7.4*	205	19.5	246	33.7	-14.2**
NO PRIORS	310	17.1	394	21.6	-4.5	187	17.1	210	31.4	-14.3**
UNDER 13	93	6.5	37	5.4	1.1	68	8.8	22	13.6	-4.8
13 - 15	165	21.8	228	25.9	-4.1	101	23.8	142	35.3	-11.4
OVER 15	52	21.2	129	18.6	-2.6	18	11.1	46	28.3	-17.2
PRIORS	32	25.0	103	38.8	-13.8	18	44.4	36	47.2	-2.8
UNDER 13	4	25.0	12	24.0	---	2	50.0	7	28.6	---
13 - 15	13	30.8	45	51.1	-20.3	12	50.0	20	60.0	-10.0
OVER 15	15	20.0	46	30.4	-10.4	4	25.0	9	33.3	---
FEMALES ONLY	220	18.6	166	22.3	-3.7	124	19.4	91	22.0	-2.6
NO PRIORS	210	18.1	143	20.3	-2.2	120	19.2	76	19.7	-0.5
UNDER 13	24	16.7	2	0.0	---	14	7.1	1	0.0	---
13 - 15	142	18.3	95	16.8	1.5	88	18.2	58	17.2	1.0
OVER 15	44	18.2	46	28.3	-10.1	18	33.3	17	29.4	3.9
PRIORS	10	30.0	23	34.8	-4.8	4	25.0	15	33.3	-8.3

¹Difference between proportions: *p=.05, **p=.01, ***p=.001

TABLE 9

Average Number Of Applications For Petition Filed And Average Severity Per Case Of Re-referrals Within Twelve Months Of The Date Of Referral And The Date Of Termination By Age, Sex And Prior Referrals¹

	NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS					LEVEL OF SEVERITY				
	ATSC		PROBATION		Δ	ATSC		PROBATION		Δ
	N	\bar{X}	N	\bar{X}		N	\bar{X}	N	\bar{X}	
ALL CASES	562	.63	663	.68	-.05	562	1.48	663	1.70	-.22
MALES ONLY	342	.65	497	.76	-.11	342	1.50	497	1.85	-.35
NO PRIORS	310	.58	394	.63	-.05	310	1.31	394	1.56	-.25
UNDER 13	93	.22	37	.19	.03	93	.49	37	.35	.14
13 - 15	165	.76	228	.75	.01	165	1.77	228	1.90	-.13
OVER 15	52	.64	129	.54	.10	52	1.31	129	1.51	.00
PRIORS	32	1.3	103	1.2	.10	32	3.31	103	2.94	.37
UNDER 13	4	2.0	12	.92	---	4	4.50	12	2.00	---
13 - 15	13	.92	45	1.5	-.57	13	2.46	45	3.69	-1.2
OVER 15	15	1.5	46	1.1	.46	15	3.73	46	2.46	1.3
FEMALES ONLY	220	.60	166	.45	.15	220	1.46	166	1.24	.21
NO PRIORS	210	.59	143	.37	.22*	210	1.45	143	1.04	.41
UNDER 13	24	.42	2	.00	---	24	1.13	2	.00	---
13 - 15	142	.68	95	.28	.39**	142	1.67	95	.80	.87*
OVER 15	44	.39	46	.57	-.18	44	.93	46	1.59	-.66
PRIORS	10	.90	23	.91	-.01	10	1.50	23	2.48	-.98

¹Test for differences between means; * p=.05, **p=.01

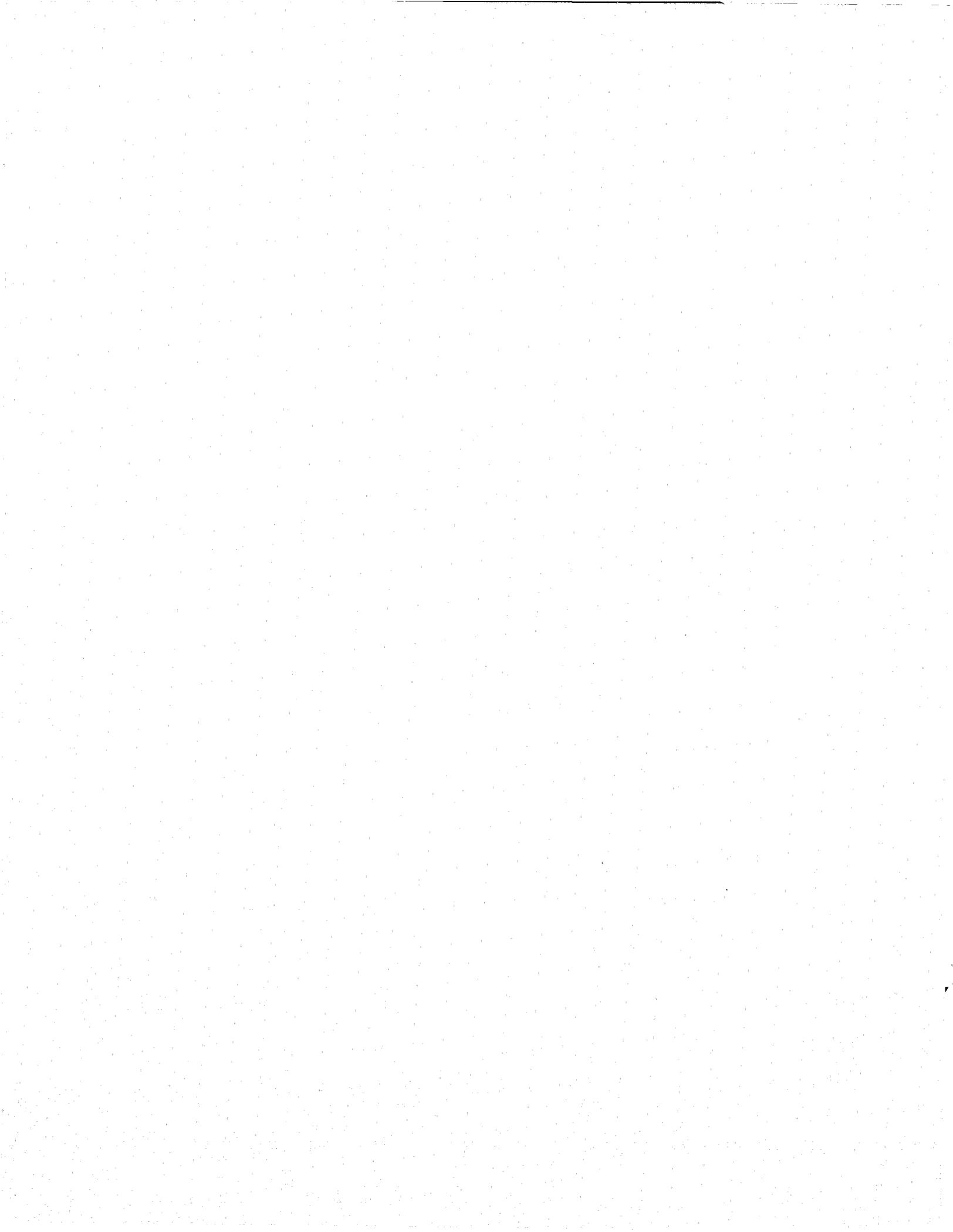
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END